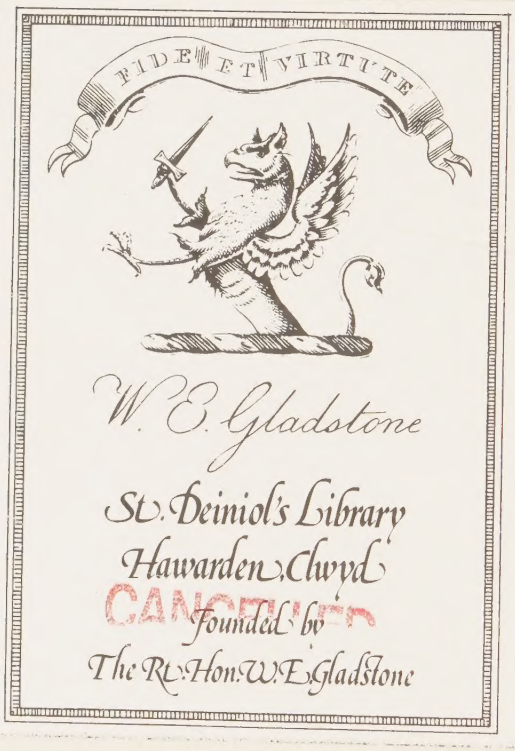
Morocco
Religion (Primitive)
Mohammedanism
Folk-Lore (Morocco)



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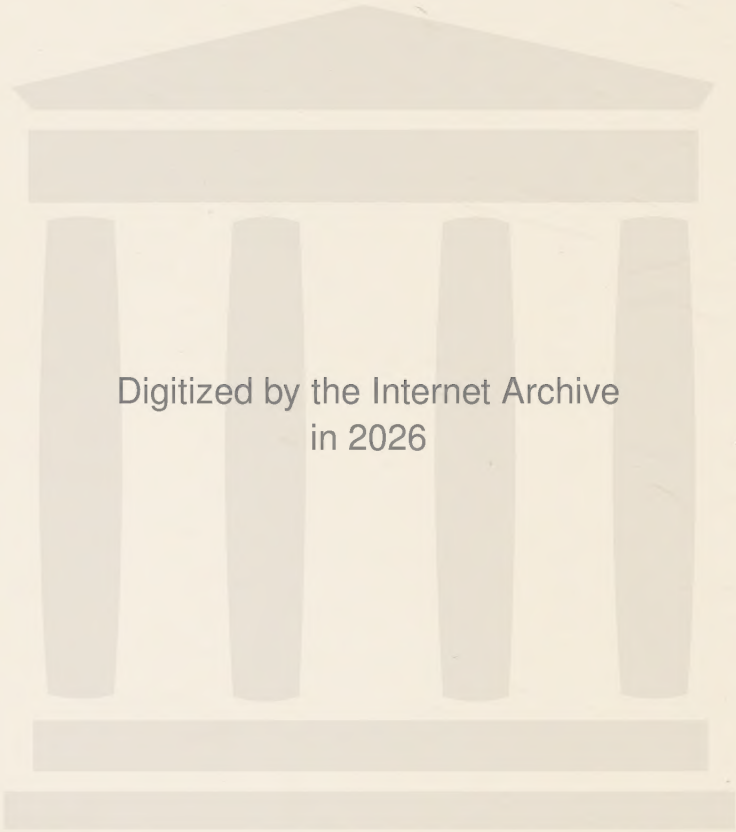
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RITUAL AND BELIEF IN MOROCCO

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RITUAL AND BELIEF IN MOROCCO

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BY

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PREFACE

WHEN I was preparing my book *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* I thought that it might be useful for me to acquire first-hand knowledge of some forms of culture which differ from our own. As the University of Helsingfors had granted me a very handsome travelling scholarship, which enabled me to stay abroad for years, I contemplated going to the East to study both civilised and savage races. I sailed for Morocco in 1898 — and never went farther. I soon realised what a laborious undertaking it is to acquaint oneself sufficiently well even with the natives of a single country: it requires a prolonged stay among them and knowledge of their language. Even the best interpreter is apt to omit details which, though apparently trivial, may be of the greatest importance for a right understanding of the custom or belief in question, or to let his attention slacken for a moment, or to give an inaccurate meaning to expressions which baffle all direct translation. Morocco offered the double advantage of being little known and within easy reach of Europe. I went there time after time; and in the course of twenty-one journeys undertaken in the period between 1898 and 1926 I spent there altogether seven years.

I made it a point to visit towns and tribes in different parts of the country, and to employ as teachers natives of other tribes to which I could not go myself. Thus I spent half a year in Fez; the same length of time among the mountains of Andjra, and several weeks among the Jbâla of Jbel Ḥbīb and the Sáḥel; many months in the Faḥṣ and the Ġarbîya; nearly two months among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz in Dukkâla, besides which I had daily intercourse with people of this tribe during my five months' stay in

Mazagan ; a shorter time among the Beni Ăḥsen and the Mnáṣăra ; three months among the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas range ; and many months in Marráksh and Mogador, where I had Shlöḥ as my teachers. During my stay in Fez and Ṣĕfru and the excursions I made from the latter place to the surrounding tribe of the Aiṭ Yúsi, I had an opportunity to study the Berbers belonging to the group of the Brâber ; and at Tangier and Tetuan I came in very frequent contact with Berbers from the Rīf.

In those days when I made nearly all my journeys in the interior of the country there were no roads, and very many districts were inaccessible to travellers. Even for my sojourn in Andjra, which was then in a disturbed state, the Russian legation required of me a written statement to the effect that I went there entirely at my own risk. Yet the treatment I received there, as well as among other mountaineers and peasants not generally noted for friendliness towards Europeans, was invariably of the kindliest nature. For this I have to thank my Moorish friend Shereef 'Abdsslam l-Baqqâli, who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Morocco and given me invaluable assistance. I am happy to say that the President of the Republic of Finland has been pleased to confer on him knighthood of the order of " Finlands Vita Ros " as a reward for the services he has rendered me.

From a sociological point of view Morocco is much better known now than it was at the time when I commenced my researches. This is chiefly due to numerous important publications which have appeared in French during the last quarter of a century, though Mr. Budgett Meakin's books also deserve recognition. The literary activity of La Mission scientifique du Maroc, Le Comité d'Études berbères de Rabat, l'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat, and L'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, has been imposing ; and valuable works have, in addition, appeared outside the range of their publications. Much attention has been bestowed on the particular subject with which I am dealing in the present book. Various points of it have been ably treated by Messrs. Doutté, Laoust, Henri Basset, and others ; and if the object of my book

had been to give a comprehensive account of all that is known about the popular religion and magic of Morocco, their names would certainly have appeared more frequently in its pages. But its aim is less ambitious, being chiefly restricted to a presentation and discussion of the results of my own researches among the natives.

A considerable portion of these results have been previously published in the following essays and articles :— " The Nature of the Arab *Ǧinn*, illustrated by the present Beliefs of the People of Morocco ", in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxix. (1900) ; " The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs ", *ibid.* vol. xxxiv. (1904) ; " Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco ", in *Actes du douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Rome, 1899*, vol. iii. pt. i. (Florence, 1902) ; " Midsummer Customs in Morocco ", in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. (1905) ; " The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco ", *ibid.* vol. xxii. (1911) ; " *L-'âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco ", in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907) ; *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps - Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. liv. 1911–12, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1913) ; *The Moorish Conception of Holiness* (*Baraka*) (the same series, vol. lviii., 1915–16, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1916) ; *The Belief in Spirits in Morocco* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, vol. i. No. 1 ; Åbo, 1920). The facts and most of the theories in these publications have, more or less revised, been incorporated in the present work, but a large number of facts have been added, and the subjects concerned have also in other respects been treated more fully. Moreover, many new subjects, not previously dealt with by me, have been introduced ; so that at least one half of the work may be said to be completely new. Other results of my researches, not embodied in this book, are found in a purely linguistical essay, *Nomina im status absolutus und status annexus in der südmarokkanischen Berbersprache* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. lvi. 1913–14, sec.

B, No. 3; Helsingfors, 1914); and in my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), a French translation of which, made by Madame J. Arin, has been issued by L'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat (Paris, 1921).

I beg to express my most sincere thanks to Miss Helena Hadley for kindly reading over both the manuscript and the proofs. To her suggestions I am indebted for the improvement of many phrases and expressions, as also to some references to books with which she has supplied me when I have been out of reach of an adequate library. I have to thank my friend Professor C. G. Seligman for stimulating discussions and for information on certain points.

I gratefully acknowledge the material support given me by the Rockefeller Research Fund Committee at the London School of Economics and Political Science by making liberal grants towards the expenses for my journeys to Morocco in the summers of 1924 and 1925.

My friend Carl Dahl, Consul-General of Sweden at Tangier, has much contributed to my comfort by his kindness in placing at my disposal his delightful country house for the many months I spent in Morocco in the course of the last two years.

E. W.

Villa Balbina, outside Tangier,
30*th March* 1926.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

In rendering Arabic and Berber words and phrases used in Morocco I endeavour to represent them as they are pronounced by the natives, independently of the written Arabic. As the same word is often pronounced differently in different places, and by different persons, the reader should not accuse me of inconsistency if he finds it spelt sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

My system of transliterating the Arabic consonants is the following :—

B represents ب ; *d* د, or ذ when pronounced as the English *d* ; *ḏ* ذ when pronounced as *th* in *this* [1] ; *ḍ* ض, or ظ when pronounced as ض ; *ḍ̣* ظ when not pronounced as ض [2] ; *f* ف, in Morocco written ڤ ; *g* ج or ق, in Morocco written گ, when these letters are pronounced as *g* in *grand*, a sound for which the Moors also use a ك with three dots above it ; *ġ* غ ; *h* ه ; *ḥ* ح ; *ḫ* خ ; *j* ج when pronounced as the French *j*, *dj* (or, if the sound is doubled, *ddj*) representing the same letter when pronounced as the English *j* ; *k* ك ; *l* ل [3] ; *m* م ; *n* ن ; *q* ق (Moorish ڤ) ; *r* ر ; *s* س ; *ṣ* ص ; *š* ش (a letter which is also represented by *sh* in names of common occurrence) ; *t* ت, or ث when pronounced as the English *t* ; *ṯ* ث when pronounced as *th* in *thing* ; *ṭ* ط ;

[1] Among the Jbâla the ذ of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[2] In Andjra the ض of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[3] *L-* represents the definite article ال.

t^s ـتـ or ـثـ, when these letters are pronounced as *ts*; *w* و when pronounced as *w* in *will*; *y* ي when pronounced as *y* in *yoke*; *z* ز; ' ع ' ء (*hamza*).

In some Berber words the following signs are also used :—

g^y, to represent a sound which to me appeared almost as a strongly pronounced consonantal *y*, but which my Berber scribe from the Aiṯ Sádděn, who had a remarkably fine ear, considered to be more closely related to a *g*; *ḫ*, corresponding to the German *ch* in *ich*; *ñ*, to be pronounced as *n* in *bank*; and a small letter above the line (^{k}, $^{\tilde{n}}$, ^{r}, $^{\dot{t}}$, ^{w}, or ^{y}), to be pronounced with a reduced sound.

The vowels are, at least approximately, to be pronounced—

A as in Italian; *å* between *a* and *o*; *ą* between *a* and *ä*; *ä* as in *fat*; *e* as in *met*; *ę* between *e* and *i*; *i* as in *this*; *o* as in *not*; *ö* as in German; *u* as in *put*; *ů* between *u* and *o*; *ü* between *i* and the French *u*.

The sign ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ˆ that it is long and accentuated; ˘ that it is very short; ′ that it is accentuated.

The vowel sounds of the words are subject to great variations, not only in different localities, but in the same locality, and even in the mouth of the same individual. The length of the vowel, in particular, is a very difficult matter, both because it is so changeable, and because it allows of so many different degrees; and it is equally difficult in many cases to distinguish between the presence or absence of a vowel sound before a consonant or between two consonants. In these respects absolute accuracy may, in fact, be impossible without the aid of phonetical instruments.[1] I have only made use of the signs ¯, ˆ, and ˘ in cases when I have distinctly heard the sound pronounced either long or very short, but the omission of any such sign does not *eo ipso* imply that it might not have been used, nor does the use of it imply that the vowel is always pronounced long or very short, or, in the latter case, that a vowel sound is

[1] *Cf.* Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. xi.

always present. Some distinguished students of colloquial Arabic have (largely, I believe, under the influence of the written language) applied the symbol for length more liberally than my ear has allowed me to do; vowels which in the Arabic writing are marked as long have a distinct tendency to be pronounced short in syllables which are not accentuated. The accent is also very changeable both in Arabic and Berber words, and ′ or ˆ over a vowel only indicates that I have heard the syllable in which it occurs accentuated, not that it invariably is so; and in Berber words the sign for the accent has very frequently been omitted.[1]

[1] On the accent in Berber see Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilḥischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 14; Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 44 *sqq*.

LIST OF TRIBES, DISTRICTS, TOWNS, AND OTHER LARGE PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

'Abda, district in the neighbourhood of Saffi inhabited by "Arabs".
Agadīr Iġīr, town on the coast of Sūs.
Aglu, large place on the coast of Sūs.
Ait 'Attab, Berbers living north-east of Demnat.
Ait Ba'ămran, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Bráyim, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Bůṭṭaib, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Buwúlli, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Ait Mdîwal, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Aiṯ Mjilḏ, Brâber.
Ait Mzal, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Aiṯ Nḏēr, Brâber.
Aiṯ Sádděn, Brâber.
Ait Seġrůššěn, Brâber.
Ait Táměldu, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region
Ait Temsâmän, Rifians.
Ait Waráin, Brâber.
Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Rifians.
Ait Wauzgit, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region
Aiṯ Yúsi, Brâber.
Ait Zělḍn, Shlöḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Alcazar, town in the interior.
Amanūz, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Amzmiz, small town in the district of the Igdmiūn.
Andjra (=An^{d}jra), tribal district among the Jbâla.
Aštûkěn, Shlöḥ in Sūs.

Aṭ Buséggu, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Yá'la, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Ziḫri, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Azemmur, town on the Atlantic coast.
Azîla, town on the Atlantic coast.
Beni Ăḥsen, "Arab" tribe in the neighbourhood of Salli.
Bni 'Ăroṣ, Jbâla.
Bni Ḥássą̄n, Jbâla.
Bni Mĕssâra, Jbâla.
Bni Mezgélda, Jbâla.
Bni Mṣáuwar, Jbâla.
Bni Zą́rwą̣l, Jbâla.
Casablanca, town on the Atlantic coast.
Ceuta, town on the Mediterranean coast.
Demnat, town at the foot of the Great Atlas.
Dukkâla, district between Azemmur and Saffi inhabited by "Arabs".
Faḥṣ, tribal district outside Tangier.
Fęšt^{s}âla, Jbâla.
Fez, the chief city of Morocco.
Fṭûâka. *See* Infḍûak.
Ġaiyât^{s}a, "Arab" tribe east of Fez.
Ġarb, district inhabited by "Arabs".
Ġarbîya, tribal district with Arabic-speaking people in Northern Morocco.
Ġęġáya. *See* Iġiġain.
Glawi, tribal district in the Great Atlas inhabited by the Iglíwa.
Ġzáwa, Jbâla.
Habṭ, ancient name for a district comprising the plains of the Ġarb and the Ḫloṭ and a portion of the mountains inhabited by Jbâla.
Ḥáḥa, district in the Great Atlas region inhabited by Shlöḥ.
Ḥămár, district south of Dukkâla inhabited by "Arabs".
Ḥiáina, "Arab" tribe near Fez.
Ḫloṭ, tribal district in Northern Morocco inhabited by "Arabs".

Ḥmaṣ, lá-, Jbâla.
Ibqqóyeṇ, Rifians.
Ida Ggw̆ârsmůgt, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ida Ugŏrḍ, Shlöḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Ida Utânan, Shlöḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Igdmiūn, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Igerwạn, Brâber.
Iġiġain, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Iglíwa, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas.
Iḥaḥan, the Shlöḥ inhabiting Ḥáḥa.
Imărmůšĕn, Brâber.
Imĕjjaṭ, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Imintagen, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Imintâtelt, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Imsfíwan, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Infḍůak, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Inĭknâfĕn, Shlöḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Isksáwan, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas.
Iurīkĕṇ, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Jbel Ḥbīb, tribal district among the Jbâla.
Laraiche, town on the Atlantic coast.
Marráksh, the southern capital of Morocco.
Masst, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Mazagan, town on the Atlantic coast.
Mehdîya, port on the Atlantic coast.
Melilla, town on the coast of the Rīf.
Mequinez, town in the interior.
Mesfíwa. *See* Imsfíwan.
Mnáṣăra, " Arabs " on the Atlantic coast north of Mehdîya.
Mogador, town on the Atlantic coast.
Ntîfa, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Rabat, town on the Atlantic coast.
Raḥámna, district between Dukkâla and Marráksh inhabited by " Arabs ".
Rīf, province situated along the eastern part of the Mediterranean coast of Morocco.
Saffi, town on the Atlantic coast.
Sáḥel, Jbâla.
Salli, town on the Atlantic coast.

Ṣĕfru, small town in the interior south-east of Fez, in the district of the Aiṯ Yúsi.
Sĕksáwa. *See* Isksáwan.
Settat, place in the Shāwîa.
Shāwîa, district south of Casablanca inhabited by " Arabs ".
Shiáḍma, district between 'Abda and Ḥáḥa inhabited by " Arabs ".
Shrâga, " Arabs " living north-west of Fez.
Shrárda, " Arabs " in the Ġarb.
Sūs, province situated south of the Great Atlas.
Tafilelt, district in the Sahara.
Tangier, town on the northern coast.
Tarudant, the capital of Sūs.
Tazĕrwalt, tribal district in Sūs inhabited by Shlöḥ.
Ṯemsâmän, tribal district in the Rīf inhabited by the Ait Temsâmän.
Tetuan, town close to the Mediterranean coast.
Tinduf, caravan centre in the Moorish Sahara.
Tiznit, large place in Sūs.
Tsūl, Jbâla.
Ūdáya, l-, " Arab " tribe in the neighbourhood of Marráksh.
Ujda, small town in the north-eastern corner of Morocco.
Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, " Arab " tribe in Dukkâla.
Ulâd Fraj, " Arab " tribe in Dukkâla.
Ůnzůṭṭ, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas.
Urîka. *See* Iurīkĕn.
Wazzan, town in the interior.
Z'air, " Arab " tribe in the neighbourhood of Rabat.
Zärhūn, mountain north of Mequinez with a town containing the shrine of Mûlăi Idrīs the Elder.
Zemmūr, Brâber.
Zkara. *See* Aṯ Zihri.

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CHAPTER I

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INTRODUCTION

THE Muhammadan natives of Morocco are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs was spread over the whole country, has in a large part of it been superseded by the tongue of the invaders. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term "Berber" is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called by themselves Irifīyẹn and in Arabic Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast between a line about forty miles south-east of Tetuan and the neighbourhood of the Algerian frontier; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Shlöḥ, or Išelḥīn as they call themselves, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the neighbourhood of Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the Drâwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wād Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. A fifth group consists of various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-eastern corner of the country. All the Berber-speaking people are called by a Berber name Imazīġĕn.

This division into groups is based not only on geographical but also on linguistic considerations. The dialects of the tribes belonging to the same group have greater

resemblance than those spoken within different groups, which may differ greatly both in their words and sounds. A Rifian told me that when he heard the talk of Brâber or Shlöḥ he could only recognise a few of the words, while a Berber from

Fig. 1.—Sîdi 'Abdsslam l-Baqqâli in Andjra.

the south, who had travelled much, said that he could understand the Brâber with difficulty, but the Rifians not at all. There is, however, no sharp line of demarcation between the dialects of the southern and central Berbers, as there is no very definite geographical border between those people; whereas the dialectic differences inside the latter group may

be quite considerable. The language even of neighbouring tribes, like the Aiṯ Sádděn and the Ait Waráin, may differ so much in its vocabulary and phonetics that a member of the one tribe sometimes finds it difficult to understand a member of the other, and, as I have tested myself, is unable to imitate certain sounds of his dialect. The dialects of the Rīf [1] also

Fig. 2.—Scribe from Fez (my secretary).

present more dissimilarities than the Shelḥa, the language of the Shlöḥ, which is comparatively homogeneous, phonetically as well as otherwise. Yet in every Berber tribe there are linguistic peculiarities, which may be quite notable even inside the same tribe. The explanation of the remarkable differentiation of the Berber language is not far to seek. It

[1] See Biarnay, *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif* (Paris, 1917).

lies partly in the complete absence of a written standard, and partly in the vastness of the territory inhabited by the Berbers and the lack of contact between the different groups or even sections of the same group.[1]

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the 'Arab ("Arabs"), who inhabit most of the plains; the Jbâla ("mountaineers") who inhabit the mountain region extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the neighbourhood of Fez and to the west and south of the Rīf; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as "Moors", although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammadan population of Morocco in general. The dialectic differences of the Arabic of Morocco are infinitely smaller than those of the Berber idioms. The pronunciation of ـتـ and ـثـ as *ts* (*t*^{s}) in Northern Morocco and of ـڤـ (Moorish ـڤ) as *g* among the 'Arab is particularly conspicuous.

Although Arabic is spoken over a much smaller area of the country than Berber, it is nevertheless the dominant language, being that of the Government and administration, the religious creed, and the higher culture. Berber is despised as a barbarous jargon. There is an Arabic saying, *Lá-'sel ma hûwa ídạm, l-bčšna ma hîya tă'âm, š-ščlḥa ma hîya klạm*, "Honey is not grease, durra is not food, Shelḥa is not a language". The Berbers themselves look upon their language as much inferior to Arabic, and those who have learned Arabic—many of them are bilingual—are often ashamed of speaking their mother-tongue. More than once I noticed the glad surprise shown by my Berber teachers at the interest I took in it, and their answers were in the beginning not infrequently accompanied with a friendly smile.[2] But although the Berbers respect the Arabic language, they do not like the 'Arab. The Shlöḥ accuse

[1] For the classification and mutual relations of the Berber dialects of Morocco *cf.* Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilḥischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 3 *sq.*; Laoust, 'Coup d'œil sur les Études dialectales berbères au Maroc', in *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1920), p. 117 *sqq.*; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), p. 51 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Basset, *op. cit.* p. 34 *sq.*

them of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them *izakärn* (Iglíwa) or *izäkârĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; the Aiṯ Sádděn call them *iḫššóḍĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit

Fig. 3.—College student in Fez.

intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only an indication of language, not of race. There can be no doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in

[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

Morocco are purely or essentially Berber by origin. The number of Arab immigrants from the East can only have been comparatively small. Those who came there as conquerors at the end of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century were only a handful of people. The chief invasion took place in the eleventh century, when several Bedouin tribes settled down in Barbary. Ibn ar-Raqīq estimated the number of these invaders at more than a million persons of both sexes and the number of combatants at fifty thousand;[1] but it seems that his estimates are considerably exaggerated.[2] In any case the invaders were spread over a large area, from Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, and we may presume that only a minority of them reached Morocco.[3] An anthropological investigation of over eight thousand natives of Eastern Barbary has led Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre to the conclusion that the number of Arab immigrants has always been insufficient to impress their type on the mass of the people, and that "the so-called Arab tribes of North Africa present the same somatic characteristics as other tribes which are incontestably Berbers".[4] It seems that among the tribes of Morocco north of the Great Atlas range a fair quantity of Arab blood may be found chiefly in those living between Alcazar and Laraiche and between the rivers Bū Ragrág and Ůmm r-Rbē' and a little farther south, whereas the other Arabic-speaking tribes mostly consist of Arabised Berbers who have changed their language.[5] I desire to emphasise that in speaking of "Arabs" in Morocco I simply make use of a term by which the people themselves denote the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the plains, while by "Berbers" I mean Berber-speaking people.

[1] Ibn ar-Raqīq, quoted by Marmol Caravajal, *L'Afrique*, i. (Paris, 1677), p. 275; and by Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by J. Pory (London, 1896), p. 139.

[2] G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), pp. 113, 733.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 515 *sq.*

[4] Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), pp. 347, 358.

[5] See Marçais, *op. cit.* map.

The various groups of tribes, Berber and Arabic-speaking, have also more or less their peculiar customs and mode of life, but to what extent this is the case cannot, of course, be discussed in the present connection. At the same time there may also be a greater resemblance in customs between Arabs and Berbers living in the same neighbourhood than between tribes belonging to the same group. As the dwellings of the people will be frequently referred to in the descriptions of their rites or customs, it may be well to know that the Jbâla,

FIG. 4.—My travelling companions: a Rifian (left), Sîdi 'Abdsslam (mounted), and two Jbâla from Andjra.

the Rifians, and the Shlöḥ live in houses, that most of the Arabs and the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Ujda live in tents, and that among the Brâber some tribes live in houses and others in tents or both in houses and tents. There were nomadic Berbers living in tents before the arrival of the Bedouins.[1]

I have during my journeys to Morocco studied the customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, with the exception of the Drâwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure sufficiently trustworthy information. In this book

[1] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by Baron de Slane, i. (Alger, 1852), pp. 167, 177.

the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Aiṯ Wäryâġer and Ait Temsâmän ; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi ; the Brâber by the Aiṯ Sáddĕn, Aiṯ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Nḏēr, and Aiṯ Mjilḏ ; the Shlöḥ by the Iglíwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marráksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs ; the Arabs by the natives of the Ġarbîya to the south of Tangier, the Mnáṣăra and Beni Ăḥsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and Ulâd Frạj in Dukkâla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Ḥiáina in the neighbourhood of Fez ; the Jbâla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Ḥbīb and the Bni 'Ăroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district ; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to use information given me about a tribe by members of other tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding ; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details

is remarkable ; and the patience of many of my teachers has been beyond praise.

In my study of the various rites I have not been content

FIG. 5.—Berber from the Rīf.

with ascertaining the bare external facts, but have, so far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying them The reader will find that the explanations given by the natives themselves are not always alike. The reason for this

is probably that the real origin of the rite has been partly or wholly forgotten, and a new interpretation substituted for the idea from which it sprung. It is well known that rites are very apt to survive the ideas in which they have originated. This, however, should not make the field-ethnologist less eager to find out the present meaning attached to the facts he records ; for whether or no it be the original meaning, it gives us in any case some insight into the ideas of existing people, and these are by themselves important subjects of inquiry. But I maintain that the aim of the field-ethnologist should not be only to observe and describe. Where the meaning of a custom is obscure or lost, his general knowledge of the native mind and its ways of thinking and feeling ought to enable him to make valuable conjectures. I thoroughly disagree with the principle which I once heard expressed by the reader of a paper on some savage tribes at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, that the field-ethnologist should only aim at collecting facts and leave it to the ethnologists at home to explain them. But he must, of course, take the utmost care to avoid mixing up his own interpretations of facts with the observed facts themselves. This is a rule which I have strictly followed. While all explanations given without any qualification are statements expressly made by my native informants, or are directly implied in their statements, those suggested by myself are invariably, in some way or other, marked as my own interpretations.

The difficulties in finding the ultimate psychological origins of rites are frequently increased by the obscurity of their historical origins. A custom may spring up spontaneously among a certain people or tribe, or it may be imported from some other people or community ; and to be complete, the study of it must be concerned not only with its intrinsic meaning but also with the question whether it has a native origin or not, and, in the latter case, from where it has been introduced. This study of its history is often beset with difficulties, which indeed may be unsurmountable. It requires a profound knowledge not only of the customs of the ethnic group which is the subject of the investigation but of

those of other people with whom it has come in contact; and even with such a knowledge it may in many cases be impossible to decide with certainty whether we have to do with a loan or not. Considering how often absolutely identical customs are found among races living in very different parts of the world, in circumstances which seem to exclude all possibility of a common origin, we have to take account of the fact that such customs may also have grown up among peoples who are of the same stock or have come

FIG. 6.—Berbers from the Aṯ Ubáḥṯi.

into contact with one another. Indeed, the more similar two peoples are, the greater is the probability that new details in their culture may also resemble each other; from seeds of the same kind very similar plants spring up. I have been very conscious of these difficulties in my attempt to trace the historical origin of rites and beliefs recorded in the present work. In many cases it has been quite easy to accomplish, but in others it has only resulted in more or less plausible conjectures; and frequently I have been obliged to abstain from any such attempt, because I have found it a hopeless task.

The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences

from various quarters. The latest, and from the point of view of religion greatest, wave of this kind came with the Arabic invasions, which brought to them Islam. And hand in hand with the rites and doctrines of their religion the Arabs introduced other customs and beliefs, even such as were actually forbidden by it; a rite of this kind is presumably the irreligious lamentations and self-lacerations of the female mourners which are practised by some of the Berbers, as well as by the Arabs.[1] The Bedouins who settled down on the plains of Morocco in the eleventh century were themselves very imperfectly Islamised, and their impiety and cynicism sometimes scandalised even the native inhabitants of the country;[2] yet they may have influenced the latter's customs and beliefs. The resemblances in these respects between the Berbers, as well as Arabs of Morocco, and the Arabs of the East, many of which will be pointed out on subsequent pages, are so manifold, even in little details, that we may assume a considerable Arab influence falling outside the pale of Islam. But on the other hand it is certain that many of these resemblances are *not* due to such influence; various forms of nature-worship may serve as an instance of this. Owing to our very deficient knowledge of the ancient Berbers, however, it is frequently impossible to say what is Arab by origin and what is Berber, and it may be futile even to make a conjecture on this point. We have, moreover, to take note of the fact that some similarities between the natives of Morocco and Arabic-speaking people of the East may have been caused by a common participation in an ancient Mediterranean culture. Instances of this will, for example, be found in the chapters on the evil eye, the agricultural rites, and the funeral and mourning ceremonies.

There has also been a Negro influence, which among the Berbers of the South no doubt commenced at a very early period when the southern border of their territory was more northerly than it is now,[3] and which has been maintained in later times through the influx of Negro slaves. This influence

[1] *Infra*, ii. 494 *sq.* [2] Marçais, *op. cit.* p. 713 *sq.*

[3] R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, quoted by van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (Paris, 1920), p. 257 *sq.*

is very conspicuous in the rites of the Gnâwa,[1] and will probably prove to have had a considerably larger scope than is known at present.[2]

Several writers have perceived in certain Berber customs traces of Christian beliefs.[3] Christianity entered North Africa at an early date, and in the time of the Arab invasions there were a number of Christianised Berber tribes.[4] In Morocco Christian Berbers are said to have existed more than a century after the appearance of Islam, when Mûlâi Idrîs

FIG. 7.—Among the Aiṭ Yúsi.

subdued the last Berbers in that country who still remained "Christians, Jews, or idolaters".[5] It does not seem, however, that Christianity ever gained any considerable hold of the Berbers. In more recent times there were settlements

[1] *Infra*, i. 379 *sqq.* See also *infra*, i. 381 *sq.*

[2] On this subject *cf.* van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 257 *sqq.*

[3] See Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire* (London, 1899), p. 309 *sq.*; *Idem*, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 395.

[4] Joannes Abbas, 'Chronicon', in Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, lxxii. (Parisiis, 1849), col. 866; Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, ed. and trans. by Tornberg (Upsaliae, 1843), p. 15; Ibn Ḫaldūn, *op. cit.* i. 177, 207, 209; Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* i. 163.

[5] *Raôḍ al-Qarṭās*, trans. by Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 16.

of Christian slaves, who are supposed to have left some impress on the native population.[1] But the conjectured survivals of a Christian influence are anyhow exceedingly scanty. The supposition that the cross in modern Berber tattooing and ornamentation is a relic of this kind is the more unwarranted since the cross is also seen as an ornament in the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans;[2] but the case is different with the Sunday rest observed by the women of some Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez.[3] According to Leo Africanus it was the custom in Fez to eat certain dainties on Christmas eve;[4] but I was told that no such custom exists there at present.

Ancient Roman influence is conspicuous in certain rites;[5] and in one or two cases I think I have identified traces of the religion of Carthage, due to the Punic colonisation.[6] Resemblances have been found between the religion of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Libyans, including the Berbers of the West, but there have been different opinions as to their explanation.[7] Such likenesses are not necessarily due to Egyptian influence. Mr. Bates suggests that, just as a definite Libyan element is knit into the Egyptian language, so there are, in all probability, Libyan elements in the Egyptian religion.[8]

Finally it should be noticed that a very large number of rites and beliefs in Morocco are identical with, or very similar to, rites and beliefs found on the other side of the Mediterranean. Many such cases will be mentioned in the present work, but its scope does not allow an adequate discussion of this vast and difficult subject. The similarities may be partly due to "the like working of men's minds under like conditions" (as Tylor put it[9]), but largely also

[1] Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 309 *sq.*

[2] *Infra*, i. 451 *sq.* [3] *Infra*, i. 134, 226.

[4] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 452 *sq.* *Cf.* Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 519; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 373 *sq.*

[5] *Infra*, ii. 153 *sqq.* [6] *Infra*, i. 395 *sq.*

[7] *Infra*, i. 100 *sq.* *Cf.* ii. 86, 253.

[8] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 207.

[9] Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (London, 1878), p. 5.

to the contact of peoples or to a common descent. The Berbers are generally considered to belong to a northern branch of the Hamitic stock, though the opinion has been expressed [1] that they are not Hamites by race but conquerors of the Hamitic aborigines of North Africa who adopted the language of the conquered. In any case it seems difficult to doubt that a very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers are members of a race which was once spread over the Mediterranean basin, and which has been called the Mediterranean race, whatever the origin of this race may be. It is

FIG. 8.—Among the Aiṭ Yúsi.

characterised by black hair and brown eyes ; but among the Berbers there is also an appreciable element of blondness. In Morocco blond people are in fact very frequent among the Rifians [2] and by no means rare among the Brâber [3] and the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas ; and there are such people in the

[1] Lissauer, 'Archäologische und anthropologische Studien über die Kabylen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl. (Berlin, 1908), p. 527.

[2] See also Mrs. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay* (London, 1896), p. 153 ; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc* (*1899-1901*) (Paris, 1903), p. 47 ; de la Martinière, *Morocco : Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan* (London, 1889), p. 69.

[3] See also de Segonzac, *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166, 229. According to Harris (*Tafilet* [Edinburgh & London, 1895], p. 159), there are some blue-eyed persons among the Drâwa.

mountains of Algeria as well.[1] This blondness among the Berbers has been explained in different ways.[2] It has been attributed to immigration from Europe. The invasion of the Vandals would of course be quite insufficient to account for it, since blond people are known to have existed in North Africa long before their arrival;[3] but it is supposed that at a much earlier time an immigration took place from the north of Europe, the land of the blonds, across the Straits of Gibraltar.[4] This hypothesis is based partly on the fact that a large agglomeration of blonds is only found in that region of the world, and partly on the occurrence of dolmens in a continuous line from the shore of the Baltic to Tunis which are considered to mark the path of the migration. According to another theory, the blondness is, largely at least, indigenous to Africa, being due to the influence of external conditions, more particularly to that of altitude,[5] or to spontaneous variation of unknown origin.[6] The problem cannot be regarded as definitely solved; but I believe that most students of racial biology would nowadays favour the idea of the infusion of foreign blood as the cause of the blondness.

Before concluding my introductory remarks I desire to

[1] Randall-Maciver and Wilkin, *Libyan Notes* (London, 1901), pp. 29, 30, 97 *sq.*; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* pp. 518, 525; Steensby, 'Nogle etnografiske Iakttagelser fra en Rejse i Algier og Tunis 1908', in *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, xx. (Kjøbenhavn, 1909–10), p. 68; Hilton-Simpson, 'The Influence of its Geography on the People of the Aures massif, Algeria', in *The Geographical Journal*, lix. (London, 1922), p. 23.

[2] See also Topinard, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Deuxième partie: Instructions particulières', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 645 *sq.*; Ripley, *The Races of Europe* (London, 1900), p. 279.

[3] Bates, *op. cit.* p. 39 *sqq.*; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. (Berlin, 1917), p. 622 n. 1.

[4] Faidherbe, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Première partie: Considérations générales', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 605 *sq.*; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* p. 526 *sq.*; Mehlis, 'Die Berberfrage', in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, new ser. vol. viii. (Braunschweig, 1909), p. 285; Schrader, 'Le Maghreb', in *Revue anthropologique*, xxiii. (Paris, 1913), p. 83.

[5] Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race* (London, 1901), p. 74 *sq.*; Ripley, *op. cit.* p. 280.

[6] Steensby, *loc. cit.* p. 68.

say a few words on the meaning I attach to the terms religion and magic, as there has been much controversy as to the proper use of these terms. In my definitions of them I shall try so far as possible to follow the common usage ; but as the popular use of terms is often vague, it may be necessary for scientific purposes to give them a more definite meaning.

In expounding my own views on the subject I find it most convenient to begin with an examination of the views of others. As starting-point I shall choose Sir James

FIG. 9.—In Dukkâla.

Frazer's chapter on 'Magic and Religion' in *The Magic Art*,[1] although his ideas are so well known that I almost owe an apology for repeating them. By religion Frazer understands "a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life". Thus defined it "consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man, and an attempt to propitiate or please them". It is not necessary, however, that religious

[1] Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, i. (London, 1911), p. 220 *sqq.*

practice should always take the form of a ritual ; its aim is to please the deity, and if the deity is one who delights in charity and mercy and purity more than in oblations of blood, the chanting of hymns, and the fumes of incense, his worshippers will best please him by being pure and merciful and charitable towards men. Magic, on the other hand, deals with " impersonal forces ", and aims at control or constraint, not conciliation. It is true that it often seeks to affect spirits, who are personal agents of the kind assumed

Fig. 10.—Boy in the Ġarbîya. *Photograph by Dr. Alan Gardiner.*

by religion, as well as men or inanimate objects ; but whenever it does so in its proper form, it constrains or coerces instead of conciliating or propitiating them, as religion would do. For it assumes that all personal beings, whether human or divine, are in the last resort " subject to those impersonal forces which control all things ", to " the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically ".

I think that Frazer has well brought out the difference between religion and magic. The religious practice is essentially worship of spiritual beings, the magical practice

is essentially coercion. The religious attitude is in its nature respectful and humble, the magical attitude is domineering and self-assertive. At the root of the difference between religion and magic there is thus a difference in the mental state of the persons who practise them. So far as religion is concerned, this agrees well with the notion so forcibly expressed by Schleiermacher, that the religious feeling is in its essence a feeling of dependence; whereas the word magician invariably suggests the idea of a person who claims to possess power and to know how to wield it in the magic art. In order to achieve his aim he may make use of spirits,

FIG. 11.—Country schoolboys.

but then he coerces them to submit to his will; if he tried to gain their assistance by propitiating them, his attitude would be religious, not magical. The magical force acts mechanically, and it may be inherent not only in personal beings but in animals and plants and all sorts of inanimate things. This view of magic finds support in mediæval conceptions of it. It is true that the theologians mostly attributed the success of magic to demons, who were enticed by men to work marvels; but the demons were able to do so largely through their superior knowledge of the forces of nature.[1] And besides the marvels worked by spirits, there

[1] Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, ii. (London, 1923), pp. 343, 973.

were others which were produced without their aid, simply by the wonderful occult virtues inherent in certain objects of nature. To marvels wrought in this manner William of Auvergne applied the term "natural magic".[1] Albertus Magnus likewise associated magic with natural forces and the stars, as well as with demons;[2] and Thomas Aquinas, though strongly upholding the opinion that magic is due to demons, gives us a glimpse of a different conception of it, according to which magicians were able by personal qualifications, by subtle use of occult natural properties, by rites and ceremonies, and by the art of astrology, either to work wonders directly and immediately or to coerce demons to work wonders for them.[3]

While I thus substantially agree with Frazer in his distinction between religion and magic, I think he has, in his theoretical discussion of the relation between them, overlooked what they have in common. He calls magic "the bastard sister of science". Both magic and science, he says, assume that "the succession of events is perfectly regular and certain, being determined by immutable laws, the operation of which can be foreseen and calculated precisely"; but unlike science, magic misunderstands the nature of the particular laws which govern that sequence. It is nothing but a mistaken application of the very simplest and most elementary processes of the mind, namely, the association of ideas by virtue of resemblance or contiguity. That such associations play an exceedingly important part in magic has been abundantly proved, but all magic can certainly not be said to be a mistaken application of them or be reduced to what Frazer calls "sympathetic magic". His two branches of it, homœopathic magic and contagious magic, cannot even be regarded as co-ordinate subdivisions of magic: while the former consists in an act which is supposed to produce an effect resembling its cause, the notion on which contagious magic proceeds—namely, that things which have once been conjoined must remain so ever afterwards—requires an act of some kind or other to be magic at all, if by magic is under-

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* ii. 343. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 553. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 604 *sq.*

stood action and not a mere idea. On the other hand, there is one characteristic common to all magical practices and the magical forces applied in them, which curiously enough has found no place in Frazer's general theory, although he, of course, is cognisant of it.[1] Nothing is more prominent in popular notions concerning magic, as well as in the descriptions of it given by mediæval writers, than its marvellousness, mysteriousness, occultness, uncanniness.[2] It is this that makes magic akin to religion.

FIG. 12.—Village in the Fahṣ (Northern Morocco).

Men distinguish between phenomena which they are familiar with and consequently ascribe to "natural" causes,

[1] He says in one place (*op. cit.* i. 111 n. 2) that he regards a supposed mysterious force "as supplying, so to say, the physical basis both of magic and of taboo, while the logical basis of both is furnished by a misapplication of the laws of the association of ideas".

[2] Dr. Malinowski, who possesses a profound first-hand knowledge of savage magic, observes, in his book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922, p. 420 *sq.*), that "the effects of magic, although constantly witnessed, and although considered as a fundamental fact, are regarded as something distinctly different from the effects of other human activities. . . . The effects of magic are something superadded to all the other effects produced by human effort and by natural qualities. . . . Magic represents, so to speak, a different sort of reality—'supernatural' or 'super-normal'".

and other phenomena which seem to them unfamiliar and mysterious and are therefore looked upon as "supernatural" or are supposed to spring from "supernatural" causes. We meet with this distinction among savages as well as civilised races. It may be that in the mind of a savage the natural and the supernatural often overlap, that no definite line can be drawn between the phenomena which he refers to one class and those which he refers to the other;[1] but he certainly sees a difference between events of everyday occurrence or ordinary objects of nature and other events or objects which fill him with a feeling of wonder or mysterious awe. This is testified by language. Words like the Algonkin *manitou*, the Dacotah *wakan* or *wakanda*, the Melanesian *mana*, the Fijian *kalou*, the Maori *atua*, the Malagasy *ndriamanitra*, are used to denote a mysterious force or something wonderful or divine. And the testimony of language is corroborated by facts relating to the nature of those objects which are most commonly worshipped. A great cataract, a difficult and dangerous ford in a river, a spring bubbling up from the ground, a volcano, a high mountain, an isolated rock, a curious or unusually large tree, intoxicants and stimulants, animals of an unusual size or appearance, persons suffering from some abnormality, such as deformity, albinoism, or madness—all are looked upon by savages with superstitious regard or are propitiated with offerings.[2]

That the objects of religious worship, as well as the forces applied in magic, are fundamentally more or less mysterious, awe-inspiring, supernatural, seems to me to be a well-established fact, in spite of Professor Durkheim's assertion that the idea of the mysterious has a place in a small number of advanced religions only, and cannot therefore be regarded as a characteristic of the religious phenomena without excluding from the definition most of the facts which should be defined.[3] I think that the feeling of mystery and the

[1] *Cf. infra*, i. 146 *sq.*

[2] See my book *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), p. 586 *sqq.*

[3] Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (Paris, 1912), p. 39 *sq.*

germ of a distinction between the natural and the supernatural are found even in the lower animal world. The horse fears the whip, but it does not make him shy ; on the other hand, he may shy when he sees an umbrella opened before him or a paper moving on the ground. The whip is well known to the horse, whereas the moving paper or the

Fig. 13.—Mountain village in the neighbourhood of Tetuan.

umbrella is strange, uncanny, let us say " supernatural ". Dogs and cats are alarmed by an unusual noise or appearance, and remain uneasy till they have by examination satisfied themselves of the nature of its cause. Even a lion is scared by an unexpected noise or the sight of an unfamiliar object ; and we are told of a tiger which stood trembling and roaring in a paroxysm of fear when a mouse tied by a string to a stick had been inserted into its cage.[1]

[1] Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 582 *sq.*

In full agreement with his general theory of magic, Frazer speaks of the "radical conflict of principle between magic and religion". He admits that there are instances of a "fusion or confusion of magic with religion", but this is, in his opinion, due rather to accident than to any organic affinity between them. After mankind had passed through an initial stage in which magic existed without religion, there came another, intermediate, stage in which religion, having arisen, co-operated and was to some extent confused with magic, since the functions of priest and sorcerer were often combined. To serve his purpose man wooed the goodwill of gods or spirits by prayer and sacrifice, while at the same time he had recourse to ceremonies and forms of words which he hoped would of themselves bring about the desired result without the help of god or devil; he uttered prayers and incantations almost in the same breath, knowing or recking little of the theoretical inconsistency of his behaviour, so long as, by hook or crook, he contrived to get what he wanted.

As a matter of fact, however, the relationship between magic and religion is much more intimate. Owing to the element of mystery which is found in both, magical forces may be personified as spirits or gods or be transformed into divine attributes or lead to divine injunctions; and magical practices may become genuine acts of religious worship, or acts of worship may become magical practices, or the same act may simultaneously be magical and religious, coercive and propitiatory. Numerous instances of such transformations have been given in my book on the *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*. For example: the magical forces which give efficacy to curses may be personified as supernatural beings like the Greek Erinyes of parents,[1] beggars,[2] and guests,[3] and the Roman *divi parentum*,[4] *dii hospitales*,[5] and Terminus;[6] or they may be transformed into attributes of the chief god, as in the case of Jupiter Terminalis or Ζεὺς ὅριος, not merely, I believe, because he is frequently appealed to in connection with offences of a

[1] Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. (1906), p. 623. [2] *Ibid.* i. 561. [3] *Ibid.* i. 585.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 624. [5] *Ibid.* i. 585. [6] *Ibid.* ii. 68.

certain kind, but also because such a god has a tendency to attract supernatural forces which are in harmony with his general nature.[1] The injurious energy attributed to work performed on the seventh day developed into a religious

FIG. 14.—The cottage at Ḍār l-Ḥjar in Andjra in which I was staying.

prohibition,[2] and the uncanny feeling experienced in mentioning the name of a supernatural being readily leads to the belief that he feels offended if his name is pronounced.[3] Curses and blessings become prayers ;[4] and, on the other hand, prayers become spells, as appears from the words of many

[1] Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 68. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 286 *sq.* [3] *Ibid.* ii. 640 *sqq.*
[4] *Ibid.* i. 564 *sq.*, ii. 66-68, 120-123, 658, 686-690, 731 ; *infra*, i. 479.

formulas which are used as incantations.[1] The prayer is imbued with supernatural energy owing to the holiness of the being to whom it is addressed, and its constraining force may then be directed even against the god himself. So also a sacrifice may become endowed with magical force in consequence of its contact or communion with the supernatural being to whom it is offered, and may be used as a means of compelling him to yield to the wishes of the sacrificer. We meet with this idea in Zoroastrianism, in many of the Vedic hymns, and especially in Brahmanism.[2] In Morocco it is not always easy to decide whether an animal sacrifice is meant as *'ār* (implying a conditional curse) or as a gift, that is, whether it is a magical means of compulsion or a religious act of worship ; it may be both at the same time. So also it may be difficult or impossible in certain cases to distinguish between misfortunes attributed to *jnūn*—spirits who seem to have been invented to explain strange and mysterious phenomena suggesting a volitional cause—and those attributed to *l-bạs* as an impersonal force of evil ; and the reason for this is that the feeling of uncanniness is at the bottom of the belief in both kinds of supernatural influences.

There is even some reason to believe that the affinity between magic and religion has found expression in the word religion itself. It has been conjectured that the Latin *religio* is related to *religare*, which means " to tie ".[3] The relationship between these words has been supposed to imply that in religion man was tied by his god. But the connection between them seems to allow of another and more natural interpretation, namely, that it was not the man who was tied by the god, but the god who was tied by the man. This interpretation was suggested to me by certain ideas and practices prevalent in Morocco. The Moors are in the habit of tying rags to objects belonging to a saintly place, or of knotting the leaves of a palmetto growing there, as *'ār* upon the saint ; and the *'ār* implies the transference of a conditional curse. The rite is accompanied with a petition, and in performing it the petitioner may declare that he is tying the

[1] Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 656 *sqq.* [2] *Ibid.* ii. 618 *sqq.*

[3] According to another opinion it is derived from *relegere*.

saint and is not going to release him, or to open the knot, until the saint has helped him.[1] This is what we should call magic, but the Romans might in ancient times have called it *religio*. They were much more addicted to magic than to true religion; they wanted to compel the gods rather than to be compelled by them. Their *religio* was perhaps akin to the Greek *κατάδεσμος*, which meant not only an ordinary tie, but also a magic tie or knot or a bewitching thereby.[2] Plato speaks of persons who by incantations and magic ties persuaded the gods, as they said, to execute their will.[3] That *religio*, however, from having originally a magical significance, came to be used in the sense which we attribute

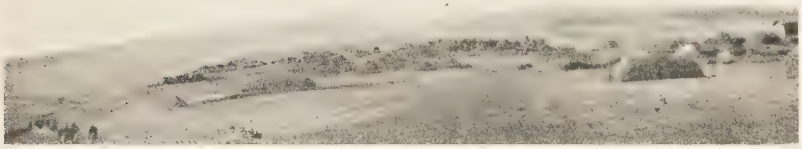


FIG. 15.—Arab village seen at a distance.

to the term "religion", is not difficult to explain. Men make use of magic not only in relation to their fellow-men, but in relation to their gods. Magical and religious elements are often inseparably intermingled in the cult; and, as already said, the magical means of constraining a god may be

[1] *Infra*, i. 553 *sqq*.

[2] I am indebted to my friend Dr. R. R. Marett for drawing my attention to this meaning of the word *κατάδεσμος*. So also the verb *καταδέω* means not only "to tie" but "to bind by magic knots" (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, xv. 9, p. 670; Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, l. 5), and *κατάδεσις* is used to denote "a binding by magic knots" (Plato, *Leges*, xi. 933). See Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1897), p. 754; Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 138 *sqq*.

[3] Plato, *Respublica*, ii. 364.

externally very similar to the chief forms of religious worship, prayer, and sacrifice.[1]

That religion and magic have something in common has also been recognised by Durkheim, in spite of his express denial of an intrinsic connection between the feeling of mystery, or the belief in the supernatural, and the religious phenomena. The objects of both are said to belong to a special world of phenomena called *le sacré*, and there must after all be a very close affinity between the *sacré* and that which other writers have styled "the supernatural", considering that these terms are applied to the very same classes of phenomena. With regard to that which distinguishes magic from religion, the difference between Durkheim's and my own views seems to be more essential: like Robertson Smith,[2] as also Messrs. Hubert and Mauss in their outline of a general theory of magic,[3] he maintains that religion is social in its aims and magic antisocial, or at any rate non-

[1] This suggestion as to the original meaning of the word *religio* was made by me in a paper on 'The Influence of Magic on Social Relationships', read in 1905 and published in *Sociological Papers*, ii. (London, 1906), p. 143 *sqq.* (see p. 145 n.*); and was repeated in *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 584 *sqq.*, and in my essay *The Moorish Conception of Holiness* (*Baraka*) (Helsingfors, 1916), p. 10 *sq.* In a learned review of this essay (in *Rivista trimestrale di studi filosofici e religiosi*, iv. [Perugia, 1923], p. 351 *sqq.*) Signor Giuseppe Furlani approves of my suggestion, and quotes several facts to show that "le teorie dell' Autore circa il legare magico sono pienamente confermate dall' uso linguistico presso i popoli semitici in proposito". On the other hand, he rejects my hypothesis, set forth in the same essay (p. 10 *sq.*), that the Arabic word *murābiṭ*, or *mrâbâṭ*, as a term for a holy man, has its root in a similar idea, which seemed to me at least as probable as the earlier explanation that it originally meant a garrison soldier stationed on the frontier to defend Islam. I argued that the word in question is the active participle of the verb *rābaṭ*, which is the third formation of *rabaṭ* (Moorish *rbaṭ*), "he tied", and that the original meaning of it may consequently have been "one who tried to tie". Signor Furlani maintains that the other explanation has been incontestably proved to be correct; but I am not quite persuaded of this (see *infra*, i. 40).

[2] Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 264.

[3] Hubert and Mauss, 'Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie', in *L'Année sociologique*, vii. (Paris, 1904), p. 1 *sqq.*

social.[1] A very similar opinion has been expressed by Dr. Marett. " Magic ", he says, " I take to include all bad ways, and religion all good ways, of dealing with the supernormal —bad and good, of course, not as we happen to judge them, but as the society concerned judges them. Sometimes, indeed, the people themselves hardly know where to draw the line between the two ; and, in that case, the anthropologist cannot well do it for them. But every primitive society thinks witchcraft bad. Witchcraft consists in leaguing oneself with supernormal powers of evil in order to effect

FIG. 16.—Arab village.

selfish and antisocial ends. Witchcraft, then, is genuine magic—black magic, of the devil's colour. On the other hand, every primitive society also distinguishes certain salutary ways of dealing with supernormal powers. All these ways taken together constitute religion ".[2]

This use of the terms, however, is not in agreement with the most authoritative traditional usage. Besides black magic there is also white magic. Even mediæval theologians distinguished between good and bad magic. William of Auvergne (†1249), whose works present an unexpectedly

[1] Durkheim, *op. cit.* p. 60 *sqq.*

[2] Marett, *Anthropology* (London, *s.d.*), p. 209 *sq.*

detailed picture of the magic and superstition of his time, sees no harm whatever in "natural magic", unless it is employed for evil ends; he observes that the workers of it are called *magi*, because they do great things (*magna agentes*), whereas others, who work magic by the aid of demons, are to be regarded as evil-doers.[1] Albertus Magnus defends the Magi of the gospel story and tries to exculpate them from the practice of those particular evil, superstitious, and diabolical occult arts which Isidore and others had included in their definitions of magic. "They were not devoted to

FIG. 17.—Mosque in an Arab village.

any of these arts", he says, "but only to magic as it has been described; and this is praiseworthy". He was himself a believer in occult forces and marvels in nature, showed a leaning to the occult sciences, and was called, even by his panegyrists, *magnus in magia* and *in magicis expertus*.[2] In the *Liber aggregationis*, a very popular treatise on magic which has been ascribed to Albertus but is of dubious authenticity, it is said that magical science (*scientia magicalis*) is not evil, since by knowledge of it evil can be avoided and good attained.[3]

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* ii. 347.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 550, 551, 553 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 726.

Nor does the definition, according to which magic includes all bad ways and religion all good ways of dealing with the supernormal, seem to me suitable for the purpose of scientific classification. It implies, for example, that a prayer to a god for the destruction of an enemy must be classified as religion if it is offered in a cause which is considered just by the community, but as magic if it is disapproved of. When a man makes a girl drink a love-potion in order to gain her favour, it is religion if their union is desirable from the society's point of view, but if he gives the same drink to

FIG. 18.—Among the Aiṭ Yúsi.

another man's wife it is magic. The best part of what has been hitherto called imitative or homœopathic magic no longer remains magic at all; if water is poured out for the purpose of producing rain it is homœopathic magic only in case rain is not wanted by the community, but if it is done during a drought it is religion. Thus the very same practices are qualified as religious or magical according as they have social or antisocial ends; and, as Dr. Hartland rightly asks,[1] "how shall we define these ends?" The acceptance of the said definition would overthrow well-established and useful terms and deprive us of the comprehensive, convenient, and in every respect appropriate attribute "magical"

[1] Hartland, *Ritual and Belief* (London, 1914), p. 76.

for all sorts of supposed impersonal occult or supernatural forces.

My own views as regards the proper use of the terms religion and magic may be thus summed up.[1] Religion is a belief in and a regardful [2] attitude towards a supernatural being, on whom man feels himself dependent, and to whose will he makes an appeal in his worship. In magic, on the other hand, he utilises supernatural energy without making

FIG. 19.—Huts in the neighbourhood of Marráksh.

any such appeal at all. In religion he attempts to influence supernatural agents by natural means, such as prayers, offerings, abstinences, and so forth ; in magic he attempts to influence either natural or supernatural objects or persons by supernatural means, which act mechanically. But I hasten

[1] I have expressed essentially similar views in my paper on 'The Influence of Magic on Social Relationships' (*Sociological Papers*, ii. 143 *sqq.*) ; and in *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 582 *sqq.*

[2] Though somewhat indefinite, the epithet "regardful" seems to be a necessary attribute of a religious act. We hardly call it religion when a person flogs his fetish to make it submissive, or constrains a supernatural being by means of a conditional curse.

to add, and desire to emphasise, that this definition of religion is not the complete definition. It has only reference to religion in the abstract—to "Religion (with a capital letter)", to use a phrase coined by Dr. Hartland[1]—not to the various religions. In the popular sense of the word, which certainly must be respected, *a* religion may include many practices which are what I have called magical. In the ancient religions of the East magic and religion are

FIG. 20.—Market outside Amzmiz.

indissolubly mixed up together. According to Muhammadan orthodoxy the Arabic words of the Koran work miracles. Christian baptism effects the forgiveness of sins,[2] because by the water, as a medium of the Holy Ghost, "the stains of sin are washed away"; [3] and the Eucharist has been described as the "medicine of immortality", because it is a bodily self-communication of Christ and the body of Christ

[1] Hartland, *op. cit.* p. 68 *sq.*

[2] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. (London, 1896), p. 140 *sqq.*

[3] *The Catechism of the Council of Trent* (London, 1852), ii. 2. 10, p. 162.

is eternal.[1] It would be absurd to say that such beliefs and practices have not belonged to the Christian religion because they are magical. Although the magical and the strictly religious attitudes differ from each other, they are not irreconcilable, and may therefore very well form parts of one and the same religion : there is no such thing as *a* magic being opposed to *a* religion. By a religion is generally understood a system of beliefs and rules of behaviour which have reference to, or are considered to be prescribed by, one or several supernatural beings whom the believers call their god or gods—that is, supernatural beings who are the objects of a regular cult and between whom and their worshippers there are established and permanent relationships. If it be admitted that the word religion may be thus legitimately used in two different senses, an abstract and a concrete, I think there is little ground left for further controversy on the subject. After all, sociologists may more profitably occupy their time than by continuous quarrelling about the meaning of terms.

[1] Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 564.

CHAPTER I

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

THE Arabic word *baraka* means "blessing". In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses *baraka* in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint". The usual Arabic terms for a male saint, whether living or dead, are *sîyĭd* (plur. *sâdāt*[s]),[1] *ṣâleḥ* (plur. *ṣālḗḥīn*, *ṣâleḥīn*, *ṣâlḥīn*, or *ṣŭllaḥ*), *wâli* or *wâli* (plur. *aulîya*),[2] and *wāliyŭ llah*[3] or *wālîy ălláh*;[4] and for a female saint *sîyda* (plur. *sîydāt*[s]),[5] *ṣālêḥa* (plur. *ṣālêḥāt*[s]), and *wālîya* (plur. *wālîyāt*[s]). In Dukkâla a frequent general name for a saint is *fqēr* (plur. *fóqra*),[6]

[1] In the literary language of the scribes *sayyid*, plur. *sādāt*. It means "seigneur".

[2] The word *walī* originally meant "one who is near", and was applied to a holy man as a person who is near God; but it also means "relative", "helper", "protector" (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. [Halle a. S., 1890], p. 286 *sq.*). In Morocco the word *wâli* is used in the same senses. Thus it is said of a stranger who has no member of his family in the place where he is staying that "he has no *wâli*".

[3] In Andjra the term *wălîyŭ llah* is used to denote a dead saint whose name is unknown.

[4] Among the Ulâd Bŭ'ăzîz used for a saint, living or dead, who possesses *baraka* in a very exceptional degree.

[5] Lit. *sayyidah*, plur. *sayyidāt*.

[6] Lit. *faqīr*, plur. *foqarā*.

whereas in Fez and elsewhere this word is applied to a member of some saintly order. The epithet *sbạ'* (plur. *sbô'ă*), which properly means "lion", is especially given to saints who are much feared in oath-taking or otherwise. The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as *ssîyĭd*, *ṣṣâleḥ*, and *lwâli*; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is *amrâbăḍ* or *amrabḍ* (plur. *imrábḍĕn*; Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän, Aṯ Ubáḥṯi, Aiṯ Sáddĕn), derived from the Arabic *mrâbăṭ* or *mrābṭ*, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants. The Berbers of Southern Morocco (Shlöḥ) have the words *agurram* (plur. *igurrâmn*) or *agurräm* (plur. *igurrâmĕn*)[1] and, for a female saint, *tagurramt* (plur. *tigurrāmīn*).

No man has possessed more *baraka* than the prophet Muḥammad. His *baraka* was transmitted to the shereefs (*šŭrfa*),[2] that is, the descendants in the male line of his daughter Fāṭimah. But although every shereef (*šrīf*)[3] and shereefa (*šrîfa*, plur. *šrîfāt*[s])[4] is thus born with more or less *baraka* as an inheritance from his or her holy ancestor, there are only comparatively few who have so much of it that they are actually regarded as saints; and it is much diluted in the children of a shereef and a woman who is not a shereefa. Yet every shereef is styled either *sîdi* (in Fez vulgarly *sĭdí* or *sdi*), "monsieur", "mein Herr", or *mûläi*, "my lord",[5] and every shereefa *lálla*, "my lady", which is a Berber word.[6]

[1] The latter forms are given by Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilḥischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 159.

[2] Lit. *šurafā*.

[3] Lit. *šarīf*.

[4] Lit. *šarīfah*, plur. *šarīfāt*.

[5] Among the Arabic-speaking people of Northern Morocco shereefs are called sometimes *sîdi* and sometimes *mûläi*. In the Rīf and in Sūs the epithet *mûläi* is not used; but in Southern Morocco, north of the Great Atlas, a shereef is regularly styled *mûläi*, and the word *sîdi* before the name of a person belonging to a saintly family indicates that he is not looked upon as a shereef.

[6] *Cf.* Doutté, *Notes sur l'Islám maghribin—Les marabouts* (Paris, 1900), p. 40 *sq.*; Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 196.

The number of shereefs in Morocco is immense. They are particularly numerous in towns and among the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco, but many shereefs are found even in Berber-speaking tribes. These may be descendants of immigrants belonging to the religious nobility of the Arabic invaders, who settled down there and married into Berber families,[1] with the result that their descendants forgot the language of their forefathers, adopting that of the race among which they lived, and took their wives from the tribes-people of their mothers.[2] Or they may belong to genuine Berber families whose claims to have descended from the Prophet are the sheerest fiction. Among the Arabic-speaking population of Morocco fictions of this kind are extremely common. By simply moving from his native place to another district and there pretending to belong to a family of shereefs, a person may both for himself and his descendants gain a title to which he has no claim whatever.

The oldest established family of shereefs in Morocco is that of the Drisîyin, the direct descendants of Mûlâi Idrīs, the first emperor of the country; and the most highly venerated branch of this family consists of the shereefs of Wazzan, the so-called Dār ḍ-Ḍmâna, "House of Surety".[3] Wazzan shereefs are met with not only among the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco, the "Arabs" of the plains, and the towns-people, but also in the Rīf, among the Brâber of Central Morocco, in Sūs south of the Great Atlas range, at Tafilelt, and in the valley of the Wād Drā in the extreme south of the country.[4] The acting head of their house and depositary of its *baraka* is in some parts of the country more influential than the Sultan. On coming to the throne the latter seeks the ratification and blessing of

[1] Mûlâi Idrīs the Elder himself married a Berber woman, who gave birth to a posthumous son (*Raōḍ al-Qarṭās*, French translation by Beaumier [Paris, 1860], p. 23 *sq.*).

[2] *Cf.* Harris, *Tafilet* (Edinburgh & London, 1895), p. 142 *sq.*

[3] For the origin of this name see Budgett Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 345.

[4] de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc* (*1899–1901*) (Paris, 1903), p. 12.

the great shereef of Wazzan,[1] and in times of difficulty has not infrequently appealed to him for assistance. There is a saying that although no Wazzan shereef can rule as sultan, no sultan can rule without the support of the great shereef of Wazzan.[2] He is the object of pilgrimage from all parts of Northern Africa, nay Muhammadans have even travelled from India to obtain his blessing; and when one of the late bearers of the name made the journey to Mecca, he was even there the object of marked veneration, the worshippers actually leaving the Ka'bah to prostrate themselves before him.[3]

Second to the Drisîyin are the 'Alawîyin, a family of shereefs whose ancestor came from Yanbo' in Arabia and settled down in Tafilelt. Their name is often said to be derived from Mûlăi 'Alī š-Šrīf, whose son Mûḥammed in 1648 ascended the throne of Morocco and thus became the founder of its present dynasty;[4] but in the written sources the name 'Alāwī is applied not only to this Tafilelt or Fīlālī line of shereefs, but to the Sa'dī shereefs as well, which indicates that it meant a descendant of their common ancestor 'Alī ben Abī Ṭālib.[5] We are told that Mûlăi 'Alī š-Šrīf's great power was due to the remarkable increase of the date crop which was ascribed to his arrival with the returning pilgrims from Mecca.

The reigning sultan, however, not only possesses the *baraka* which belongs to him as the head of the 'Alawîyin, but has also the *baraka* of the sultanship, being *ḫlīft llah fi árḍû*, or *ḫalîfatˢû lláhi fi árḍih*, "the vice-gerent of God on his earth". This *baraka* is conferred on him by forty saints who every morning pass over his head or, according to another account, which I heard in Fez, by a great saint, a

[1] At Fez I was told that when the new Sultan mounts his horse, the head of the Wazzan shereefs living in the place where he was proclaimed gives him the benefit of the *baraka* of the Dār ḍ-Ḍmâna by taking hold of the stirrup and helping him to mount.

[2] Harris, *op. cit.* p. 336.

[3] Spence Watson, *A Visit to Wazan* (London, 1880), p. 21 *sq.*

[4] See Budgett Meakin, *op. cit.* p. 350 *sq.*; *Idem, The Moorish Empire* (London, 1899), p. 136 *sq.*; *Idem, The Land of the Moors* (London, 1901), p. 401.

[5] Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 46 n.

qoṭb,[1] always keeping his right hand over his head like an umbrella. I was told that Mûlăi 'Abdl'ăzîz lost his throne because this saintly aid was withdrawn from him. It is on the Sultan's *baraka* that the welfare of the whole country depends. When it is strong and unpolluted the crops are abundant, the women give birth to good children, and the country is prosperous in every respect; in the summer of 1908 the natives of Tangier attributed the exceptionally good sardine fishery to Mûlăi l-Ḥâfiḍ's accession to the throne. On the other hand, in the reign of his predecessor the deterioration or loss of the Sultan's *baraka* showed itself in disturbances and troubles, in drought and famine, and in the fruit falling down from the trees before becoming ripe. Nay, even in those parts of Morocco which are not subject to the Sultan's worldly rule the people believe that their welfare, and the crops especially, are dependent on his *baraka*. He is styled *sîdna*, "our lord". The title *ḫalîfat allāh* was first given to Othman ('Uṯmān), whose predecessor Omar ('Umar) had only been called *amîn allāh*, and was subsequently borne by the Abbasides.[2] But the idea of royal holiness also existed among the Berbers, who both in Mauretania and Numidia ascribed divinity to their native kings.[3]

[1] The term *qoṭb*, literally meaning "axis", is applied to a saint who rules over other saints. I was told that there is only one *qoṭb* at a time—a belief also recorded by Leo Africanus (*The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by J. Pory [London, 1896], p. 466),—who when he dies is immediately succeeded in his office by another, but that nobody but himself knows that he is a *qoṭb*. According to another opinion, however, which I heard both at Fez and Tangier, there are seven *áqṭab* (plur. of *qoṭb*). In the East the number of these chiefs of saints is variously given as one, two, or four (Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* [Paisley & London, 1896], p. 239), but one is said to be the proper number (*ibid.* p. 239; von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams* [Leipzig, 1868], p. 172). In Morocco Mûlăi 'Abdsslam ben Mšîš has the epithet *l-qoṭb*, and Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder j-Jilâli, the most reputed saint in Morocco though buried in Baghdad, is called *qoṭb l-áqṭab*, "the *qoṭb* of the *qoṭbs*".

[2] Tallqvist, *Konungen med Guds nåde* (Helsingfors, 1920), p. 14.

[3] Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, ch. 24 (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, i. [Parisiis, 1844], col. 419):—"Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, . . . ut Mauritaniae Reguli sui". St. Cyprian, *Liber de idolorum vanitate*, ch. 2 (*ibid.* iv. [Parisiis, 1844], col. 568):—"Mauri

Besides the shereefs there are other families whose members are possessed of *baraka* as an hereditary quality, namely, the families of *mrábṭīn* or *mrabṭîyin* (sing. *mrâbăṭ* or *mrābṭ*). These families consist of the descendants of some saintly ancestor who was not a shereef and whose *baraka* was in some degree transmitted to them. Like a *šrīf* a *mrâbăṭ* is not *eo ipso* a *sîyĭd*, or saint; he is regarded as a saint only in exceptional cases, when his *baraka* is found to be extraordinarily great. The *mrábṭīn* form a religious nobility inferior to the *šŭrfa*; a *mrâbăṭ* is styled *sîdi*, but never *mûlăi*. Yet there are many dead saints of high repute who belong to their class. This is the case with Sîdi Ḥmed bnę̆ Ḥya and Sîdi Abdlqâder l-Fâsi, who are buried in Fez; and most of the saints of Marráksh, including Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ himself, are represented as *mrábṭīn*, not as *šŭrfa*. Of many a saint in the south of the country I have heard it said that God alone knows whether he is a *šrīf* or a *mrâbăṭ*. The word *mrâbăṭ*, or *murābiṭ* (as it is written by Moorish scribes), is said to have originally meant a garrison soldier stationed on the frontier to defend Islam;[1] but Goldziher mentions oriental texts in which the word *murābaṭa* is used in the sense of "action d'adonner son âme assidûment au service de Dieu".[2] The Moors call the *mrábṭīn* the *ḫŭddą̆m* (or *ḫŭddą̆m*), or believing servants, of the shereefs. They maintain that a person in the first instance became a *mrâbăṭ*

vero manifeste reges colunt, nec ullo velamento hoc nomen abtexunt". Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, i. 15 (*ibid.* vi. [Parisiis, 1844], col. 194):—"Romani Caesares suos consecraverunt, et Mauri reges suos". *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. viii. *Inscriptiones Africae Latinae* (Berolini, 1881–1904), ni. 8834, 9342, 17159, 18752, 20627, 20731; Toutain, *Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, iii. (Paris, 1920), p. 39; Basset, 'Berbers and N. Africa', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 511 *sq.*

[1] Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 29 *sqq.*; Bel, 'Coup d'œil sur l'Islam en Berbérie', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, lxxv. (Paris, 1917), p. 67 *sq.* *Cf.* Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache* (Giessen, 1898), i. 730, ii. 758.

[2] Goldziher, quoted by Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 122; Pedro de Alcalá (*Arte para ligeramẽte saber la lẽgua araviga* [Granada, 1505], *s.v.* Ermitaño) translates *murābiṭ* by *ermitaño*, "hermit". See also *supra*, p. 28 n. 1.

by receiving *barʿaka* from a saintly shereef or perchance some other saint whom he was serving, and that the *baraka* thus acquired was in some degree, at least, transmitted to his descendants.

Among the Arabic-speaking, mountaineers of Northern Morocco the term *mrâbəḍ* is not used; but they have families of *mă'ámmrīn* (sing. *mă'ámmar*), that is, descendants of persons who became saints by being "filled" (*mă'ámmrīn*) with the *baraka* of others. Of a saint who has transferred *baraka* to a *ḫdīm*, or follower, of his it is said that he *'ámmar* so-and-so. Many a well-known saint has acquired his sainthood in this convenient manner. Mûläi Bûšᵗa, one of the great saints of the Jbâla, for instance, received his *baraka* from his master, Sîdi 'Allaḷ l-Ḥaᵈᵈj, of the Baqqâli family, and got such an abundance of it that he himself afterwards could fill others with *baraka*; hence he is called *l-ḫámmār l-'ámmār*, "he who intoxicates and fills [others with *baraka*]". In Fez there are the tombs of two saints, Sîdi l-Ḥajj l-Ḫáiyāṭ and Sîdi Qâsem, who were the *ḫûddəm* of saintly shereefs of the Wazzan family, and were "filled" with *baraka* by their masters. Neither they nor Mûläi Bûšᵗa left any descendants.

There are various ways in which a person may be filled with the *baraka* of a saint. The latter may transfer *baraka* to his *ḫdīm* simply by spitting into his mouth. Or the saint may eat some food in the presence of his *ḫdīm* on the last day they spend together and then tell him to eat of what is left; when the *ḫdīm* has finished his meal, the saint says to him, *Nᵗa ddîᵗi l-ḫóbza*, "You have taken the loaf of bread", meaning that the servant has now partaken of his *baraka*. The family of *mrábṭīn* called l-Fāsîyin, of whom there are still many living in Fez, had their *baraka* given to them by the famous saint 'Abdrráḥman l-Mejdûb. A man belonging to this family was residing in Mequinez as a merchant in those days when the saint was still alive. His father sent him articles from Fez to sell, but he was unable to return any payment for them. On hearing that the father was at last coming to Mequinez, he asked his friend Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman l-Mejdûb to advise him what to do. The saint gave him a *dérhäm*, and told him to put it in his shop at the place where

he was sitting. So he did, and when the father came and claimed his money, the merchant merely put his hand underneath his clothes and pulled out such a quantity of money that the father finally had to tell him to stop. Ever since there have been numbers of saints and learned men (*'ulâma*) in the family of the Fâsîyin. Mûlâi Bûšᵉa was filled with *baraka* by obeying Sîdi 'Allal l-Ḥaᵈᵈj, when he commanded him to put his hand into boiling tar, which he did without burning himself, thanks to the *baraka* of his master. The *baraka* of the Baqqalîyin is said to be so powerful that it eradiates, as it were, over their friends. The *mqáddem*, or care-taker, of a shrine also, in some degree, partakes of the *baraka* of the dead saint, and his *baraka* may become hereditary in his family. The *mqáddmīn* of Mûlâi Idrīs' sanctuary in Fez, though they are not shereefs, are even more venerated than the descendants of the saint.

The transference of *baraka* from one person to another may even be brought about against the will of its possessor. Thus, whilst in normal cases the Sultan's *baraka* is transferred to the new sovereign by the Sultan himself appointing some member of his family, by preference one of his sons, as his successor, it is also possible that his *baraka* somehow passes to a pretender during his lifetime, though I was told that it generally does not remain with him for more than six months. It was believed that the pretender Bū̆ḥămâra had come into possession of the Sultan's *baraka*, though only with a view to handing it over to one of the sovereign's half-brothers, Mûlâi Mḥámmed, who was at that time a prisoner ; and he succeeded in keeping it for years. The Wazzan shereefs are said to indulge in the wicked habit of robbing other shereefs, who visit them, of their *baraka*, should the latter leave behind any remains of their meals, even though it be only a bone. For a similar reason other shereefs are afraid of shaking hands with a Wazzan shereef, and they avoid passing a place where a shereef of this family is sitting. So also, when people from Fez make a pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the great saint Mûlâi 'Abdsslam ben Mšīš (or bel l-Mšīš or bel l-Mašīš) in the tribe of the Bni 'Ăroṣ, they do not return by Wazzan but choose a longer route for fear lest the

shereefs of Wazzan should otherwise deprive them of the *baraka* which they have brought with them from the holy shrine. Nay, these shereefs are said to be so anxious to appropriate any *baraka* they can get hold of that when they entertain a guest, they do not offer him whole loaves of bread but break them into pieces, and eat a little of each loaf, in order to get the *baraka* of the bread, which would otherwise have gone to the guest. Shereefs are generally much afraid of losing their *baraka* by stealth. This is the reason why they do not like other persons to kiss their hands; and some of them believe that their *baraka* may be extracted from them by anybody who should drink the water in which they have washed their hands after a meal. There is a saying that "the servant of men is their lord"—*ḫdîm r-rjāl sîdhum*,—which means that a person who serves other people by bringing them food and drink and pouring water over their hands appropriates their *baraka*; and by thus getting their accumulated *baraka* he may actually become a saint, even though those whom he is serving have not themselves a sufficiently large quantity of *baraka* to be looked upon as saints in the proper sense of the word. In this connection it may also be mentioned that people can by theft or magic tricks appropriate the *baraka* of inanimate things. There are persons who increase the *baraka* of their heaps of threshed corn by taking grain from those of others and putting it on their own, thereby depriving the other heaps of their holiness.[1] An old Berber living among the Aiṭ Nḏēr told me that if somebody steals even the smallest quantity of another person's oil, he appropriates the *baraka* of all the oil belonging to the latter. So also people may, in various ways, rob their neighbours of the *baraka* which provides them with butter.[2]

Besides inheritance and transference there are other means by which *baraka* or sainthood may be acquired. All along the Moorish coast, from the Rīf to Sūs, there are tombs of *mujāḥḍīn* or *mjāḥdīn*, that is, hero saints who in ancient days were killed in fights against the Christians and on that account came to be regarded as saints. The *mujāḥḍīn* form a special class of saints by themselves; so far as my

[1] *Infra*, ii. 234. [2] *Infra*, i. 249 *sq.*, ii. 170.

experience goes (I have discussed the subject with scribes and other Moors from different parts of the country), they are distinctly denied to have been *mrábṭīn*. Some of them have proper names assigned to them ; in the Faḥṣ, near Tangier, for instance, there are the tombs of two *mujāḥḍīn*, who were brothers, known as l-Qaid Ḥámmů and l-Bą̊ša ʻĂli. Sometimes also the *mujāḥḍīn* have relatives or descendants still alive, as is the case with the two hero saints, just mentioned, who are buried in the Faḥṣ ; and the unconquerable Ulâd d-Dwīb, belonging to the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz in Dukkâla, who are reputed to be always victorious in war, are said to descend from *mujāḥḍīn* who used to guard Mazagan from *l-'ágba dyālt l-k'ail*, a hill in their district. Very frequently, however, the *mujāḥḍīn* have neither proper names nor any known descendants ; several of them are often buried in the same place, and the plural *mujāḥḍīn* is much more commonly heard than the singular *mujāḥed*. It is said of these hero saints that they were buried in the clothes they wore when they were killed, and that they were taken to heaven by angels immediately after their death—as is indeed the case with everybody who dies in the holy war. This was confirmed by a story which a Berber from the Rīf told me of a man from his tribe who had been killed at Melilla in war against the Spaniards. When it became known that his mother, before he started, had given him ten dollars, people went to his grave and opened it to get the money which had been buried with him. They found there both the money and the clothes of the warrior, but his body had already been transported to heaven by angels.

A person may, furthermore, become a saint by extraordinary piety and devotion—by incessant praying, diligent fasting in the daytime, giving an abundance of food to the scribes and alms to the poor, and abstaining from every forbidden act.[1] Lálla Rą̊ḥma Yusf, a great female saint whose tomb is in Masst in Sūs, is even said to have acquired her sainthood by being exceedingly kind to her husband's second wife. A fairly common way to sanctity is for a person to retire to some sacred mountain to lead there a holy life in

[1] *Cf.* Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 465.

solitude. A mountain of this kind is the Jbel l-Ḥḍar in Dukkâla, which is famous for its hermits, as it already was in the days of Leo Africanus;[1] and among the mountains of Northern Morocco there are such persons living in the vicinity of Mûlăi 'Abdsslam's tomb and some other saintly shrines. In the *Raōḍ al-Qarṭās* we read that Mûlăi Bû'ázza, "the polar star of his age", who died in the latter part of the twelfth century "at the age of 130", spent twenty years as a hermit in the mountains above Tinmāl in the Atlas, dressed in palmetto, with a ragged cloak, and a cap in shreds.[2] Some people say that a person may acquire sainthood by praying forty mornings in succession when it is still dark or at daybreak, or by praying at forty daybreaks successively on the sea-shore and bathing in the sea; whereas others are of opinion that this kind of devotion only secures him admission to heaven, or protects him for ever from the temptations of Satan, or induces Mûlăi Idrīs to grant him any favour he asks for.

Frequent praying and recitations of the Koran give much *baraka* to the *ṭ̣ûlba*, or scribes. A *ṭâleb* is styled "*sī* So-and so", the word *sī* being an abbreviation of *sîdi*, and to omit this title before his name is said to be a sin. Scribes are sometimes called *ṭiôr j-jénna*, "the birds of Paradise"; but this epithet is also given to little children (*ṣûbyān*; sing. *ṣâbi*, fem. *ṣabîya*), who likewise have much *baraka*, being too young to sin. It is for the sake of the little children that the sun is shining, and in oaths taken by them they are represented as angels (*mălêika*, or *mlêika*). They also know the language of the angels, called *s-soryānîya* ("Syrian"), which no other human beings can understand, and they hear the conversation of the angels. They likewise hear the talk and crying of dead people (Fez, Ait Waráin); and they know the remedy which might save a sick person from death, but as they are unable to speak they cannot disclose their secret

[1] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 295 (*cf. ibid.* p. 247). *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 228 *sq.* On hermit saints see also Budgett Meakin, *The Moors*, p. 328 *sq.*; Doutté, *Les marabouts*, p. 79; Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 63.

[2] *Raōḍ al-Qarṭās*, French translation by Beaumier, p. 383.

(Tangier). The *mḥáḍra* (sing. *mḥáḍri*), or schoolboys, derive *baraka* from their study of the Koran; and on account of their *baraka* they play an important part in many rites.

Like childhood so also old age confers *baraka* on a person, though only in the case of men. In Fez an old man is called *râjel baraka*. If he says something disagreeable to a younger person, the latter, instead of quarrelling with him, replies, *Ana wăqqárṭˢäk ʿăla š-šīb lli f ûjhäk*, "I respected you for the sake of the gray beard which is on your face", or, *Ana wăqqárṭˢäk ʿăla dūk š-šíbāṭˢ*, "I respected you for the sake of those gray hairs".[1] The old men represent the wisdom of the community: they know its traditions and ancient customs, they have the experience of a long life, and they observe the tenets of their religion more carefully than the thoughtless youth. *Š-šīb wăqqrů llah u n-nbi*, "Graybeards respect God and the Prophet". Moreover, old age itself inspires a feeling of mysterious awe, which tends to make the man a saint and the woman a witch.[2]

In this connection it should also be noticed that parents possess *baraka* with reference to their children, as appears from the great efficacy ascribed to their blessings and curses.[3] So also a guest has *baraka* with reference to his host, even though he be a Christian or a Jew.[4] If a stranger from afar dies and is buried in the place he visits, his grave is regarded as a shrine, and he is called Sîdi or Sīd l-Ġrīb, "Monsieur" or "Mr. Stranger". At Fez there is the grave of a female saint named Lálla Ġrîba; and the *feddân l-ġůrba*, outside Bāb g-Gîsa, which is a cemetery for homeless strangers who have died in Fez, is considered to possess much *baraka*. Those who are buried there will go to Paradise.

Baraka is further ascribed to bride and bridegroom. Though Islam considers marriage a civil contract, it nevertheless enjoins it as a religious duty "incumbent on all who

[1] It is not always, however, that such a polite answer is given to an old man who speaks bad words to a young person. Sometimes the latter angrily says, *Šäib u ḥărâmi bḥāl d-dīb*, "A graybeard and a villain are like a jackal". The old man replies, *Hůwa ma išíb ši yęmši ṣġēr*, "He will not grow old, he will pass away young".

[2] *Infra*, ii. 7. [3] *Infra*, i. 488 *sq.* [4] *Infra*, i. 541 *sq.*

possess the ability".[1] "When a servant of God marries, verily he perfects half his religion".[2] The Moors maintain that a married man is blessed in this life and goes to Paradise after death, whereas a grown-up man who dies a bachelor does not find the road to Paradise, but will rise again with the evil spirits:—*Ida māt^{s} ḥad ʿázri, ínḥššar mʿa š-šayâṭīn.* No wonder then that *baraka*, which is a blessing from God, is ascribed to bridegroom and bride, especially as there is something supernatural about them anyhow, on account of the new state of life into which they are entering and the mystery of its functions.[3]

Being extremely desirous of offspring, the Moors, not unnaturally, maintain that there must be *baraka* in a woman who gives birth to twins. At Fez it is the custom for those who visit her while lying in to kiss her hand and address her as *lálla*, "my lady". A scribe from the Rīf once said to me that a mother of twins is only "good", whereas a mother of triplets is "holy". But on the other hand I have also been told that there is *baraka* even in an ordinary lying-in woman.

Much *baraka* is ascribed to a boy on the occasion when he is subjected to circumcision, an operation which is not once alluded to in the Koran, but which is held to be *sunnah*, or founded upon the customs of the Prophet.[4] But there is said to be even more *baraka* in boys who are born without a foreskin, and therefore are never circumcised. Such a person is regarded as a *ṣâleḥ*, or saint, and is styled *sîdi* throughout his life (Fez). The same is the case with a boy who is born with a foreskin but loses it in a miraculous manner soon after his birth. He suddenly begins to cry, blood is found on his penis, and the foreskin has disappeared; he has been circumcised by angels.

There is finally a class of holy men and women that is

[1] *The Sayings of Muhammad*, edited by Abdullah al-Māmūn al-Suhrawardy (London, 1910), p. 55.

[2] Quoted by Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 221.

[3] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 334 *sqq.*

[4] *Infra*, ii. 430.

recruited from idiots and madmen.[1] Derangement of the mind is always in Morocco attributed to supernatural influence. Maniacs are regarded as *mejnûnīn*, possessed of *jnūn*, and, being dangerous to their fellow-creatures, are locked up in *l-márṣtān*, a prison for frantic madmen; but harmless lunatics are venerated as saints, whose reason is in heaven while the body is on earth. This is the case with the *būhâli* (plur. *būhâla*; fem. *būhâlîya*, plur. *būhâlîyāt*[s]), the idiotic fool, who is quiet, silent, and generally dirty. The same is the case with him who is said to be *mejdûb* (plur. *mäjâdîb*; fem. *mejdûba*, plur. *mejdûbāt*[s]), a person who is more or less out of his mind, talkative, often wearing his hair long (such a person is in Fez called *šébšūb*), but often clean in his habits.[2] He is considered more holy than the *būhâli*; indeed, of the latter it is sometimes said, *Būhâli ḥâli mẹn ráḥmat*[s] *ălláh*, "A *būhâli* is devoid of God's mercy". *Baraka* amounting to sainthood is also ascribed to a person who is said to be *mḥálḥal* (plur. *mḥálḥlīn*; fem. *mḥálḥla*, plur. *mḥálḥlāt*[s]), a form of temporary insanity which shows itself in great nervous excitement. This expression is used of shereefs in cases where an ordinary person would be regarded as *mejnûn*, *mejdûb*, or *būhâli*. The saintly lunatic is not held responsible for any absurdity he commits. During my first stay in Fez there was an insane woman who used to walk about in a state of perfect nudity; and when I visited the same town again, after an interval of nearly twelve years, she was still alive and continued her old habit.

[1] *Cf.* Mouëtte, *The Travels of the Sieur Mouette, In the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco* (London, 1710), p. 89; Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez* (London, 1725), p. 55 *sq.*; de Chénier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (London, 1788), p. 184; Drummond Hay, *Western Barbary* (London, 1844), p. 100; Doutté, *Les marabouts*, p. 75 *sqq.*; Budgett Meakin, *The Moors*, p. 327 *sq.*; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 237; *Idem*, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 60; Falls, *Three Years in the Libyan Desert* (London, 1913), p. 302; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 112; Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 311; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 41; von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien* (Braunschweig, 1873), p. 348.

[2] On the etymology of the word *majḏūb*, and the meaning given to it in the East, see Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. 287 *sq.*

One of the dead saints of Fez, Sîdi Ḥammâdi, who was *mejdûb* in his lifetime, is also known to have walked about in the town quite naked; he is buried in the house where he lived, and a feast (*mûsem*) in his honour is arranged every autumn by his relatives. Lunatics are not even obliged to observe the Ramaḍân fast, which is popularly regarded as the most imperative of all religious duties. Of an insane person in Tetuan, who instead of abstaining from food till sunset was taking his meal in broad daylight in the open street, I heard the people forgivingly say, "The poor fellow does not know what he is doing, his mind is with God".

The saints of Morocco comprise not only real men and women, living or dead, but also a large number of individuals who never existed. The country is full of holy places said to be connected with departed saints who have either been buried there after their death or have sat or prayed there while alive. In many cases these statements are founded on actual facts; in others the saintly person has undoubtedly existed, whereas his connection with the place in question is purely imaginary; but very frequently the saint is only a personage invented to explain the holiness attributed to some place or object of nature on account of its unusual appearance or some other mysterious quality. It is not always possible to decide whether a saint associated with a holy spot has existed or not, but very commonly the nature of the place, together with the fact that the saint has left no descendants, suggests his mythical origin; and the same is often the case with the name given him. Sîdi Mâimūn (or Mîmūn), that is, "Good Luck", and Sîdi Boqnâdel, or "the Master of Oil-lamps", are common names for dead saints, some of whom are represented as human saints and others as saints of the *jnūn*. Among the Ait Waráin there is the sanctuary of Sîdi Măqḍí Ḥája, or "Finished Business", much visited by petitioners; and on a small island in a lake in the district of the Mnáṣăra the root of a fig tree, which was blown down some time ago, indicates the place where Sîdi Qâḍi Ḥâja, or "He who attends to Business", has rested, and is in consequence an

object of worship. In the district of the Ulâd Râfa among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz there is an unusually large bush of white broom (*rṛṭma*) called Lṛlla Rṛṭma, and a palm tree (*náḫla*), now blown down by the wind, with an enclosure of stones round a part of its trunk, which is worshipped under the name of Lṛlla n-Náḫla. In a place in the neighbourhood of Demnat I saw in a dense grove of fig trees the little sanctuary of Sîdi Bukárma, or "the Master of the Fig Tree"; and in Ḥáḥa I visited the supposed graves of the Berber tree-saints Sîdi Ddhăbi, or "the Golden One", Sîdi Bulánwar, or "the Master of the Flash of Lightning", Sîdi Bŭrja, or "the Master of Hope", and Sîdi Butlîla, or "the Master of Relief". A very popular name for a departed saint is Sîdi l-Máḫfi, or "the Hidden (or Unknown) One"; I have seen shrines bearing this name in the market-place of Tangier, in the village Ḍār l-Ḥjar in Andjra, in the village Būsemläl near Tetuan, at Azemmur, at a place south of Marráksh, and so forth.[1] Sometimes it is said of a holy place that a saint is buried there, although nobody knows his name. In the sea there are forty saints, or the sea is itself personified as a saint named Sîdi Mŭḥámmed (or Mḥámmed) l-Bḥar, "the Sea". In Andjra a mosque is called by the women Lálla [d-d]Jậma', "my lady the Mosque", and among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn Lálla Jẹbrîn, "my lady Gabriel", as though it were a female saint; but a more common name for it is Sîdna Jẹbrîl, "our lord Gabriel", the archangel Jibrīl being regarded as the master of mosques. Even holy feasts and days have sometimes personifying epithets given to them. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz say that *l-'īd l-kbīr* ("the Great Feast"), *l-'īd ṣ-ṣġēr* ("the Little Feast"), and the feast of the *mîlud*, are *slṛṭna*, or "sultans", that *nhār 'áišōr* (10th Muḥarram) is an *uzîra*, or "female vizier", and that Friday is a *fqêra*, or "female saint".

The belief in saints is not Koranic. A prophet is not a saint; when Muḥammad was urged to give proof of his calling by working some miracle he denied that he possessed

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *Les marabouts*, p. 54. On "anonymous saints" generally see *ibid.* p. 53 *sqq.*; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 353.

such power. Yet it was nevertheless ascribed to him even by his contemporaries.[1] Surely the messenger of God could not be inferior to the priests or holy men of paganism, who were soothsayers, curers of illnesses, bearers of miraculous virtue, from which benefits were derived even mechanically by mere bodily contact. And as holiness often was hereditary in their families,[2] so also the holiness of the Prophet was supposed to be transmitted to his descendants. Thus the cult of saints grew up on the soil of the earlier paganism; and its growth was actually furthered by the stern monotheism of Islam, which made intercessors necessary for filling up the gap which separated men from their god.[3] When it spread to Africa it found fresh support in the native ideas of the Berbers; and their belief in soothsaying or holy women[4] has certainly had something to do with the large number of female saints among their islamised descendants, even though such saints are by no means unknown among the Muhammadans of the East.[5]

A place which is in some way connected with a saint partakes of his *baraka*, and of such holy places Morocco is full. They are marked in different ways and are known under different names. A noted saint has often a so-called *qóbba* or *qûbba* erected over his grave. This is usually a square, whitewashed building with a horse-shoe door and an

[1] Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. p. 278 *sqq.*; Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, i. (London, 1858), p. lxv *sq.*; Sell, *The Faith of Islám* (London, 1896), p. 218.

[2] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 130 *sqq.*

[3] *Cf.* Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. p. 281 *sq.*

[4] Procopius, *De bello vandalico*, ii. 8. The aborigines of Gran Canaria, according to Abreu de Galindo ('The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands', in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, xvi. [London, 1814], p. 819) "had among them religious women, called Magadas, a number of whom lived together in one house. There were many of these houses in Canaria, which were held sacred; and criminals who fled to any of them, were protected from the officers of justice. The Magadas were distinguished from other women by their long white garments, which swept the ground as they walked".

[5] Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. 299 *sqq.*

octagonal dome, which is of smaller area at the base than the walls, to allow of a coping (Fig. 21); but the *qóbba* may also, instead of the dome, have a pointed roof consisting of four triangular sloping planes (Fig. 22). On the top of the cupola or the pointed roof there is a *jāmōr*, either a cubical appendage made of brass or tiles, or an iron rod

FIG. 21.—*Qóbba* outside Alcazar.

with one, two, or three balls of brass; in the latter case it is a so-called *jāmōr bĕ tˢffåḥa* or (if there are two or three balls) *jāmōr bĕ tˢfåfaḥ*. Sometimes there is a mosque, with or without a minaret, attached to the *qóbba* (Fig. 23). I was told in Fez that the object of the dome and the pointed roof is to prevent people from walking over the grave of the saint; but according to Goldziher the *qóbba* has developed

FIG. 22. The *qóbba* of Sîdi 'Abdŭllah t-Tsâudi outside Bab g-Gîsa at Fez.

FIG. 23.—The *qóbba* and mosque of Sîdi Mḥámmed ben lâ-Ḥsen outside Bâb g-Gîsa at Fez.

out of the tent which the Arabs of olden times used to pitch over the body of a departed person of importance.[1] Besides the *qóbba*, however, there is also the flat-roofed shrine, likewise whitewashed (Fig. 24), which is often called *bītˢ* (or *beit*), "room", or, if it contains more than one compartment, *byūtˢ*, "rooms"; though the *bītˢ* of a *sîyĭd* may also mean a small house erected close to a *qóbba* to give shelter to visitors who spend the night at the place. Other shrines have four walls but no roof. Many saints are known strongly

FIG. 24.—The *bītˢ* of Sîdi Bujîda outside Fez.

to object to having a roof: they want to see the sky or God himself, they want the rain to fall on the grave and birds to visit it, they do not like any person to walk over the place where they are resting. When a roof has been built they have made it fall down This was done, for example, by Mûlăi 'Abdsslam in the tribe of the Bni 'Ăroṣ, by Sîdi Mḥămmĕd u Ya'qob in Imintâtelt in Sūs, and by several saints in Fez. The roofless shrine is called *ḥauš* (in Shelḥa and the Berber of the Aiṯ Sádděn *lḥūš*), independently of the height of the walls; and the same name, or the diminutive *ḥwîyĭš*, is in many cases even given to a grave which is

[1] Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. (Halle a. S., 1889), p. 254 *sqq.*

marked by nothing more than a ring of stones (Figs. 25-27). But a walled enclosure or a ring of stones is by no means always an indication of a grave; they are also found in

FIG. 25.—The *ḥauš* of Sîdi Berdélla outside Bāb g-Gîsa at Fez.

FIG. 26.—*Ḥauš* in the Faḥṣ.

places where a holy man has prayed or rested or camped during his lifetime, and in these cases, too, the name *ḥauš* is often used. Another name for such a ring of stones, which I have heard in Fez and very frequently in Southern

Morocco, but not in the North, is *mzâra*,[1] which literally means a place visited for cult-purposes. It very frequently has an opening to serve as entrance, and in some cases the ring of stones is interrupted by a tree which overshadows the *mzâra*. In some parts of the country, *e.g.* the Ḥiáina, the low-walled enclòsure and the ring of stones are called *ḥauwḕṭa*, and the latter *rắuḍa*; whereas in Fez the term *rắuḍa* is applied to a group of graves surrounded by a wall, whether there be a *sîyĭd* among them or not, and in

Fig. 27.—*Ḥauš* in the Ḫloṭ.

Northern Morocco to a cairn, as well as to a ring of stones, indicating a place where a holy man has rested or prayed. The Berbers of the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi call a *ḥauš* or *ḥauwḕṭa ṭaḥắuwiṭṭ*, and a *qóbba* or *bīt*^{s} *rrắuḍaṭ*.

Cairns are made on various occasions and for various purposes, but we are here concerned only with such as derive *baraka* from their connection with a saint. When found in the immediate vicinity of a shrine they often indicate the border of its precinct, or *ḥorm*, but they may

[1] A *mzára* may also be found at a place where the wife of a shereef, while travelling with her husband, has given birth to a child. It is called "the *mzâra* of the shereef's wife who gave birth to Sîdi (or, if the child was a girl, Lắlla) So-and-so".

also owe their origin to the wayfarers' habit of throwing a stone on the roadside when they pass a shrine without visiting it. There are other cairns on the roadside, especi-

FIG. 28.—Cairn outside Fez.

FIG. 29.—Cairns on the road to Fez.

ally on the tops of hills, at the place where a shrine first becomes visible to the traveller (Figs. 28-30); such a cairn is called in Dukkâla *kárkōr r-ṛagúba* or *l-kárkōr dyāl r-ṛagûba*, and in Andjra *r-rắuḍa* (or, if small, *r-rûîḍa*) *fi*

š-šfaq. Cairns of this class, which are exceedingly common,[1] are, like the previous ones, considered to partake of the

FIG. 30.—Cairn on the road between Tangier and Tetuan.

FIG. 31.—Saintly cairn with a flag-staff.

baraka of the saint. But sometimes a cairn marks the place where a holy man is said to be buried or to have

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 63 *sqq*. For similar practices in the East see Conder, *op. cit.* p. 313 (Palestine); *Idem*, *Heth and Moab* (London, 1885), p. 336; Rouse, 'Notes from Syria', in *Folk-Lore*, vi. (London, 1895), p. 173; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 28 *sq*.

rested or camped, or it is called by a saintly name, as though it were itself a saint (Figs. 31-32).[1] Thus I saw underneath the cliff called *ajarif n sîdi Isḥaq*, in the neighbourhood of Timsurîyin in Ḥáḥa, a cairn which was venerated

FIG. 32.—Whitewashed saintly cairn outside Tangier.

as the grave of Sîdi Isḥaq. In the same neighbourhood, in the valley of the Asif n Wajjánḍa, I found another cairn named Lällá Ḥsna, at a yard's distance from a huge piece of rock, which likewise had the name of a female saint, Lálla Tĭgnûgi; and in the tribe Iglíwa there is a saint by name Ait bĕn Wuis'ádn who is also represented by a cairn

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 66 *sqq.*

only. Outside Ṣĕfru, south of Fez, I saw a cairn called Lâlla Nfîsa—the latter word, which means a "lying-in woman", being an epithet given to shereefas—and another, much larger cairn, in the centre of a pit called *l-ḥáfra dyāl mûläi Dris*. Mûläi Idrîs the Elder camped here once, and in order to get the benefit of his *baraka*, people have carried away from the place so much earth that it has gradually become a pit. It is here that the *qâḍi*, or judge, of Ṣĕfru performs his sacrifice at the Great Feast. In Andjra there is a saintly cairn on a spot where several roads meet, to mark "the meeting-place of the saints" (*mĕ́jma' ṣ-ṣâlḥîn*), who come there at night. When a large band of scribes are camping at a place on the roadside, they make there a cairn, which is thenceforth venerated under the name of *râuḍa mĕ́jma' ṭ-ṭálba*; there are such cairns on the mountain road which leads to Mûläi 'Abdsslam's shrine from the north, at Ḍār Zhĕ́rû in the Faḥṣ, and at Ûlad Fârĕs in the Ġarbîya.

Very frequently a cairn made at a place where a holy man has rested or camped is whitewashed and has a stick with a white flag stuck into it, and the same is the case with many walled enclosures and rings of stones. White is a clean and auspicious colour, which keeps away defilement and evil influences. Whitewash is also sometimes smeared on single stones or rocks which are in some way connected with saints. In the village z-Zémmīj, in Andjra, I saw two whitewashed stones of different sizes. When we passed them, one of my companions pressed his forehead against the larger one and kissed it. He told me that the two saints who have their sanctuaries close by, Sîdi Ḥmed ben 'Ăjîba and his son Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j 'Abdlqâder, used to sit on these stones. A shereef in the village 'Ain ben 'Ămár, in the Ġarbîya, told his wife before he died that he had seen in a dream all the great saints assembled at a certain rock outside the village, and ordered her therefore to whitewash it every year (Fig. 33).

There are various other names given to saintly places besides those mentioned above The word *maqām* or *mqām* is in Dukkâla applied to a place where a saint has prayed

or rested during his lifetime. A *maqām* is therefore often indicated by a ring of stones, but it is not always so. In the Shiáḍma I saw a rock in the sea, which was said to be the *maqām*, or praying place, of Mûläi Ya'qob ben Menṣōr, though it is also called Sîdi Búlĭbra, or "the Master of the Needle", because Mûläi Ya'qoḇ once when he was praying there dropped into the sea a needle, which was brought back to him by a fish. In Fez, on the other hand, I was told that a *maqām*, like a *ḍâreḥ*, is always either a *qóbba* or

FIG. 33.—Whitewashed rock at 'Ain ben 'Ámár.

a *bīt*ˢ, containing the grave of a saint, and in Tangier and its neighbourhood it may be any saintly grave with the enclosed space round it.[1] The praying place of a saint is also called his *mắrka'* (or *mắrkaḥ*), but the same term (in Shelḥa *lmărkă'* [Aglu] or *timzzíllit* [Iglíwa]) is applied to a place where scribes or other people have prayed and a ring of stones has been made to prevent its being defiled by

[1] In the East the word *maqām* or *muqām* ("station") likewise denotes the grave of a saint, generally, though not necessarily, provided with a building of masonry (Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, p. 304 *sq.*; von Mülinen, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxx. [Leipzig, 1907], p. 159); but it is also used for a place where a saint has some time rested and prayed (Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* [Paris, 1908], p. 309). See also Conder, 'The Moslem Mukams', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1877* (London), p. 89 *sqq.*

anybody in the future. The *ḫálwa* or *ḫálua* (in Shelḥa and the Berber of the Ait Waráin *lḥlūt*) of a saint is generally a lonely place where he is, or has been, in the habit of performing his devotions in solitude. It may be indicated by a cairn, a ring of stones, a walled enclosure, or a building with a roof; but it may also be a cave or a hole in the ground made by the saint himself to serve as a place for prayer. Close to the spring *'ain l-gĕddîd*,[1] to the south of Casablanca, I saw a so-called *ḫálua* of Mûläi 'Abdlqâder consisting of a circle of stones round a large palm bush. The *ḫálua* of Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ on the mountain Gîliz outside Marráksh is a cave; and on the mountain Jbel l-Ḥḍar in Dukkâla there are numbers of underground *ḫáluāt* belonging to the mountain itself represented as a saint. They are much frequented, especially at the Great Feast, when people from the neighbourhood come and slaughter sheep there and sell the meat to visitors. But many visitors stay there as long as a year or more, some even till their death, diligently engaged in prayer and spending the nights and cooking their food in a *ḫálua*. There are snakes in the *ḫáluāt*, but they hurt nobody and nobody hurts them. Of a very different type are the *ḫálwa* of Mûläi 'Abdlqâder and that of Sîdi l-'Arabi l-Ḥatˢîmi in Fez: they are buildings, resembling mosques without minarets, where people go to say their prayers. A third well-known *ḫálwa* in Fez is the *ḫálwa* of the Qarwîyin, the largest mosque in Morocco. It consists of a room inside the mosque and is visited only by scribes, who go there to recite the Koran shortly after noon and at the time for the *'âṣar*, or mid-afternoon, prayer. It is this that gives it the character of a *ḫálwa*; for it is not associated with any saint. Among the Jbâla a *záwia*[2] of the Därqâwa is called the *ḫálwa* of the *šēḫ*, that is, their patron saint.

It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word *sîyĭd* is applied to a place where a saint is

[1] For the meaning of this word see *infra*, ii. 121.

[2] See *infra*, i. 65.

buried, whether it be indicated by a *qóbba* or *bīt*^{s} or *ḥauš* or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the *mzâra* or *ḥálwa* of the *sîyĭd* So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are *fqēr* (Dukkâla), *agurram* (Shlöḥ), and *amrabḍ* or *amrâbăḍ* (Aiṯ Sáddĕn, Ṯemsâmän, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). The Arabic form *mrâbăṭ* does not anywhere in Morocco, so far as I know, mean a shrine.

The holiest part of a sanctuary in which a saint is buried is of course the grave itself. The grave of an important saint is in many cases marked by a cenotaph, called *dárbūz* or *ḍárbūz* (in Dukkâla *ṭābūt*), like a large chest which is covered with coloured cloth. This covering is called *l-kĕswa* or *lă̆-ġṭa* or, if it is only cotton, *l-ízār de s-sîyĭd*; but there are commonly several coverings (*ksâwi*, *ġóṭya*, or *ġṭáwḍāt*), one over the other. At each corner of the *dárbūz* there may be a short rod supporting a brass-ball (*jāmōr*), and in the centre a so-called *mqabrîya*, or rising in the shape of two convergent flights of steps, with a covering on which the profession of faith or passages of the Koran are embroidered with gold. Close to the *dárbūz* there is a money-box, called *r-rbé'a de s-sîyĭd*, into which visitors put their cash contributions. When the saint has no *dárbūz*, coloured cloth is sometimes put on the grave itself; but there are even reputed saints, for example Sîdi Ben Nōr in Dukkâla, whose graves have neither *dárbūz* nor cloth.

Many saintly places in Northern Morocco contain one or more cannon-balls, with which visitors, especially sick people, touch their heads or bodies. To explain their presence it is said that when the Sultan wanted to shoot some friend or *protégé* of the saint, the latter attracted the bullet so that it fell down in his sanctuary. In Sîdi Ṭálḥa's *ḥálwa* in Andjra there is a hollow iron ball, which is said to carry letters between the saint's *ḥálwa* and his grave in Tetuan. In Dukkâla the *mujāhḍīn*, but no other saints, have cannon-balls, which are kissed by visitors on account of their *baraka*. At two or three roadside places to the north

of Mehdîya I saw such a ball, together with an oil-jug and some coins, on the mat belonging to the neighbouring shrine.[1]

The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his *ḥorm* or *ḥarm*, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The *ḥorm* may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it. Whilst Sîdi Ben Nōr has no *ḥorm* outside his *qóbba*, the *ḥorm* of another great Dukkâla saint, Mûlăi 'Abdllah, consists of the whole space inside the cairns made on spots from which his shrine becomes visible to travellers; anybody who can see the tower of his mosque is in his *ḥorm*, and is consequently protected by him against persecutors. The limits of a saintly *ḥorm* are often indicated by cairns outside the shrine, as said above, or by a wall or fence, and sometimes, as in the case of Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ' sanctuary in Marráksh, by an iron chain. Mûlăi Idrīs' *ḥorm* in Fez, which contains streets with houses, shops, and a hot bath, has for its borders three wooden fences (*m'âraḍ*, sing. *má'raḍ*) intended to keep off animals, besides the walls of houses; neither the inhabitants of the houses in the *ḥorm* nor anybody who has entered it can be touched by the Government, and the shops there pay no public taxes. The *ḥorm* of Sîdi Ḥmed š-Šáwi contains houses but no shops, and the same is the case with Sîdi Ḥmed bnę Ḥya's *ḥorm*, whereas some other saints buried in Fez have no other *ḥorm* but their *qóbba*. Very frequently the *ḥorm* of a *sîyĭd* has natural borders; if it is situated in a grove, for instance, the whole grove is commonly its *ḥorm*. Lálla Tákĕrkust, in the tribe Ait Wauzgit, has a *ḥorm* which extends to the river below, called Asif nĕ Nffis; and Sîdi Héddi's *ḥorm* in the Bni 'Ăroṣ includes the little river near his shrine, the fish in it being inside the *ḥorm* and therefore sacred.[2]

[1] In that neighbourhood and farther south saints who are buried near the road often have a mat (*ḥṣîra*, in Shelḥa *tagĕrtilt*) on the road-side, where passers-by put some coin to be spent on the lighting-up of the shrine. There is an oil-jug on the mat.

[2] *Cf.* Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 187.

A still more comprehensive term than *ḥorm* is *záwia* (Berb. *zzawit* [Shlöḥ], *zzawiṯ* [Aiṯ Sádděn, Aṯ Ubáḥṯi, Aiṯ Wäryâġer], *zzaušṯ* [Ṯemsâmän]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his *záwia*. Thus Old Fez (Fās l-bâli) is the *záwia* of Mûlăi Idrīs the Younger (*l-'ázhar*), Zärhūn the *záwia* of Mûlăi Idrīs the Elder (*l-'ákbar*), a suburb of Azemmur the *záwia* of Mûlăi Buš'áib, a large village to the east of Marráksh the *záwia* of Sîdi Ráḥḥal, Wazzan the *záwia* of the Wazzan shereefs; nay, the whole tribe of Tazĕrwalt is said to be the *zzáwit* of its patron saint Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa. Although such a *záwia* in some degree partakes of the *baraka* of its great saint, it has not the same sacredness as is attributed to his *ḥorm*; it is not regarded as an asylum for refugees. Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ' *záwia*, again, is the quarter of Marráksh in which he has his tomb. The word *záwia* is further applied to a house close to the tomb of a certain saint in which his *ḥúddąm*, or followers, are accommodated when they come there; as also to a house erected by them for congregational purposes in another place than that where he has his shrine. There they assemble on Fridays, on the seventh day of the great religious feasts (*saba' 'īd*), on the day when the saint has his *mûsem*, and whenever his descendants visit the place; and there also his *ḥúddąm* are lodged when they are travelling. The term *dār záwia*, again, is applied to a house where a saint is living, or in which a departed saint used to live and which is now inhabited by his descendants, who there show hospitality on a large scale to his *ḥúddąm* and poor people, and in return receive gifts from the *ḥúddąm* (Fez); but I have also heard a house of this description called simply *záwia*. This is the name given to my friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam's house in Tangier, which contains the grave of his grandfather - a well-known saint of the Baqqâli family—and therefore is considered too sacred to be entered by an infidel like myself. In this instance the *záwia* is actually a shrine, but the case is exceptional; in Fez an inhabited house containing the grave of a saint who formerly lived in it is not called *záwia* but *dār s-sîyĭd*. It is

certainly a mistake to define a *záwia* as a saint-shrine[1] or to call a *qóbba* a *záwia*,[2] as has been done even by otherwise well-informed writers.

We have still to notice holy places and objects connected with saints, or personified as saints, which are neither marked in any of the ways described above nor situated in the *ḥorm* of a *sîyĭd*. They are springs or other watery places, trees, rocks, caves, or cannons. Outside Demnat I saw a holy spring which is called Lálla T^{s}abakîyut^{s} because a female saint of that name has bathed there; nothing else is known of her, and in spite of its holiness the spring is a meeting-place of *jnūn*. Another spring in the same neighbourhood, called Iġzer, is regarded as sacred because the saints of the town go there to drink and wash. In a river near Demnat, the so-called *asif n sîdi Náṣăr u Mhâṣăr*, there is a little rapid with holy water in which people troubled with *láryäḥ* (*jnūn* as disease spirits) bathe to get cured, married women to become mothers, and unmarried girls to be married soon; the saint from whom the river has its name is said to be buried underneath some stones in the middle of the rapid, or to have sat on them (Fig. 34). But at the same time the river is said to be haunted by *jnūn*. In the province of the Ḥămár, south of Dukkâla, there is a salt-water lake called Zîma, which is said to be a *fqêra*, or female saint, on account of its strong *baraka*. It owes its existence to a letter which the Prophet wrote to the saintly families of the Rgrâ̤ga, Šnhâja, and Bni Dġōġ. Each of them wanted to keep the letter, and at last they agreed to settle their dispute by burying it. At the place where they carried out their decision they found on the following morning a lake.

At Lắġzûa, in the district of the Ida Ugŏrḍ in Ḥáḥa, I saw, close to an old argan tree of a peculiar shape, pieces of

[1] This is done by Budgett Meakin, *The Moors*, p. 269.

[2] M. Gaillard (*Une ville de l'Islam: Fès* [Paris, 1905], p. 127) writes:—"Le mot 'seyid' . . . sert à désigner soit le tombeau d'un saint, soit la chapelle ou la qoubba dans laquelle se trouve ce tombeau. Si la construction a quelque importance on se sert de préférence du mot 'zaouiya'".

broken earthenware containing dry cow-dung with three ears of corn and the same number of shells of molluscs impressed in it; they had been put there to promote the growth of the crops, the round shells being said to represent the desired thickness and fullness of the ears, and the cow-dung no doubt serving as symbolic manure. Some ears are also placed under the tree if the crops are eaten by birds or rats; and the skulls of sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast are taken there with music and "powder play" to safeguard the domestic animals and other property from accidents. The

FIG. 34.—Holy rapid in Asif n Sîdi Nâṣăr u Mhâṣăr.

bark is used externally as a remedy for headache or a sore throat in children. The tree in question was called Argan Isîsĕl, but also Sîdi Ddhăbi, or "the Golden One", a saint who was said to have been buried in the place where it grows, "some two hundred or a thousand years ago", although there was no sign of a grave. At Tagrăgra, among the Iniknâfĕn in Ḥáḥa, I camped in the shade of a sacred terebinth (*igg*), from which no branch was allowed to be cut, and which was a safe place of refuge, because Sîdi Bûbkĕr, son of Sîdi Ḥmed ben Nâṣăr, had camped underneath it; yet there was no external sign of its sanctity. In the neighbourhood of

Amzmiz I passed on a hill a solitary old pine tree, underneath which Sîdna 'Ali was said to have rested after he had driven away the Christians; and in the tribe Ait Bůṭṭaib in Sūs there is an argan tree—called *argan n ssĕrj*, "the argan tree of the saddle", on account of the shape of its trunk—which is said to have grown up at a place where Sîdna 'Ali prayed and left his saddle behind. Outside Ṣĕfru I saw a nettle tree (*Celtis australis*; in Berber *tuġzâza*) growing on the so-called grave of Sîd d-Dĕrraṣ, with amulets, rags, and hair tied to its root. Close by there was formerly another similar tree under which Sîd l-Qůwas was buried; when it was cut down, some years ago, by the command of the governor of Ṣĕfru and the Aiṯ Yúsi, the powerful Qaid 'Omar, blood oozed out from its trunk, and the governor was murdered a few days afterwards. In the same neighbourhood I passed a wild olive tree, which was the only indication of Sîdi Mĕjbar's grave. When I was camping near the shrine of the famous Můläi Būsĕlhäm, on the coast to the south of Laraiche, I had outside my tents some very small fig trees, the only trees or bushes in the neighbourhood, which were said to grow on the grave of a female saint of unknown name; I found there some broken earthenware and a plait of hair, but no other indication of the holiness of the place.

At l-Qṣar s-Sġēr in Andjra there is in the sea close to the shore a holy rock with a hole, which is much frequented both by mountaineers and townspeople suffering from some illness, and especially by women desirous of offspring. The visitor steps three times over the hole so as to be wetted with the water spurting out from it. The hole is called *'ámmi š-šwîyaḥ*, "my uncle the little sheikh", and the rock together with the *ḥauš* on the shore Lálla z-Zahhâra, the name for a mythical female saint of whom nothing is known. Strangers who visit this place also pay a visit to the *ḥauš* of Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem either when they come there or on their way home. In the same district, at the village l-Ḥámma, I saw a perpendicular rock which was said to have possessed *baraka* ever since those who built the mosque of the village made whitewash there by the command of

Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j, the patron saint of Tangier; nobody would nowadays be allowed to do such a thing at that rock. In the village Būl'áišiš in Andjra there is a holy stone with a *ḥauš* round it, called *l-ḥájra ḏ mûläi Mḥámmäḏ* because a saint by that name used to sit astride on it.[1]

Outside the gate of Azemmur, on the road to Mazagan, there are a large number of boulders called *hájrāt lĕ-mjąhdīn*, "the stones of the *mujāhḍīn*". In the neighbourhood of Sîdi Mḥámmĕd u Slîmąn's shrine in Ḥáḥa I passed a large stone and a wild olive tree, collectively called Lálla Rắḥma u Mûsa. A Berber from Aglu told me of a solitary steep rock in a garden, at the foot of which is buried Lálla Ta'bŭllaṭ, a holy spinster who, before she died, told her friends to bury her, not in the cemetery, but below the said rock; this happened long ago—nobody knows when,—and there is no sign of a grave. When a pregnant woman cannot be delivered of her child, a friend of hers goes to this place, scratches some grit from the rock, mixes it with hot water, and gives the mixture to the woman to drink. If the child is born alive, five tufts of hair (*tikŭyaḏ*) should be left on its head, and these should later on, when the child has grown bigger, be shaved off at Lálla Ta'bŭllaṭ's grave and be left there.

Near the village Ḍār Fĕllaq, in the tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb, I saw an isolated rock with a hole in its centre, through which sick children are passed three times from west to east; some people said that it has *baraka* because it is turned towards Mecca, but others maintained that a saint, whose name they did not know, had once sat close to it. At a few miles' distance from Demnat there is a small rock projecting from the ground in the shape of the back and neck of a camel, with an opening underneath, just large enough for a person to creep through (Fig. 35). People who are suffering from some illness and women who are longing for offspring crawl three times through the hole, from west to east; but if they have been disobedient to their parents they are wedged in between the rock and the

[1] See *infra*, i. 557.

ground. This happened to one of my servants, who took it very seriously, until I cheered him up with the suggestion that there might be another explanation for his failure to pass through, namely his corpulence. I found a bundle of rags tied to the rock; when a sick child who has been dragged through the hole recovers, its clothes are deposited at the place. The rock, which on account of its shape is called *talġomt* or (in Arabic) *n-nâga*—that is, "the she-camel",—is said by many people to derive its *baraka* from Sîdi Yâḥya, whose shrine is in the neighbourhood, whereas the natives

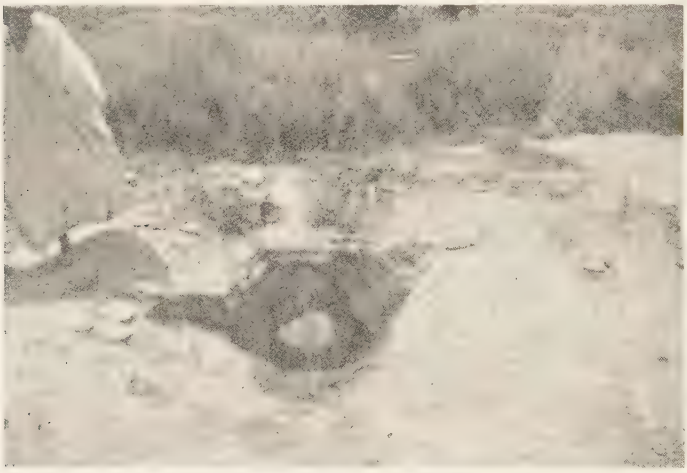


FIG. 35.—*Talgomt* or *n-nâga* near Sîdi Yâḥya.

of the place assert that it is the tombstone of a certain Sîdi Búlhua. Anyhow a person who comes here to be cured first visits Sîdi Yâḥya's shrine, and if he sacrifices an animal to that saint he kills a fowl at the *talġomt*. Close to the rock there was a large stone on which girls had deposited tufts of hair in order to stop their hair from falling out. Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sîdi Mḥammĕd u Slîmân's shrine among the Inĭknâfĕn in Ḥâḥa, Mûlăi 'Abdsslam ben Mšīš's among the Bni 'Ăroṣ

(the so-called *l-ḥájra ḏĕ l-mŏṣḥôṭīn*), Sîdi 'Âli ben Ḥărâzem's in Andjra, and Sîḏi Bûḥaiyâr's among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer in the Rîf; and in the wall of Sîdi Ḥbîb's *qóbba* on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed. Through the passage near Mûläi 'Abdsslam's *ḥauš* the person has to pass three times in the same direction.

Close to this passage there is a cave containing the mark of a snake which was petrified by the saint when it wanted to bite him. From this mark in the rock, which is called *l-ḥájra ḏĕ l-ḥáiya mẹmsôḥa*, "the stone of the transformed snake", or *l-ḥájra l-bekkáya*, "the weeping stone", water begins to drop when women visiting the cave are chanting the prayer for the Prophet; they catch the water and rub with it their hands and face and especially their eyes if diseased. Again, if a person has been bitten by a snake he may cure himself by spitting on the wound and rubbing it with earth from the cave. In this neighbourhood there is also the so-called *zétma mûläi 'Abdsslam*, marks of the saint's footstep and stick, which were impressed in the rock at the moment when, during his flight from his persecutors, the Ûlaḍ Bûṭwâjen, an angel told him that it was his last day, and he stopped in consequence. These marks are encircled by a whitewashed *ḥauš* and are objects of veneration, being kissed by people who visit the place. The stick is still kept by a shereef of his family and one of his slippers by a shereefa.

In various parts of the Great Atlas there are, on rocks or stones, marks of Sîdna 'Ali's five fingers (among the Iġiġain) or of the hoof of his horse s-Serḥâni (also called Sărḥān),[1] which he was riding when he fought the Christians and which was no real horse but an angel; and in the tribe Ůnzûṭṭ I saw on the slope of a mountain a large circular mark and another smaller one inside it, the former of which was said to have been made by the horses of Christians and the latter by Sîdna 'Ali's horse, when he was fighting with them. In Dukkâla the hoofs of the *mujâḥḍīn's*

[1] For similar marks of 'Alī's hand or of the hoof of his steed in Persia see Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians* (London, 1893), p. 185.

horses have left marks on rocks or stones ; such a mark is surrounded by a ring of stones (*mzâra*), and people show their veneration for it by a bow.

Outside Ṣĕfru, in the mountain called Jbel Bínna, there is a large cave, *käf l-ihûdi*, " the cave of the Jew ", which is visited both by Jews and Muhammadans, who light candles and burn incense in it ; according to the former four Jewish *kwáhna* are buried there, whereas according to the latter it is the grave of a Muhammadan saint. In another cave in the same neighbourhood there are resting *seb'áṭ'u rîjāl*, seven holy men, who once lay down there to sleep, together with a bitch which they had with them.[1] They slept for a long time, indeed so long that when they woke up again and wanted to buy some bread from Ṣĕfru, their money was not accepted because it had become antiquated. Then they went to sleep again, and they are sleeping still. There is a cairn over the place in the ground where they are resting, and over the entrance to the cave there is a curved walling. People who visit the cave light candles and burn incense in it. We shall in another connection[2] notice instances of caves which are abodes of *jnūn* but at the same time in one way or another connected with some saint. The *jnūn* of Imi n Taqqándut in Ḥáḥa have Sîdi Mḥămmĕd u Slîmạn as their *fqī* and Sîdi Ḥămăd u Mḥămmĕd ben Nâṣăr as their sovereign, and the place itself is also called Lálla Taqqándut, as if it were a female saint. A holy man is buried close to the cave Agŭlzi in Aglu, where he used to sit while alive, but the cave had been haunted by *jnūn* long before his arrival there, and is so still. The curative virtue

[1] For the legend of the Seven Sleepers in Muhammadan countries see the following works and the literature quoted in them : H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc* (Alger, 1920), p. 27 *sq.* ; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 198 ; Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle* (Paris & Alger, 1884), p. 63 *sqq.* ; Schumacher, *Across the Jordan* (London, 1886), p. 309 *sqq.* As M. Basset justly remarks, this legend may have come to Morocco before the Arab conquest, but there can be no doubt that the allusion to it in the Koran (xviii. 8 *sqq.*) largely accounts for its popularity. *Cf.* the descriptions of those caves given by Brunot, ' Cultes naturistes à Sefrou ', in *Les archives berbères*, iii. (Paris, 1918), p. 138 *sqq.*

[2] *Infra*, i. 283 *sqq.*

of the cave Ġer Făṭṭa in Andjra is attributed by some people to the *jnūn* haunting it, but by others to the *baraka* of an unknown saint who had been inside it. The cave of l-Máqṭaʿ outside Fez, which is haunted by Muhammadan *jnūn* only, contains springs dedicated to certain *jenn* saints, and both these and other *jenn* saints are in the habit of assembling there. But there are also haunted caves which are associated with no saint at all;[1] and, generally speaking, the gloomy feeling evoked by a cave is decidedly more apt to suggest the presence of *jnūn* than the *baraka* of a saint.

Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the cannons on the sea-shore outside Rabat I noticed two which had rags tied to the knobs at their back and round the two small images of animals with which each of them was decorated in the centre. The rags had been tied there by childless women, who attributed their barrenness to some enemy's witchcraft, in the hope that the saint whom the cannon represented would open the knots and thereby remove the *tˢqāf* from which they were suffering. One of the cannons is called Sîdi Mắimūn; the other one was said to have no name. The saintly nature of the former was discovered on an occasion when the French were bombarding Salli, situated opposite to Rabat on the other bank of the same river-mouth, and the people of the sister-city were forbidden to fire at the foreigners; the cannon in question then began to fire by itself. There are also cannons bearing Sîdi Mắimūn's name at Mehdîya, Azemmur, Demnat, and Agadīr Iġīr; the last of these cannons, which is outside the shrine of Sîdi ʿAbĕlla bĕl Kūš, is said to fire a shot when the new moon of Ramaḍān is seen for the first time, and another one on the twenty-seventh night of the same month, which is a holy night. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer in the Rīf four of the *mujāhḍīn* have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes. At l-Borj dĕ Ḥaᵈᵈjáwi at Tangier there is a cannon said to be from Mûläi Slîmaṇ's (Suleimän's) time and therefore known as *l-médfaʿ dĕ mûläi Slîmaṇ*, which is regarded as holy, because it

[1] *Infra*, i. 288 *sq.*

once destroyed a vessel of the Christians which had entered the harbour with hostile intentions; persons who are ill go and kiss or sit on it, and artillerists who have misbehaved take refuge at it. Cannons are generally looked upon as asylums,[1] which shows that there is *baraka* in them. By seeking refuge at them, people place themselves under the protection of the Sultan, to whom they belong; and sometimes rebels sacrifice animals to them to secure his pardon. Their *baraka*, however, is not merely borrowed from their holy owner; there is also *baraka* in rifles and shooting-guns, as appears from various ceremonies connected with hunting and target-shooting. It is said that all guns partake of the *baraka* of the *mujāhḍīn*, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The *baraka* of guns is shared by the *ṛma*, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, *š-šēḥ dâ r-rma*. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.[2]

We have thus come to objects to which *baraka* is attributed independently of any connection with a saint. But the difference in this respect between them and many holy places and objects of nature, the *baraka* of which is explained by contact with a saint, is purely theoretical. When such a place or object is neither marked by a building nor stones, nor situated in the *ḥorm* of a *sîyĭd*, we may nearly always be sure that the connection with the saint is only imaginary; and so it undoubtedly is in many other cases as well. The grove surrounding a saint-shrine may of course be accounted for by the circumstance that people are afraid of cutting down trees and bushes which grow in the immediate vicinity of a *sîyĭd*, but when the saint is an entirely obscure personage, as he often is in such cases, we have good reason to suppose that his shrine owes its existence to the grove rather than the grove to the shrine; and the same is the case when

[1] *Cf.* Salmon, 'Le "droit d'asile" des canons', in *Archives marocaines*, iii. (Paris, 1905), p. 144 *sqq.*

[2] *Infra*, i. 522, ii. 368.

the latter is situated underneath a large or curiously shaped tree. The ancient Arabs had their sacred trees and groves,[1] indeed "in all parts of the Semitic area trees were adored as divine"; [2] but the conspicuous prevalence of tree-worship, under the most transparent disguise of human sainthood, among the Berber-speaking population of Morocco makes it plain that such worship was not first introduced into the country by the Arabs. To the instances mentioned above I shall add a few others, in which the place, although not only connected with a saint but also marked as a saintly place, without doubt derives its holiness from the tree growing there.

The "grave" of Sîdi Bulánwar, the patron saint of Lăġzûa in the Ida Ugŏrḍ in Ḥáḥa, is an enclosure of stones overshadowed by an argan tree, the bark of which is used externally as a remedy for headache or a sore throat; he was a *rgrâḍi*, who fought against the Christians in the holy war, and wherever a *rgrâḍi* is buried a tree grows up on the grave. At Zzáwit n Sîdi Brâhim u 'Ḗsa, in the same tribe, I saw a similar enclosure round the "grave" of Sîdi Búrja, with an exceedingly fine argan tree at a little distance from it; the tree, which was said to be the *qóbba* of the saint, is an object of worship, and nobody is allowed to take from it even a leaf. At Azaġar n Äit Bîhi, in the tribe Ait Zĕlḍn in Ḥáḥa, there is a miracle-working olive tree on the "grave" of Sîdi Butlîla; sick people relieve themselves of their

[1] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 104 *sq.*; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 185 *sqq.*; Nöldeke, 'Arabs (Ancient)', in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, i. (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 666; von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, iii.-iv. (Wien, 1890), p. 12 *sq.*

[2] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 104. See also Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, ii. (Leipzig, 1878), p. 184 *sqq.* For sacred trees among the eastern Arabs see Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 703; Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 34 *sq.* (Palestine); *Idem*, *The Witness of the Wilderness* (London, 1909), p. 184 (*ibid.*); Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 25 *sqq.* (*ibid.*); von Mülinen, *loc. cit.* p. 185 *sqq.* (Carmel); Conder, *Heth and Moab*, pp. 304 (Palestine), 336 (Moab); Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 330 *sqq.* (*ibid.*); Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. (Cambridge, 1888), p. 449 *sq.*; von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 13; Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day* (London, 1902), p. 90 *sqq.*

complaints by tying a woollen string to one of its branches. Outside Ṣĕfru I saw a cairn at the root of an olive tree known under the name of Sîdi 'Abdl'ăzîz, and an enclosure of stones round a large lotus tree called Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman š-Šrīf Būsĕdra, or "the Shereef, Master of the Lotus tree". In one instance I was told, by an old Berber from Sūs, how it happened that a tree, which was holy before, came to be called by the name of a saint. It was a very large argan tree growing at Bûzărz in the Ait Ba'ămran. Once a man climbed it for the purpose of cutting branches from it. He

FIG. 36.—*Sîyid* with a tree, in the Ḥloṭ.

had hardly begun his work, when an immense quantity of blood—as much as if he had killed fifty bullocks—came out from the tree. Seized with fear he jumped down and, lying on the ground unable to move, made a noise which attracted there many people from the neighbourhood. Scribes came and burned tar and made him inhale the smoke; and while lying there he said, "Sîdi Bŭmhădi has killed me". At last he got up, the people sacrificed a bullock at the place, made there an enclosure of stones, and called the tree Sîdi Bŭmhădi; and since then a feast with sacrifices has every year been held in honour of the new saint.

All this happened when my informant was a youngster, and he saw himself the blood which came out from the tree.

On the other hand, there are also miracle-working trees which have remained unassociated with any saint. In the district of the Ulâd Râfa, belonging to the Ulâd Bû'âzîz in Dukkâla, there is a large fig tree called Kárma Mûrsêṭa, which is miracle-working, although in no way connected with a saint. If a person suffers from boils, he gets rid of them by rubbing them with a copper coin and then hammering the coin into the trunk of the tree, saying that he now knocks the boils into the tree; and if another fig tree is dropping its fruit before it is ripe, the owner of it goes to Kárma Mûrsêṭa on a morning before sunrise and picks from it a few unripe figs, which he hangs on his own tree. In the village Bné Ḥlu in Andjra I saw an olive and a fig tree which had grown together so as to make one tree, and the people told me that if anybody suffers from fever a leaf taken from it is burned and the smoke inhaled by the patient. At a certain place in the tribe Ait Waráin there are two large larch trees called *ídilaun i'ărríměn*, "the larches of the brave ones". They are called so because once upon a time two enemies met at this place and had a fight with swords. While they were fighting it began to snow, and the snow on the ground soon rose to the height of a tree. They went on fighting, however, but at last they perished by the cold. After this the two small larches which were growing at the place rapidly developed into two very large trees as a memorial of the brave fighters. If a woman cannot get a child she cures her barrenness by putting her belt seven times round the trunk of one of these trees, so far as it goes, and then fastening it to one of the seven ropes which have been tied round each of the trees. There she leaves it, and now she will soon give birth to a child.

In the holiness of many stones, rocks, and caves, which have been brought into connection with saints, we have another instance of the ancient belief in the miraculous qualities of certain objects of nature. The stone-worship of

the ancient Arabs, mentioned by Clement of Alexandria,[1] still survives in the veneration of the black stone in the wall of the Ka'bah and certain other sacred stones in Mecca and its immediate neighbourhood ;[2] and they also had their holy caves and pits.[3] But there were sacred stones or rocks and caves in Northern Africa long before the arrival of the Arabs.[4] Pomponoius Mela says that at Ammonium (Sîwah) there is "a certain stone sacred to the South Wind. When it is touched by the hand, straightway there arises a wind which, hurling the sand about like water, rages as if over waves ".[5]

In Morocco there are also miraculous stones and rocks which are not even nominally connected with saints ; and the salutary effects of visits to caves are, as we have seen, attributed rather to the presence of *jnūn* and *jenn* saints than to the *baraka* of human saints. I heard of a very heavy stone, possibly a meteorite, lying on the road between Aglu and Mogador, which passers-by try to lift over their heads. Those who succeed show thereby that they are good people, whereas failure indicates a bad character ; from this the stone has got its name, *tákurt ń ddnub*, which means "the ball of sins". Near the village Būl'áišiš in Andjra there are stones, called *l-ḥjar ḏe l-'ărûṣa*, "the stones of the bride", which are said to be a petrified bridal procession. Once upon a time, when a bride was taken to the bridegroom's village in an *'ammāṛîya*, or bridal box, on the back of a mule, she was seized with diarrhœa on the road, and one of the *ḥaddáyĭn*, or women attending her, committed the terrible sin of using *rġaif*—thin cakes made with butter and

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Cohortatio ad gentes*, ch. 4 (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, Ser. Graeca, viii. [Parisiis, 1857], col. 134).

[2] See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. (Haag, 1888), p. 21.

[3] Muir, *op. cit.* p. ccxiii *sq.* ; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 101 *sqq.* ; Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 197 *sqq.* ; von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 3 *sqq.* For sacred stones among modern Arabs see Curtiss, *op. cit.* pp. 84 *sqq.* and 94 *sq.*

[4] R. Basset, in Hastings, *op. cit.* ii. (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 507 *sq.* ; Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, i. (Paris, 1913), pp. 243, 244, 256 ; Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, iii. (Paris, 1920), p. 47 *sqq.*

[5] Mela, *De chorographia* (*situ orbis*), i. 8. *Cf.* Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, ii. 45.

oil but without yeast—for clearing away the dirt. As a punishment for this, God at once transformed the bride, the *'ammāṛîya*, the mule, and the whole procession into stones.[1] At the petrified *'ammāṛîya* there is now a *ḥauš*, which is visited by girls who are anxious to marry. They go there on three successive Thursdays in the early afternoon (Thursday being a day on which brides are frequently taken to their new home) and on three successive Fridays before sunrise, put inside the *ḥauš* some dolls representing brides and bridegrooms, with some of their own hair tied round the latter, and then step over the dolls three times with the legs apart. Near Brīš, in the Ġarbîya, I saw a ruin with two vaults unconnected with any saint, through which sick people and women who wish to become mothers creep seven times in the same direction, and then have a bath in the river below. This is done on several (I believe seven) mornings before sunrise. If a sick child is taken through the vault, its clothes are left there on the first morning, and if a prospective mother creeps through it, she leaves there her belt; but the visitor must never go back the same way as she came. In Aglu there is a passage through a rock which is called Taṣldiaḥt. People suffering from malaria walk through it three times from the same side. If they happen to be seized with fever just while they are walking through it, they will never again have another attack of the illness, which evidently is supposed to be left in the passage. Otherwise the patient fills a vessel with water from a spring, called *tál'aint únwal n Tṣldiaḥt*, "the spring of the room of Taṣldiaḥt", which is in a cavity in the rock, and takes it home with him to drink of the water. Even ordinary stones are sometimes treated as though they were sentient beings. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz it is the custom for a person who in walking knocks his foot against a stone to say to the stone, *Sămḥi lîya*, "Pardon me".[2]

[1] For the story of a wedding procession being transformed into stones *cf.* H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc*, p. 21.

[2] At Sîwah, if a man stumbles against a stone and thereafter chances to fall ill, he is thought to have annoyed a *jinnī* (Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* [London, 1914], p. 173).

There are also holy mountains in Morocco. The Jbel l-Ḫḍar, of which I have spoken above, got its *baraka* in the following manner. When Âḍam was ploughing in 'Abda, to the south-west of Dukkâla, his wife Ḥáwwa went to the East to fetch food for him. On her way back she met in Dukkâla [1] a huge serpent, which did not allow her to proceed further. Âḍam then called out to all the mountains that the mountain which first came and placed itself on the serpent would become as holy as 'Arafāt, and this was done by the Jbel l-Ḫḍar. According to another version, there was in the time of the Prophet a serpent which fed on human flesh. The Prophet said to the mountains that any of them which came and killed the monster would become one of the mountains of heaven, and the Jbel l-Ḫḍar listened to the call. When it trampled on the serpent, blood came out from its eyes; but the blood was transformed into spring-water, which explains why there are now so many springs on this mountain. It is so holy that those who several times take part in the feast which is held there on the day of 'Arafa—the day preceding the Great Feast—are considered to acquire thereby a merit equal to that which is conferred on a Moslem by the pilgrimage to Mecca. In the district of the Iglíwa, in the Great Atlas, there is a certain mountain with a boulder on the top. Three times in the hottest part of the summer the people of the neighbourhood take butter there as an offering to the saint of the mountain; should they omit doing so, the animals grazing on the slopes of it would become ill or die, or their owners would themselves become ill or have some other misfortune. Sacrifices are also made at the boulder, or money is put into a hole in it, by persons who are anxious to get the assistance of the saint. The butter and the meat may be eaten by the people on the spot, but nothing of it must be carried away from there; once when a man took back with him some butter for the feast with which he was going to

[1] At Amzmiz I was told that, according to many people, Âḍam and Ḥáwwa were born in Dukkâla, although those who have read the literature on the subject are aware that they were born in Paradise and from there went to Dukkâla.

celebrate the occasion when his son had learned the whole of the Koran by heart, the son soon after fell from the animal which he was riding and broke his arm. The saint of the mountain is not buried there; he is a living saint, whose footsteps can be seen at a certain spring, and he has the same name as the mountain itself.

Outside Demnat there is a holy mountain with two junipers and Lálla Tˢuglḫäir's *lḥūš* on its top (Fig. 37). I found a large number of rags and a few calves' feet tied to a branch of the larger tree. The former were said to have

FIG. 37.—Lálla Tˢuglḫäir, on the top of a hill outside Demnat.

been tied there partly as *'ār* by supplicants and partly by persons who had recovered from an illness; and as to the calves' feet I was told that it is the custom to hang there feet of stillborn calves or foals or such as died shortly after birth, so that the future offspring of their mothers shall remain alive. The smaller tree had narrow strips of cloth wound round its trunk, and rags were tied to some of the stones. Women also sacrifice a cock at the *lḥūš*, especially unmarried ones who are anxious to get a husband. This mountain saint is only visited by women and children. In another part of the Great Atlas, in the tribe Ůnzůṭṭ, a very ancient saint, Lálla Tamjlůjt, has likewise her sanctuary on

the top of a mountain; the natives did not know whether she is buried there or not. When I visited a mountain village in the same tribe, the inhabitants told me that the mountains there have *baraka*: the little they produce is sufficient to feed a large number of men and animals. On the top of the mountain Tigûdĕrn in the tribe Ait Bráyim in Sūs there is the grave of Lálla Ḥájja, marked with a *lḥūš*, and close to it there are many wells, said to have been dug by Christians; they are no less than 163 in number, but should anybody count them he would become blind. People who visit this place bring no provisions with them, because there is always plenty of food: wherever they sit down on the mountain food will come to them—nobody knows how. But he who eats there must take care not to put a bone into his mouth, because, if he did, it would at once become like a stone. My informant, who had himself visited the place and partaken of food there, said that when he spoke of that saint he began to shake.

A grove at the top of the mountain in Andjra on the slopes of which the village z-Zémmīj is situated contains the *ḥauš* of Sîdi Má'ṭa, a certain saint said to be buried there. The mountain is the highest in the neighbourhood and visible from afar, and the saint is a very ancient one who has left no descendants. On the top of a mountain south of Tangier there is the *qóbba* of Sîdi Ḥbīb. This saint, who is said to have been the barber of the Prophet, came to Morocco riding on a mule. He told his servants that if he died while riding they should let the mule go as it pleased and bury him where it stopped. It went to the top of the said mountain, which in consequence became the saint's grave. At about ten minutes' distance from it there is an enclosure of stones under some trees, to mark the place where the mule stopped for a rest; and near the *sîyĭd* there is a deep well. When I was camping close to the foot of the mountain the well was dry, and the people looked upon this as an evil omen for the country. Sîdi Ḥbīb's *qóbba* is a place where the saints of the East and the West meet. He is a very kind and hospitable saint, who at once grants any supplication made to him; and people

go and stay at his tomb, often for a considerable length of time, engaged in praying and other devotional exercises. A very similar explanation is given of a certain Mûlâi 'Abslām's *ḥauš* on the top of a hill, with an extensive view, in the Ulâd Râfa in Dukkâla; this worthy, who was a descendant of the great Bni 'Ăroṣ saint bearing the same name, told his servants that when he died, they should put his body on the back of a mule and bury it at the place to which the animal carried it.

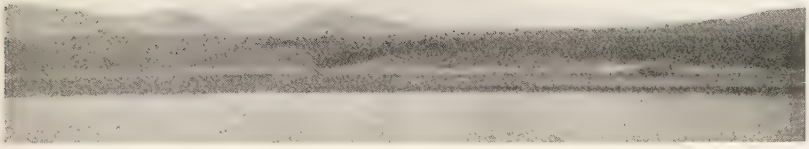


FIG. 38.—Sîdi Ḥbīb's mountain seen from the Ġarbîya.

The *baraka* attributed to mountains is no doubt rooted in beliefs known to have existed among the Berbers of olden days;[1] though at the same time it suggests traces of later Arab influence. Among the Bedouins saints' tombs are very frequently placed on the summits of mountains.[2] So

[1] R. Basset, in Hastings, *Encyclopædia*, ii. 506 *sq.*; Gsell, *op. cit.* i. 243; Toutain, *op. cit.* iii. 46 *sq.*; Bates, *op. cit.* p. 173. The ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands were mountain-worshippers (Bory de St. Vincent, *Essai sur les Isles Fortunées* [Paris, 1803], p. 93 *sqq.*; Hans Meyer, *Die Insel Tenerife* [Leipzig, 1896], p. 40). For the belief in haunted mountains among the Tuareg see *infra*, i. 377.

[2] Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London, 1830), p. 147 n.* *Cf.* Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* (Berlin, 1860), p. 26 *sq.*; Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 25 (Palestine).

also the saintly spring is in many cases an obvious survival of ancient nature worship. The sacred fountain of the Sun at Ammonium is mentioned by many classical writers ;[1] and in the West, Numidian and Mauretanian dedications *genio fontis*[2] and *genio fluminis*[3] suggest that native superstition was often attached to springs and streams.[4] But the idea of holy springs was also one of the beliefs which the Arab invaders carried with them to their new homes.[5]

In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines. In the neighbourhood of Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem's *ḥauš* in Andjra there is a holy spring called *'ain n-nšōr* where people, and particularly women, wash themselves. A similar spring called by the same name is found near Mûlăi 'Abdsslam's *ḥauš* ; and close to it is another spring, named *'ain baraka*, from which the person who passes it on his way to the *ḥauš* fills his mouth with water. He keeps it in his mouth until he has reached and walked round the *ḥauš*, and then spits it out on the latter ; it is like an offering (*ziâra*) to the saint. At the shrine of Sîḏi Mḥänd in the district of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (*ajăjjiḏ*). A walled place with a spring inside and a partition-wall dividing it into two compartments, one for men and another for women, is found at Sîdi Bûyeṭbaġt's shrine in the vicinity of Demnat ; it is visited by syphilitic patients. So is also Sîdi Ḥămâd u 'Ăli Butízzua's spring in the tribe Ûnzûṭṭ. In Aglu there is a spring called *aman imûḍan*, " the water of the sick ", where persons suffering from an illness, such as malaria, rheumatism, syphilis, or sore eyes, wash themselves before they proceed to the shrine of one

[1] Herodotus, iv. 181 ; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, xvii. 50 ; Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 4 ; Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, iv. 7. 31 ; Mela, i. 8 ; Pliny, ii. 103 ; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xv. 309 *sq.* ; Antigonus Carystius, *Historiarum Mirabilium collectanea*, cxliv. (159). See also Bates, *op. cit.* p. 173.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. viii. *Inscriptiones Africae Latinae* (Berolini, 1881–1904), nr. 4291.

[3] *Ibid.* nr. 9749.

[4] *Cf.* Bates, *op. cit.* p. 173.

[5] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 135, 166 *sqq.* For sacred springs in the East *cf.* Curtiss, *op. cit.* p. 89 *sq.* (Palestine) ; von Mülinen, *loc. cit.* pp. 185, 187 (Carmel).

of the saints who are buried close by—Sîdi Mûsa, Mûlăi ʿĂqōb Mĕnṣōr, Sîdi Lăḥsĕn u Brahīm, or Sîdi Brahīm. There they stay three days and three nights and then make a sacrifice at a place between the shrines. If a person has bought a cow which does not calve he takes to this spring a small water-bucket (*talmărjĕlt*) and, with his eyes shut, drops it into one of the seven holes of the spring; if it is filled with milk when it is pulled up the cow will have a calf, and as soon as the calf is born he goes back to the spring with the first milk of the cow and pours it into one of the holes. If it spreads to all the other holes it is an indication that the cow will give birth to many more calves, whereas if it does not spread she will be barren for the future. The holiness of this spring is accounted for not only by its situation close to the four shrines already mentioned, but by the legend that 166,000 *mujāḥĕdīn* are buried in the neighbourhood. In the district Táġzutt in the tribe Ait Waráin there is a hot spring, called *l'ăin ssḫon*, close to the shrine of Sîdi ʿẸ̆sa. A building with rooms has been erected over the spring, and there are household utensils in every room. The spring is visited by sick people and women desirous of offspring, who first pay a visit to the shrine and then have a bath in the spring. The visitor also throws bread to the tortoises which live in the water. He stays in one of the rooms until he recovers or the saint appears to him in a dream telling him to leave. Outside Ṣĕfru, below the shrine of its patron saint Sîdi Bûṣărġin, there is a brook with a *ḫauš*, which is said to mark the grave of a female *jĕnn* saint, Lálla Rqêya bent[s] Bél l-Ḥămar. A very old tree grows inside the *ḫauš* and another one close by; and when I visited the place I found many rags, strings, tufts of hair, and amulets, tied to their branches. Patients and other supplicants who intend to visit the shrine on the hill above must first go to this place and wash themselves with its water, since their offerings to the saint would otherwise be of no avail.

In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the *baraka* of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly *jnūn* who inhabit the spring. A famous

spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", *seb'átu rîjāl*, at Imzuġ in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lálla Tákĕrkust, who is said to have been their attendant (Fig. 39). The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (*idbäb lmäkän*). If a person is suspected of being troubled with *láryäḥ*, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or

FIG. 39.—Lálla Tákĕrkust.

foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the *qóbba* of Sîḍi Mâlęk, on the border between the Ibqqóyęn and the Aiṯ Wäryâġer in the Rīf, there is likewise a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons suffering from the same complaint. The patient goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and

he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the *qóbba* a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the *mqáddem* and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal. In the Ḥiáina, underneath the hill on which Sîdi Buzrâzar has his shrine, there is a holy spring, *'ain j-jdᾱ̣m*, "the spring of leprosy", with warm and salt water, which is visited by persons suffering from syphilis or skin diseases; it contains many *jnūn* in the shape of tortoises, which are said to be the servants of the saint. The patient throws bread to them, washes himself with the water of the spring, and then goes to the shrine, where he lays down some candles or money, or makes a sacrifice, and rubs his body with the earth of the *sîyŭd*; this is done on three successive Saturdays. At the sulphurous springs of Mûläi Ya'qob, in the hills above Fez, which are visited by crowds of syphilitic patients, two *jnūn*, one deaf and the other blind, are said to act as the saint's assistants. The deaf one boils some of the water, and the blind one cools it by pouring cold water into it, but to avoid extremes of temperature the patients must keep repeating, "Cold and hot, O my lord Ya'qob".

There are other miracle-working springs, which are in no way connected with saints. In Aglu in Sūs there is a spring known by the name *l'ain Uglu*, "the spring of Aglu", where a sacrificial feast is celebrated every autumn on the 8th of October (Old Style). Two cows, big with young ones, are then brought there by the tribe and slaughtered on the bank so that the blood flows into the water, the flesh being eaten by the people on the spot; and it is believed that if this sacrifice were omitted, the crops would fail—no doubt because the water of the spring is used for the irrigation of the cornfields. The water of the small spring *tál'aint n tmûdit*, "the spring of butter", at the foot of *adrār n unffus*, "the mountain of breath", in the district of the Iglíwa, is mixed with the milk in the churn in order to increase the richness of the cream. This spring owes its miraculous power to the fact that it is situated in an exceedingly fertile meadow; and, like *l'ain Uglu*, it is not associated with any

saint. In the river Iġi, in the same district, there is a waterfall, called Amazzeṛ, which is visited by infertile women, even from Marráksh, on account of its *baraka* ; they cure themselves by letting the water pour down over their backs. When I asked my informant if a saint is connected with the place, he smilingly said that he did not know. In the tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb I passed a luxuriant palmetto with knots made on most of the leaves, and a walled spring close by. If a person suffers from fever he makes seven knots on the palmetto and drinks seven times from the spring, both with the left hand ; and passers-by often do the same with a view to keeping well. I was told that there is *baraka* both in the palmetto and the spring, although no saint is associated with them ; but the place must be much haunted by *jnūn*, because a man assured me and my servants that spirits would come and punish us in the night for having broken some of the leaves. I shall in another connection speak of several other haunted springs.[1]

There is *baraka* not only in the water of springs but in water generally, more particularly on the *'āšûra* day[2] and at Midsummer,[3] though, in some degree, also on other occasions.[4] Water is the great means of purification. It cures illnesses and infertility caused by *jnūn*,[5] and is also sometimes used as a means of keeping them at a distance,[6] although water and watery places are, on the other hand, supposed to be haunted by these spirits.[7] The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz say that there is *baraka* in the first water in a new well, hence the people are anxious to drink of it ; and the first drink is given to some childless woman as a remedy for her barrenness. In the same tribe a person who is a victim of witchcraft goes to a river and crosses it three times. At Tangier, when a person starts on a journey, some woman of his family pours water after him in order that he may return in safety.[8]

[1] *Infra*, i. 291 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, ii. 69 *sqq.* [3] *Infra*, ii. 187 *sqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Water.

[5] *Infra*, i. 327. [6] *Infra*, i. 313 *sq.* [7] *Infra*, i. 290 *sqq.*

[8] There is a similar custom in Persia (Brugsch, *Aus dem Orient*, ii. [Berlin, 1864], p. 98 *sq.*).

In the Ḥiáina, if a person intends to go on a journey and his wife is afraid that something bad may happen to him, some two or three days before the intended journey she washes the right legs of his horse with water which has been in the house overnight, and also sprinkles water in the room where he is sleeping. There is a saying, *L-mā ạmān*, "Water is safety"—evidently a play on words, *aman* or *ämän* meaning water in Berber.

Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness.[1] Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell. So also at Rabat a man or woman who has been bewitched goes to the sea, early in the morning unseen by anybody, and lets seven waves pass over his or her body.[2] In Dukkâla, a woman who has been the victim of another woman's black-art likewise bathes in the sea and lets seven waves go over her, and drinks of the water. In the same province a person who suffers from typhoid fever (*mkéllfa*) bathes in the sea so early

[1] *Infra*, i. 327. *Cf. infra*, ii. 189. According to Emily, Shareefa of Wazan (*My Life Story* [London, 1911], p. 309 *sq.*), a girl (presumably at Tangier) who has had no offer of marriage although all her friends of her age are married, is taken to a female saint's tomb near the sea, where ninety-nine measures of sea-water, from a small wheat measure, are poured on her head to break the spell; and within a month she will have offers of marriage. In Syria a girl rids herself of the influences which prevent her getting a husband by letting seven waves pass over her head (Eijūb Abēla, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. [Leipzig, 1884], p. 114).

[2] The same practice is mentioned by M. Brunot in his book *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé* (Paris, 1921; p. 21), where various other rites and beliefs connected with the sea are recorded.

in the morning that he can be back home before sunrise—should he see the sun he would become most dangerously ill—and puts some seaweed on his head, leaving it there until the evening. But water and seaweed may also be brought to him from the sea, together with a mullet (*bûri*), and some cuttle-fish (*rōṭál*) and sea-snails (*bäbbūš dyāl bḥar*). The mullet is cooked, and the patient eats it as hot as possible in order to induce perspiration; the sea-snails and some of the cuttle-fish are likewise boiled, he inhales the fume, eats of them, and washes his face and hands and feet with the gravy; and some raw cuttle-fish and the seaweed are put on his head. Seven draughts of sea-water is a cure for hiccup (Dukkâla); in Andjra they should be from seven waves. In Aglu a person who has been bitten by a mad dog finishes the treatment to which he has been subjected by going into the sea and letting seven waves pass over his body.[1]

He who prays on the sea-shore on forty mornings in succession at daybreak will get anything he asks for on those occasions (Andjra), and he will have much *baraka*.[2] In the sea there are forty saints, or the sea itself is a saint,[3] or a sultan or a king (*mâlik*). It prays day and night: the waves are its prayers (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). Offerings and sacrifices are made to the sea. The young wife in Andjra who takes a bath in the sea to prevent barrenness throws a loaf into it as an offering. At the mouth of the river Tensift, in the Shiáḍma, I was told by the fishermen whom I found on the shore that before they commence the fishing of *šâbël* (*Clupea alosa*) they sacrifice there one black goat, and two others at two shrines close by. When the sea has been very rough for some time the mariners of Rabat and Salli, according to M. Brunot, kill a black goat on the shore and throw it into the sea as *'ār*.[4] People from the Rîf who are on the sea in a gale offer a silver coin, invoking Sîḍi Moḥammeḍ Lăbḥár. More frequently silver coins are in similar circumstances thrown into the sea as offerings to Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ; and we are told of a French steamer which

[1] *Infra*, i. 158. See also *infra*, ii. 307.
[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 45. [3] *Supra*, p. 50.
[4] Brunot, *op. cit.* p. 6.

was once saved by a Moor's throwing his dagger overboard in the name of that saint, with the result that the sea grew calm and the dagger was discovered in the alms-box of the saint at Marráksh.[1] When pilgrims from Tangier are on the sea and it is rough, they make a collection to which everybody contributes a silver coin, and when they are back home the money is offered to the patron saint of their town, Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j, as represented by his nearest relatives, who divide it between themselves. Again, pilgrims from Sūs invoke Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa when a gale is blowing, promising to sacrifice to him an animal on their return if he helps them, and before the promise is made every one makes a knot on a cord in his dress.

In these cases a saint has taken the place of the sea, just as saints have been substituted for sacred springs, trees, and mountains. We may conjecture that the ancient Berbers of Morocco worshipped the sea, as the Libyans had always done, according to Herodotus;[2] and that such a cult was not unknown to the pre-Islamic Arabs is suggested both by a passage in the Koran and by traces of offerings and sacrifices made to the sea which are still found among some eastern Arabs.[3] But Islam is naturally opposed to it: — "It is your Lord who drives the ships for you in the sea. . . . And when distress touches you in the sea, those whom ye call on, except Him, stray away from you".[4] It is also

[1] Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne* (Paris, 1885), p. 110.

[2] Herodotus, ii. 50. The cult of the sea-god was especially practised about Lake Tritonis (*ibid.* iv. 188; *cf.* Neumann, *Nordafrika nach Herodot* [Leipzig, 1892], p. 137, and Bates, *op. cit.* p. 185). A temple to Poscidon was erected by the Carthaginian Hanno about 500 B.C. at the promontory of Soloeïs, which is usually identified with Cape Cantin, north of Saffi (Hanno, *Periplus*, 4, in *Geographi Graeci minores*, ed. by Müller, i. [Parisiis, 1855], p. 3).

[3] At Gaza, in Palestine, there is a custom of throwing bread into the sea as an offering or vow to its inhabitants (Baldensperger, 'Peasant Folk-lore of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893* [London], p. 216). Among the Maronites a sheep is sacrificed on the prow of a ship so that the blood runs into the sea, and the victim is then thrown into the bay as a sacrifice to St. George or Seyide (Curtiss, quoted by Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic* [London, 1908], p. 231 n.).

[4] *Koran*, xvii. 68 *sq.*

said in the Koran that God has "subjected" the sea;[1] and in a legend told in Morocco the sea is represented as a rebel against God who was chastised by him. It once imagined itself to be the strongest being in the world. But to punish it and to show his own power God sent so small a creature as a mosquito to drink all its water. The insect then spat it out, and now it was salt, although it had been fresh before.[2]

Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rīf). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect.[3] I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the *zġârīt* on the shore (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). The Sultan must not travel on the sea; the people say that one sultan should not ride on another sultan. The antipathy of the sea to the Sultan is so great that once when Mûläi l-Ḥaṣaṇ visited Tangier, the sea on his arrival rolled back beyond the ordinary borders of the ebb-tide. Altogether, the sea is a somewhat peculiar saint. As M. Brunot justly

[1] *Koran*, xvi. 14.

[2] *Cf.* on this subject Brunot, *op. cit.* pp. 18, 19, 26. He also mentions (p. 28) the legend in question. My informant was a scribe from Dukkâla, who said that it is written in the books, and a scribe from the Rīf told me that it is known there also (*cf. Boletin folklorico español*, January 1885, quoted by Brunot, *op. cit.* p. 28). See also Laoust, 'Pêcheurs berbères du Sous', in *Hespéris*, iii. (Paris, 1923), p. 348. In the Hebrew scriptures there are traces of the belief that the sea was compelled into submission by God (see Reinach, *Orpheus* [Paris, 1909], p. 260 *sq.*).

[3] According to M. Brunot (*op. cit.* p. 6), however, the mariners of Rabat and Salli believe that "si un taleb parmi les passagers se met à reciter des prières, on est sûr que la mer se soulèvera".

remarks, it has rather the character of a demon.[1] Some people say that it contains even more *jnūn* than the ground; and there are stones in the sea associated with certain *jenn* saints and visited by women, who kiss them, put on them candles and incense, and bathe by the side of them.[2]

There is in the human body a fluid which contains *baraka*, namely, the saliva.[3] Its *baraka* is particularly great in the case of a holy man. We have seen that a saint sometimes transfers *baraka* to his *ḫdīm* by spitting into his mouth; and to such an extent is his *baraka* seated in his saliva that he must be a very holy man to be able to do so without losing it. My friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam was often warned by his mother not to spit into people's mouths when asked by them to do it. No such danger, however, is said to exist if a shereef or other person who has *baraka* uses his saliva for the purpose of curing another person's illness, a widespread practice of which I shall speak presently.[4] At a wedding among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, persons who are desirous of offspring or suffer from some illness ask the scribes for dates which they have received from the bridegroom's mother; the scribes spit on the dates and give them away with a blessing.[5] Once when swarms of locusts ravaged the gardens of Tangier, Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j 'Abdsslam of Wazzan expelled the injurious insects by spitting into the mouth of one of them.[6]

Benign virtue is also, though of course in a smaller degree, attributed to the spittle of ordinary people. In

[1] Brunot, *op. cit.* p. 18 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, i. 364.

[3] For the magic power attributed to spittle by the ancient Arabs see Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 161.

[4] *Infra*, i. 156 *sqq.*; see also *infra*, i. 197, 203. For spitting as a cure for disease among the Arabs of the East see Wallin, *Reseanteckningar från Orienten åren 1843–1849*, iii. (Helsingfors, 1865), p. 264; Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 527; Campbell Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 107; Anderson, 'Medical Practices and Superstitions amongst the People of Kordofan', in *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum* (London, 1908), p. 294. According to ancient Jewish beliefs, spittle possesses much curative power; and the Greeks and Romans regarded it as a means of preventing witchcraft (Blau, *Das jüdische Zauberwesen* [Strassburg i. E., 1898], p. 162 *sq.*).

[5] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 199.

[6] See also *infra*, i. 153.

Andjra a person who feels pain in his chest smears the affected part with spittle seven times in the morning before breakfast; and one whose foot is asleep puts four matches between the toes and a little spittle above each toe. Saliva is used as a means of warding off various kinds of evil influences.[1] An Atlas Berber spat on a coin which I gave him for rendering me a service; he said that it would give him good luck and bring him more money. But a native of Aglu told me that people spit on coins they receive because they believe that there are persons who, by means of a charm or sorcery, can take back the money they give and also cause it to bring with it all other money which has come into contact with it in the bag. The Aiṯ Sádděn have a similar superstition with regard to money given by a Jew, Christian, stranger, or scribe. Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many *jnūn* about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Aiṯ Wäryâġer).[2] Some people spit on copper coins, which are regarded as haunted (Andjra),[3] and on ashes if they tread on them, likewise as a safeguard against the *jnūn* (Dukkâla).[4] A person who borrows another's slippers spits in them before he puts them on his feet lest he should have a quarrel with their owner (Andjra). If anybody is going to make use of a thing which has been used by somebody else—for example clothing bought at second-hand—he first spits on it as a protection against illness or ill-luck, which it might otherwise transfer to him (Aglu). People spit on persons like Jews, prostitutes, and drunkards, and on a cairn made at a place where somebody has broken wind,[5] saying *ṭfû 'ălik*—not merely to show their contempt, but to protect themselves against evil influences emanating from the person or cairn

[1] See also *infra*, ii. 25, 32, 55, 123.

[2] *Infra*, i. 298. [3] *Infra*, i. 290.

[4] *Infra*, i. 295. For spitting in connection with the belief in the evil eye see *infra*, i. 430.

[5] *Infra*, i. 281.

(Andjra). At Fez a person spits if he smells something nasty. In Andjra he spits underneath his cloak if he hears something bad or is frightened by somebody. Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu and Glawi, if a person speaks to another of something bad, the latter spits and says, *Yalaṭīf ur âknsfîld*, "Good God, we did not hear you"; and he who speaks may also spit. When I asked my teacher from Glawi to tell me the Shelḥa word for "illness", he hesitated, and, when he mentioned it at last, he spat, evidently in order to remove the *bạs* from his mouth. A scribe from Dukkâla did the same after pronouncing the Arabic words for a left-handed person and one who is cursed by his parents.[1] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Iglíwa); among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz). This was done by a man from Aglu when a shot was heard while I was talking with him; he said that the hearing of the shot was a favourable omen, and that the same is done if the cry of the *múdden* is heard when somebody is speaking. Another method of benefiting from good words is to wet the finger in the mouth, pull the earlap with it so that the ear opens wide, and say, *Nsĭlla lḥēr*, "We heard the good thing" (Aglu, Iglíwa).

In Andjra a man who intends to go on a journey protects the women who are left alone in his house in the following manner. Three days before he starts he gathers seven small stones, spits on each of them, and places them outside the house: four at its corners, one on each side of the entrance door, and one over the door. He also takes some salt, breathes on it, and throws it on the house. It is believed that if burglars come there at night the stones and

[1] Among the Nandi, in British East Africa, "spitting is principally used to avert ill luck or to bring good luck. . . . If a man tells a lie or says anything that is wrong, he spits" (Hollis, *The Nandi* [Oxford, 1909], p. 78).

the salt will shower upon them like bullets and powder, and they will think that the house is haunted and run away. In the same tribe, if a fisherman refuses to give fish to a person who asks for it, the latter takes revenge by throwing into the sea seven pebbles after spitting on each of them, and at the same time reciting some words from the Koran.[1]

There may also be *baraka* in the spittle of an animal; and the *baraka* of a holy animal, like that of a holy person, is particularly seated in the spittle. If you sell a horse or a mule you should always keep its bridle, because to keep its spittle is to keep its *baraka* (Fez).

Baraka is attributed to many animals. Some of them are holy simply because they are connected with a saint. At Sîdi Héddi's sanctuary, for example, there was a pack-horse which was sent to the neighbouring villages with a basket and brought it back filled with bread and corn; and the people not only trusted the horse with these gifts to the saint, but also kissed it when it came. In the same place there are holy fishes which nobody would dare to catch and eat; when the *mqáddem* of the shrine makes *kŭsksŭ* (*sĕksŭ*) for visitors, he first throws some of it to the fishes, and another portion he gives to the cats, of which there are many at this *sîyĭd*. So also Sîdi 'Ăli Bū́ġâleb has at his *qóbba* in Fez a multitude of cats, which are fed every morning by the butchers of the town and, besides, receive food-offerings from women visitors. In a spring near Mûlăi Būsĕlhăm's shrine I saw a lot of big, fat, and tame fishes, which the people take out of the water with their hands and kiss so as to be benefited by their *baraka*. Among the Shrâga there is even a much venerated *ḥauš* on the grave of an animal, the so-called *lă-ḥmâra dyāl mûlăi Bŭ'ázza*, "the donkey of Mûlăi Bû'ázza". This saint once sent a donkey loaded with presents to Mûlăi 'Ăli ben z-Záhra; on its arrival at the latter's place it died and was buried there, and those who now visit Mûlăi 'Ăli's *qóbba* first pay their respects to the donkey's grave, which is close by. But besides holy animals which derive their *baraka* from a human saint, there are whole

[1] See also 'Index', *s.v.* Spittle.

animal species which are by themselves possessed of *baraka*.

The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much *baraka* in it; it is of high blood (*d-demm l-kbīr*); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; *l-ḫail u l-ḫair wáḥĕd*, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). The *šayâṭīn*, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Ḥiáina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Aiṯ Wäryâġer); it says, *L-ḫăĕr lîya u l sîdi*, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Ḥiáina). It prays to God for the welfare of its owner from morning till mid-afternoon, and for its own welfare from mid-afternoon till sunset (*ibid.*); or, according to some people, it prays for its master from morning even till sunset, by stamping on the ground with its forefeet or by nodding its head (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). Or when it stamps on the ground it is making a subterranean granary for him; when it nods its head towards the East it calls down prosperity on him; when it does so in any other direction it calls down good luck on itself; and when it bends one of its hind legs so that it touches the ground, it is making *fâṭ'ḥa* [1] both on behalf of itself and its master (Ḥiáina). On the other hand, I have also heard that if it stamps on the ground with one of its hind legs its owner will die (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). If a horse or a mule makes a hole in the ground with its hoof, it is digging its master's grave (Ḥiáina) or praying for his death (Aglu), and he should sell it to save his life; and so he should also do if a horse moves its tail round, because such a movement makes the *bạs*, or evil, come (Ḥiáina).

The holiest horse which ever existed was Sîdna 'Ali's horse s-Serḥâni, already mentioned. Once every year at the hour when it died or, as some people maintain, in the month of Muḥarram, all horses in the world, even those belonging to Christians, scratch their faces with their forelegs or rub

[1] See *infra*, i. 186 n. 1.

them against something in mourning for the Serḥâni. Among existing horses the black horse (*l-'aud le-dhâm*) is the holiest, especially if it has a white forehead and a white upper lip. Such a horse is the sultan of all horses, a blessing to its master and his whole village and everybody who travels with it; it is said, *L-'aud le-dhâm yemna' men kull hämm*, "The black horse prevents all trouble". It sees everything, hears everything, runs very fast, and never falls. It is afraid of nothing, and he who rides it has nothing to fear. It is unnecessary to hang on it any amulet, because nature has provided it with the most effective of all charms; the black colour is by itself a charm against the evil eye. An excellent horse is also one who has five white parts, namely, its forehead and its four legs; the number five is likewise a protection against the evil eye. Such a horse discovers all trouble as soon as it begins to move or as soon as the trouble arises—*Mbáiyaḍ l-ḥámsa iṣîb l-hämm kîf ṁša au kîf tʿénša*; and he who rides on it is safe, even in war. A horse which has only its hind legs white is a lucky animal which "will fill the yard after it has become empty"—*Mbáiyaḍ ăt-tʿwâli i'ámmar l-mraḥ b'ad ma ikûn ḥâli* (Ḥiáina).

A horse may be considered auspicious not only on account of its colour, but on account of a so-called *náḫla*, or feather, on some particular part of its body. A *náḫla* at each shoulder-joint (*mjûnaḥ*) is extremely auspicious. A *náḫla* on the stomach at the place for the girth makes the person riding the horse safe: it is "a safeguard against all trouble" —*Náḫlaṭ l-ḥăzám ḍámna men kull hämm*. A *náḫla* on the chest will cause him who rides the horse to be entertained with a good meal wherever he goes. A *náḫla* between the eyes is good, and two *náḫlāt* between the ears of the horse will protect its master from all kinds of evil—*Náḫlaṭ le-gṣâṣ ḍámna mulâha men kull bâs*. On the other hand, a *náḫla* a little lower down on the forehead will make him die from sorrow—*Náḫlaṭ l-gûṣṣa imûtʿ mulâha be l-fáqṣa* or *be l-ġûṣṣa*. All these beliefs prevail among the Arabs of the Ḥiáina, but I have also heard of some of them from Berbers.

The horse gives *baraka* to the saddle. I have even been

told that the saddle is still holier than the horse, and at any rate it is considered more dangerous.

The superstitious regard for horses in Northern Africa may date from an ancient period; the Romans found the Berbers addicted to the breeding of horses at a time when these animals seem to have been rare in the north of Arabia and unknown in the south, and the Numidians, in particular, were reputed horsemen.[1] On the other hand, the descriptions given above of the horses which are considered most excellent are in agreement with the Muhammadan traditions. Abū Qaṭāḍah relates a saying of the Prophet to the effect that "the best horses are black, with white foreheads, and having a white upper lip";[2] while according to Abū Wahhāb he considered a bay horse with white forehead and white fore and hind legs to be the best.[3] In the East,[4] as well as in Morocco and elsewhere[5] in Northern Africa, much importance is attached to the feathers; and it is considered a bad omen if a horse burrows with its hoof.[6] But beliefs of this sort may of course grow up independently among different peoples.

Another animal possessed of much *baraka*, though not equally high-bred, is the sheep. It has the saintly epithet Lálla Mĕnni, to which is added *kull ši mĕnni* (instead of *mĕnha*), "My lady From-me, everything from me" (that is, "from her"), because so many good things come from it—meat, wool, milk (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). The best meat of all is that of a ram, and the most meritorious sacrifice is likewise a ram, especially one with black rings round its eyes or one with a white face; but a ewe is also a more suitable victim at the Great Feast than a goat or bullock or cow or camel.

[1] Stuhlmann, *Ein kulturgeschichtlicher Ausflug in den Aures* (*Atlas von Süd-Algerien*) (Hamburg, 1912), p. 97. On the horse in Northern Africa see Gsell, *op. cit.* i. 229 *sqq.*

[2] *Mishkāt*, xvii. 2. 2 (English translation by Matthews, vol. ii. [Calcutta, 1810], p. 252).

[3] *Ibid.* xvii. 2. 2 (vol. ii. 252).

[4] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 111 (Syria); Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Wien, 1908), p. 275 *sq.*

[5] Voinot, *Le Tidikelt* (Oran, 1909), p. 109.

[6] Baldensperger, *loc. cit* p. 212 (Palestine).

In Andjra, a shepherd is called "sultan" (*sûlṭān*), a cowherd "vizier" (*uzîr*), and a goatherd "Satan" (*šîṭān*). A ram with four horns is highly prized; it protects the other sheep from the evil eye by attracting the first glance (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). The Aiṯ Wäryâġer call it *ajällid wú^{dd}ji*, "the sultan of the sheep", and neither sell nor slaughter such a ram, but let it die a natural death. In the Ḥiáina a ewe which is in the habit of groaning a little before falling asleep is considered very lucky for its owner and his other animals.

The domestic sheep has existed in North Africa from time immemorial,[1] and the ram is known to have been a sacred animal in many of its pagan cults. The Egyptians held this animal sacred to the god Ammon;[2] and at Ammonium (Sîwah) a Libyan god—the Zeus-Ammon of Herodotus,—who was essentially a god of prophecy,[3] likewise had the ram as his sacred animal.[4] The worship of the Libyco-Egyptian god did not die out until the Christian times.[5] He was adopted into the Carthaginian pantheon under the name of Ba'al Ḥaman, the word Ba'al being nothing more than the title "owner" or "master"; and the ram sometimes appears on the stelae of this Carthaginian god.[6] But the ram also figures as a sacred animal farther west. At Bu Alem, in South Oranais, and at Zenaga, near Figuig, there are rock-glyphs of a ram, wearing something like a rayed disc,[7] which have been supposed by some

[1] Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 100 *sqq.*; Gsell, *op. cit.* i. 224.

[2] Herodotus, ii. 42 etc.; Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, ii. (Paris, 1893), p. 401; Sourdille, *Hérodote et la religion de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1910), p. 155.

[3] Plato, *Leges*, v. 738; Aristophanes, *Aves*, 619, 716; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 18; *Idem*, *Nicias*, 13. See also Bates, *op. cit.* p. 191 *sqq.*

[4] Herodotus, i. 46; ii. 18, 32, 42; iii. 25. Mr. Bates maintains (*op. cit.* p. 189 *sqq.*) that although the Egyptians identified this god with Amon, he was an indigenous Libyan god, and that the ram belonged to the native Libyan sacra.

[5] Juvenal, *Satirae*, vi. 554 *sq.*; Claudian, *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, 143 *sq.*; Ausonius, *Epigrammata*, 95; Procopius, *De aedificiis*, vi. 2.

[6] Bates, *op. cit.* p. 198 *sq.*

[7] Flamand, *Les pierres écrites* (Paris, 1921), p. 64 *sqq.*; Gautier, *Sahara algérien* (Paris, 1908), pp. 89, 92 *sq.*

writers to represent the ram of the Egyptian Amon,[1] but according to another opinion are even more ancient than the latter.[2] Moreover, al-Bakrī states that as late as the eleventh century a tribe of idolatrous Berbers in the Great Atlas mountains were worshipping a ram, and that in consequence none of them dared to go to the markets of their neighbours except in disguise.[3]

The prominence nowadays given to the ram in the sacrificial cult and otherwise may thus be reasonably supposed to have its foundation in ancient Berber beliefs;[4] according to al-Buḫārī, camels take precedence over sheep and cattle as animals to be used for sacrifice.[5] But there is also an obvious connection between the holiness of the ram and the *baraka* attributed to its whole species, whose extreme usefulness may have been the ultimate cause of the veneration of its propagator. M. Laoust directs attention to the similarity between the saintly epithet given in Morocco to the sheep, Lálla Mḗnni, and the root *mn* in Amon.[6] According to St. Athanasius, the sacred ram of the Libyans was itself called Amen.[7]

There is also *baraka* in the camel, and many medicinal qualities are attributed to it;[8] but its *baraka* is by no means so prominent as that of the sheep or the horse. People are averse to killing camels unless they become useless by hurting their legs; to do so in other circumstances would

[1] Basset, in Hastings, *op. cit.* ii. (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 508; Gsell, *op. cit.* i. 251 *sq.*; Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 87 n. 1.

[2] Schweinfurth, 'Brief aus Biskra', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl. (Berlin, 1908), p. 92; Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 101.

[3] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by de Slane (Paris, 1859), p. 355.

[4] *Cf.* van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 215 *sq.*

[5] Al-Buḫārī, quoted by Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 115. It is said in the *Mishkāt* (iv. 49. 1 *sq.* [English translation, vol. i. 320 *sq.*]) that a bullock or a cow is a sufficient sacrifice for seven persons, and a camel for seven or ten.

[6] Laoust, 'Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas', in *Hespéris*, i. (Paris, 1921), p. 274.

[7] St. Athanasius, *Oratio contra gentes*, 9 (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, Ser. Graeca, xxv. [Parisiis, 1857], col. 19 *sq.*).

[8] *Infra*, ii. 290 *sq.*

be not only a loss but a sin (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). Nay, even camels which can no longer be used for work are only killed by certain butchers, and these will always remain poor; during my stay at Mazagan there was but one such butcher in the whole town. The camel was known to the Berbers before the Arab invasion, but seems to have been of no great importance, at least in the West.[1] The institution of camels to ride upon is mentioned in the Koran as an example of God's wisdom and kindness,[2] and to eat camel's flesh is regarded in Islam as a kind of profession of the faith.[3] The following saying attributed to the Prophet is heard in Morocco:—*Li ma yâḳul mẹn jmâli ma hûwa mẹn ûmmât'i*, "He who does not eat of my camels does not belong to my people".

Though cattle are not looked upon as holy animals, the cow nevertheless produces a substance which is possessed of *baraka* in a very high degree, namely, the milk. It is said:—*Li ma 'ándû ḥlîb fĕ dârû ḥálya dârû*, "If a person has no milk in his house, his house is empty"; and, *Li ma 'ándû ḥlîb ma 'ándû ḥbîb*, "He who has no milk has no friend". The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and other Arabs consider sour milk (*lben* or *biaḍ*) superior to fresh: it refreshes the stomach, whereas the latter makes it hot. They say that the Prophet used to carry fresh milk with one hand but sour milk with two; yet both are holy. The Jbâla, on the other hand, esteem fresh milk more highly than sour milk, and disapprove of the preference which the Arabs give to the latter. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer consider fresh milk (*ašäffäi*) holier than sour milk which has not been deprived of its cream (*aššir*; in Arabic called *ráyib*), and the latter holier than other sour milk or buttermilk (*aġiy*). As there is *baraka* in milk there is also *baraka* in butter. It may, indeed, be so abundant as to make the butter increase by itself. A Berber from Aglu told me that once when butter was clarified in his presence he saw that it began to run over on the ground, and although jar after jar was filled with it the quantity did not decrease.

[1] Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 94 *sq.*
[2] *Koran*, lxxxviii. 17.
[3] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 115 n. 2.

This, however, can only happen with butter belonging to good and holy persons ; and should anybody say a word on the occasion when butter is seen to increase by itself, the process would stop at once. Some degree of *baraka* is also attributed to the dung of cattle, which is used for purificatory or other ritual or medicinal purposes.[1] Cattle have existed among the Berbers from very ancient times ; [2] it is significant that they have indigenous words for cattle derived from the same root, *fns*, from Sîwah to Morocco.[3] But after their conversion to Islam their regard for milk also found a religious sanction in the Koran, where milk is mentioned as one of God's special gifts.[4]

Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean,[5] a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of *baraka*. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by *jnūn* (Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). In Andjra a person who has a good hunting-dog prays for it and respects it as if it were the *fqī* of the mosque. When it dies he treats it not like an ordinary dog, but with special marks of honour, either burying it or hiding it in some place where it may rest in peace.

The cat, also, is not only a clean animal, but has some *baraka*. It makes ablutions and says prayers every day ; and it is good to eat food of which a cat has eaten before (Andjra). As already noticed, cats are kept and fed at the shrines of certain saints, whose favourites they are supposed to be. These ideas seem to have an islamic origin ; indeed, it is uncertain whether the Berbers kept cats before the arrival of the Arabs.[6] According to a tradition, also known in Morocco, the Prophet was so fond of a cat that he cut off the sleeve of his robe on which it was resting, so as not to disturb it in its sleep. He used water from which a cat had drunk for his purifications,[7] and his wife 'Āišah ate

[1] See *infra*, ii. 294, and 'Index', *s.v.* Cow-dung.
[2] Gsell, *op. cit.* i. 219 *sqq.*
[3] Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 94 ; *infra*, ii. 291.
[4] *Koran*, xvi. 68. [5] *Infra*, ii. 304.
[6] Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 100.
[7] Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 49.

from a vessel from which a cat had eaten.[1] On the north of Cairo there is a garden which was bequeathed by a certain sultan near his mosque for the benefit of the cats.[2] According to popular ideas in Morocco the cat is chiefly a haunted animal or a *jenn* in disguise.[3]

There is much *baraka* in the bee—so small and yet productive of so much sweet and delicious honey; the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz call it a *fqēr*, or saint. It is very clever, it knows everything, it predicts the weather by its different ways of humming. You should always treat your bees kindly. There is a saying that you will have bees only if they like you, although you will have sheep if you like them—in the Shelḥa of the Iglíwa, *Tízua iġ krant úlli iġ tntrīt*. If a bee comes to you in the winter when it is cold, you should take it in your hand, breathe upon it to make it warm, and then let it fly. You must never kill a bee, not even if it stings you. Yet it will die in consequence. The bee once said to the Prophet, "The people eat the food of my children; pray to God that if I sting anybody he may let me die". It said so by mistake, it meant "let him die"; but its request was fulfilled. Indeed, to kill a bee (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz), or at least to kill seven bees (Aiṯ Sáddĕn, Ait Waráin), is as bad as to kill a man; nay, I have even heard that it is as bad as to kill seven men (Ṯemsâmän). And as there is *baraka* in the bee, so there is also *baraka* in the honey; in fact, it may be so strong as to make the honey increase by itself, in which case there is said to be *qaiqûza* in the honey (Faḥṣ, Jbâla). It is called *rēq n-nbi*, "the fasting-spittle of the Prophet" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Tangier). It is mentioned in the Koran as the gift of God, as "a cure for men".[4] I was told that angels will always be in a house or tent where there is honey, unless they are driven away by a black dog or a band of objectionable musicians.[5]

Useful magical qualities are ascribed to many wild

[1] *Mishkāt*, iii. 10. 2 (English translation, vol. i. 109).
[2] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 295.
[3] *Infra*, i. 267 *sq.*, ii. 308 *sq.*
[4] *Koran*, xvi. 71. *Cf. Mishkāt*, xxi. 1. 1 (vol. ii. 373 *sq.*).
[5] See *infra*, i. 140.

animals,[1] but this does not necessarily imply that they have *baraka*. I was told, however, that there is *baraka* in the bat; and some people say that the same is pre-eminently the case with the flesh of the porcupine (Ḥiáina), though this animal is also said to belong to the domestic animals of the *jnūn*. Certain species of birds are regarded as more or less holy—the stork,[2] the hoopoe, the nightingale, the swallow, the turtle-dove, and the wild-dove. The swallow is said to be a shereefa, and swallows are also called *ḫoṭṭaif n-nbi*, "the swallows of the Prophet". The turtle-dove, which from its cooing has got the name *dukrû-(ḏukrû-)llah*, or "praise God",[3] is a scribe among birds, who says his prayers at the regular hours. A wild-dove is a shereef (Ḥiáina) or shereefa (Ait Waráin) or *fqēr*, "saint" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). Pigeons are sometimes supposed to be dead saints in disguise; and so are snakes. The Iglíwa call a snake which they find in their granary *lbaraka n tgĭmmi*, "the *baraka* of the house"; and among other Berbers, also, it is considered lucky if a snake comes into the granary or into the house or tent, or if it is found at the place where a tent is going to be pitched (Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Nḏēr). The frog, though frequently supposed to be a *jẹnn* or haunted by *jnūn*, is sometimes named a *fqêra*, or female saint (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); it is constantly heard repeating the formula *Lā ilâha illa llāh*, "There is no god but Allāh" (Aglu, Iglíwa). Some people call small black ants "shereefas" (Ait Waráin), whilst others attribute *baraka* to the red ants (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). I have also heard that there is a little *baraka* in a certain kind of vermin, which thrives so well in the clothes of the faithful that without it, if we may believe a Moorish proverb, no man can be a true Moslem:—*Li ma fih qmūl ma ši mślem*.

As certain animal species so also certain species of the

[1] For beliefs relating to wild animals see *infra*, ii. 312 *sqq*.

[2] *Cf.* Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* (Alger, 1888), p. 225; Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle* (Paris et Alger, 1884), p. 177.

[3] In Syria it is believed that the turtle-dove is constantly invoking the name of God (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 103).

vegetable kingdom are possessed of *baraka*. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and *sĕksŭ*.[1] The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). It is the *baraka* of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.[2] *Baraka* in an exceptional degree is ascribed to the seed, as also to the last portion of the crop on the field, which is not cut by the reapers but must be left untouched for a while, so as to transmit the *baraka* to the next year's crop; it is "the bride of the field", from which the corn is to be reborn when the field comes to life again.[3] For a similar reason the threshing-floor must not be swept clean at once: the grain left preserves there the *baraka* of the corn and transmits it to the next year's crop, especially when afterwards, mixed with other grain, it is used for seed.[4] It is also believed that he who eats the last remainder of a dish eats its *baraka*; and even more *baraka* is sometimes ascribed to crumbs found on the ground. There is very much *baraka* in yeast.[5] The bread gives *baraka* to the public oven in which it is baked. There is a saying that "the oven precedes the mosque"—*L-fárrān sbaq d-d-jâma'*; but this is only said to mean that you have to strengthen yourself by eating bread before you go to the mosque.

Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. *náḫla*; Berb. *ainiu* or *tainiut* [Iglíwa], *ṯíni*^{n} [Temsâmän]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period;[6] but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia.[7] Another holy tree, like-

[1] See *infra*, Chapter XVI.
[2] *Infra*, ii. 251 *sq.*
[3] *Infra*, ii. 219, 220, 225 *sqq.*
[4] *Infra*, ii. 242.
[5] *Infra*, ii. 248 *sq.*
[6] Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 91.
[7] Osiander, 'Studien über die vorislâmische Religion der Araber', in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vii. (Leipzig, 1853), p. 481.

wise held sacred in the East,[1] is the olive (Arab. *š-šéjăra de z-zéitˢūn*; Berb. *tazzitunt* [Iglíwa], *zzeitun* [Ṯemsâmän]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times.[2] It is said that it has one of the names of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the *baraka* of its oil (Arab. *zītˢ*; Berb. *zzīt* [Iglíwa], *zzḗšṯ* [Ṯemsâmän]) may be so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dangerous.[3] It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).[4] An olive stick is sometimes said to keep away evil spirits.[5] Many people maintain that there is *baraka* in fig trees also, but this is denied by others, who say that the fig tree (Arab. *kárma*; Berb. *azär* [Iglíwa], *oaṭṭû* [Ṯemsâmän]) is *mejnûn*, or haunted by *jnūn*.[6] In any case much *baraka* is universally ascribed to dried figs together with other dried fruits—dates, raisins, walnuts, almonds—the so-called *fâkya*, which plays a very prominent part in ritual practices.[7] At weddings, for instance, *fâkya* is used, as it is said, to increase the food-supply for the married couple,[8] to make everything sweet,[9] to bring good luck,[10] or as a means of purification.[11] There is *baraka* in grapes (Arab. *ʿăineb*; Berb. *aḍīl* [Iglíwa], *ddīršṯ* [Ṯemsâmän]) and pomegranates. It is a widespread cure for fever combined with headache to put pounded grapes on the head of the patient, and if fresh grapes are not avail-

[1] Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 203 (Palestine).

[2] Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 89.

[3] *Infra*, i. 220 *sq.*

[4] In Syria newly-married people are recommended to eat olives in order to get male offspring (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 105).

[5] *Infra*, i. 310. For the use of the olive in ritual practices see also 'Index', *s.v.* Olive.

[6] *Infra*, i. 282. In Palestine also fig trees are supposed to be the abode of evil spirits (Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 204).

[7] See 'Index', *s.v. Fâkya.*

[8] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 195, 216, 217, 358.

[9] *Ibid.* pp. 206, 207, 217, 358.

[10] *Ibid.* pp. 204, 217, 358.

[11] *Ibid.* pp. 208, 362.

able vinegar (*ḥall*) may be used instead. The pomegranate (Arab. *š-šéjăra de r-rúmmąn*; Berb. *tarrmant* [Iglíwa], *arṁman* [Ṯemsâmän]) figures in certain rites which will be described below.[1] Although it has been cultivated in Northern Africa since early times,[2] the belief in its benign virtue may partly at least be traced to Islamic influence. The Prophet said that every pomegranate contains a fecundating seed from Paradise;[3] and in Morocco its seeds are called *dmû'ŏ n-nbi*, "the tears of the Prophet". Among the eastern Muhammadans the pomegranate has a widespread reputation for containing magical or medicinal qualities.[4]

The laurel (Arab. *rand*) and the myrtle (Arab. *răiḥān* or *răḥān*) are holy. Leaves or twigs of them are boiled in water, and with this water, mixed with Moorish ink, charms are written for various purposes. Laurel leaves are also boiled in water which is given to sick persons and animals to drink as a medicine, and people from the Rīf who visit Mûläi 'Abdsslam's shrine take home with them laurel branches from its neighbourhood to dry and burn their leaves and inhale the smoke as a cure for illness. The laurel is further used as a charm against the evil eye.[5] On its leaves is written the profession of the faith. Both laurel and myrtle sprigs are taken to shrines by people visiting them, and myrtle sprigs are in some places put underneath the body of a dead person on the bier,[6] or at the bottom of the grave,[7] or on the top of the latter.[8] The myrtle has the scent of Paradise, liked by the angels. The Prophet is reported to have said that Ādam fell down from Paradise with three things: the myrtle, which is the chief of sweet-scented flowers in this world; an ear of wheat, which is the chief

[1] See 'Index', *s.v.* Pomegranates.

[2] Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 93.

[3] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 161.

[4] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 93; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 305; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, ii. (London, 1832), p. 196 *sq.*

[5] *Infra*, i. 441. [6] *Infra*, ii. 453 *sq.* [7] *Infra*, ii. 458.

[8] *Infra*, ii. 461, 480 *sqq.* For the ritual use of the myrtle see also 'Index', *s.v.* Myrtle.

of all kinds of food in this world; and pressed dates, which are the chief of the fruits of this world.[1] There is *baraka* in the leaves of the poplar (Arab. *ṣáfṣaf*);[2] they are strewn underneath the body of a person suffering from fever (Tangier).

Baraka is ascribed to the oleander (Arab. *défla*; Berb. *alili* [Iglíwa, Aiṭ Sádděn], *ariri* [Ṯemsâmän]), especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" (*súlṭān d-dfel*) or "sultan of the oleander" (*súlṭān d-défla*; among the Ait Temsâmän called *aj^{dd}jiḏ uriri*), that is, an oleander the branches of which have clusters of four leaves instead of the usual three. It is used as a charm against the evil eye and as a remedy for illness caused by it.[3] In Andjra leaves of oleander branches, especially of branches of a "sultan of the oleanders", which have been brought to the house shortly before Midsummer day, are written upon and then used as amulets, and pens are made of the wood.[4] In the same tribe oleander branches are planted in fields and vegetable gardens as charms against vermin.[5] In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words from the Koran on leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsūl, Ṯemsâmän, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Aiṭ Sádděn) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it. Among the Bni 'Ăroṣ persons suffering from fever are fumigated with the smoke of oleander leaves taken from branches which have been gathered on the *'āšûra* day.[6] Among the Aiṭ Sádděn it is a cure for headache to touch the head with a glowing oleander twig; and the churn is fumigated with the smoke of oleander leaves. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr the oleander is used for the healing of wounds: a twig, the leaves of which have been removed, is bent double and the bent end put into hot ashes, after which the skin round the wound is touched with it—and

[1] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 166.
[2] See 'Index', *s.v.* Poplars.
[3] *Infra*, i. 441 *sq.*
[4] *Infra*, ii. 191.
[5] See also *infra*, ii. 192.
[6] *Infra*, ii. 59.

this is to be done twice,—or the wounded man inhales the smoke of a burning peeled twig after it has passed underneath his clothes.[1] At Imi n Taqqándut patients troubled with *lâryâḥ* are beaten with oleander twigs.[2] Among the Ait Waráin oleander sticks with black and white designs are used at the New Year's masquerade, perhaps for a cathartic purpose.[3]

At Midsummer and *āšûra* there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species,[4] and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Ḥiáina *šendgûra* (*Lavandula stœchas* or *Teucrium Chamœpitys*; also called *šengdûra*, *šengûra*, and, in the Berber of the Aiṭ Yúsi, *tof ṭṭărba*) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (*mût l-arḍ*), to savage dogs to make them tame.[5] A Rîfian from the Aiṭ Wäryâġer said that it contains seventy medicines, and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrenness; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach. Among other Berbers its root is, dried and pounded and mixed with *aḥrir* (a kind of gruel prepared with salt butter) or oil or butter, eaten as a medicine for stomach-ache (Aiṭ Nḍēr). *Šendgûra* is further used as a means of protecting the churn from witchcraft or increasing the quantity of the butter;[6] and so are also *Atractylis gummifera* (Arab. *dâd*; Berb. *addâḍ* [Aiṭ Sádděn, Ṯemsâmän]),[7] lavender (*ḥálḥal*),[8] and tartar (Arab. *ṭárṭar*;

[1] For other cures in which a red-hot or burning oleander twig is used see *infra*, i. 156 *sq.*, ii. 181, 183, 404.

[2] *Infra*, i. 285, 287.

[3] *Infra*, ii. 172.

[4] *Infra*, ii. 59, 60, 182–185, 190 *sqq.*

[5] *Infra*, ii. 169, 181.

[6] *Infra*, i. 248, ii. 299.

[7] *Infra*, i. 248, ii. 298 *sq.*

[8] *Infra*, i. 248.

Berb. *ṭṭărḍār* [Aiṭ Yúsi]).[1] Charcoal made of lentisk (*Pistacia lentiscus*; Arab. *ḍrō*; Berb. *fâḍis* [Ṯemsâmän] or *fâḍiṣ* [Aiṭ Wäryâġer]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.[2] Harmel (*Peganum Harmala*; Arab. *ḥármel*), rue (Arâb. *fîjel* or *rûṭa*; Berb. *iúrmi* or *aúrmi*), rosemary (*Rosmarinus officinalis*; Arab. and Berb. *azir*), coriander seed (*qáṣbōr*), agal-wood (*'ūd qmâri*), gum-ammoniac (*fâsōḫ*), gum-lemon (*ḥṣalûbạn*, *ḥṣálbạn*, *ḥṣánbạn*, or *ḥṣánabel*), mastic (*méska*), and saffron (*zá'frān*), keep off or drive away *jnūn*.[3] Harmel, rue, coriander seed, gum-ammoniac, saffron, the wood of the tamarisk (*ṭárfa*),[4] and garlic (Arab. *ṭ'aūm*; Berb. *ṭiššā't* [Ṯemsâmän]) are charms against the evil eye;[5] but it is said that a person who eats garlic is forsaken by his guardian angels as long as the smell remains in his mouth (Tangier).[6] The same is the case with a person who eats raw onions (*ibid.*), or the angels may even abandon him for forty days (Iglíwa); yet there is medicinal value in onions (*bṣal*).[7] In the Ḥiáina a horseman who goes to the war puts into his saddle bag (*ṣmaṭ*) a couple of onions to prevent bullets from hurting him. Leo Africanus speaks of a yearly festival celebrated by the servants and officers of the hot baths at Fez, in which a wild onion played the chief part; it was covered with a linen cloth wet with lees, hung up in a small brazen vessel or laver at the door of the bath as "a most happy boading or signe of good lucke vnto their stoue".[8] A young man who wants his beard to grow rubs his chin with a piece of a water-melon, the juice of which is thought to produce the

[1] *Infra*, i. 248.

[2] *Infra*, i. 325.

[3] *Infra*, i. 308–310, 316, 317, 322, 324 *sq.*

[4] In Palestine the tamarisk is regarded as very holy, but also as haunted (Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 203).

[5] *Infra*, i. 430–432, 442 *sq.*

[6] Modern Moslem orthodoxy looks with aversion upon garlic, "which renders man's breath disagreeable to the angels" (Bates, *op. cit.* p. 178).

[7] See also *infra*, i. 452. *Cf.* Hilton-Simpson, 'Some Arab and Shawia Remedies and Notes on the trepanning of the Skull in Algeria', in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii. (London, 1913), p. 707 (Aurès).

[8] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 428.

desired effect (Fez, Tangier). By smelling a narcissus (*sĕkkîn ĕd-dîb*) a person avoids catching syphilis, and, if he has caught it, cures himself of it (Ḥiáina). At Fez absinthium (*šîba*) is used as a remedy for heartburn and stomach-ache: it is boiled in water, sugar is added, and the mixture is drunk warm. It is also, mixed with tea, supposed to promote digestion after a meal; but if persons have such tea together on two or three consecutive days they will quarrel and separate—*Š-šîba tˢädd'ăi be l-fraq*. There is *baraka* in tar, which is used as a protection against *jnūn* and snakes and as a remedy for illness;[1] but it is also a dangerous substance on account of its black colour.[2]

Bushes of white broom (*Retama monosperma*; Arab. *rétma*, coll. *rtem*; Shelḥa *algû*), by preference but not in all cases such as are growing in the vicinity of a *sîyĭd*, have the tips of their stalks twisted into knots by persons suffering from back-ache or pain in the spleen or some other complaint.[3] The Aṯ Ubáḫṭi say that there is much magic virtue in this plant. They give it, cut very fine and mixed with flour, bran, and warm water, to dogs which show signs of becoming mad; and to expel lice they boil it in water with which they then wash their bodies. In Andjra a piece of a fresh palmetto (*'ăzef*) leaf, tied round the little finger of the right hand is a cure for eructations; and a person troubled with hiccup (*fûâqa*) ties round his neck a string of the same material on which he has made seven knots, but he should do it in the morning before sunrise and the palmetto leaf should be the only one growing in the place. Among the Ait Temsâmän, if a child suffers from whooping-cough (*ṯaḫănnaqṯ*), it is at sunset placed on the dunghill (*ṯäzubäšṯ*) of the household, and a left-handed man (*azermaḍ*) ties round its neck a string made of a fresh palmetto (*ṯîzzḍent*) leaf and then cuts the string with a sickle. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (*ḍiġazḍand*) as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow. Some scribes recite over it something from the

[1] See 'Index', *s.v.* Tar. [2] *Infra*, ii. 27.
[3] *Infra*, i. 555 *sq.*

Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make *fâtha*, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.[1]

While the magical or medicinal qualities ascribed to these vegetable species or products may, in some cases, be of too trifling a nature, or too purely medicinal, to be dignified with the epithet *baraka*, there can be no hesitation in applying this term to the benign virtue attributed to henna (*ḥánna*), the well-known colouring matter produced from the leaves of the Egyptian privet (*Lawsonia inermis*). Henna is called *nōr n-nbi*, "the light of the Prophet". According to the Muhammadan tradition, the plant from which it is produced was his favourite flower; he said that it was "the chief of the sweet-scented flowers of this world and of the next".[2] Henna is used not only as a cosmetic, especially by the women, but as a means of purification or protection from evil influences, and for medicinal purposes. Mixed with water it is applied to the forehead of a person suffering from fever, to the head of a boy troubled with ringworm, to the hair of women to promote its growth, to chapped feet and hands.[3] There is also *baraka* in walnut root or bark (*swaḳ*), with which women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. *khūl*; Berb. *tazûlt* [Ait Waráin], *ṯazúlṯ* [Aiṯ Sáddĕn], *ḏ'ázûrṯ* [Aiṯ Wäryâğer], *ṯazuṯš* [Ṯemsâmän], with which they paint their eyes black.[4] These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

[1] See 'Index', *s.v.* Palmetto.

[2] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 165.

[3] See also 'Index', and Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Henna.

[4] See also 'Index', and Westermarck, *op. cit.* 'General Index', *s.v.* Walnut root or bark, Antimony.

As there is *baraka* in many animals and trees and plants, there is also *baraka* in the ground (Arab. *arḍ*; Berb. *akal* [Iglíwa], *ṯamazirṯ* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *tamort* [Ait Waráin], *ḏamorṯ* [Aiṯ Wäryâğer], *ṯamoâ^t* [Ṯemsâmän]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask".[1] Nay, he created man himself from earth;[2] hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother.[3] If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, *Ára ámmăk ára būk*; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the *mwâlīn l-arḍ*, "the masters of the ground", that is, the *jnūn* living in it;[4] and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money.[5] On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is *ráḥma*, "mercy", in it. The earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (*zénzla*) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.[6]

[1] *Koran*, xli. 9. [2] *Ibid.* xxxv. 12.

[3] *Cf.* Nöldeke, 'Mutter Erde und Verwandtes bei den Semiten', in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, viii. (Leipzig, 1905), p. 161:—"Die Erde als Mutter der Menschen ist auch den Semiten nicht fremd".

[4] *Infra*, i. 295, 300. [5] *Infra*, i. 282.

[6] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 105 *sqq.*; *Idem*, in his translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*, i. (London, 1877), p. 21 *sq.*; Struck, 'Zur Kenntnis afrikanischer Erdbebenvorstellungen', in *Globus*, xcv. (Braunschweig, 1909), p. 88 *sq.*; *Idem*, 'African Ideas on the Subject of Earthquakes', in *Journal of the African Society*, viii.

Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have *baraka*. This is the case not only with antimony but with salt (Arab. *melḥ* or *mläḥ*; Berb. *tisnt* or *tisĕnt* [Shelḥa, Ait Waráin], *rmräḥ* [Ṭemsâmän]); it is said that if anybody treads on salt he will have to pick it up with his eyelash in the future life (Ait Waráin).[1] Salt is a very popular means of keeping off or expelling *jnūn*,[2] and rock-salt is sometimes used as a charm against the evil eye.[3] The fume of benzoin (*jâwi*) destroys the effect of the evil eye[4] and, in particular, scares away the *jnūn*.[5] These spirits are afraid of iron and steel, and silver and copper, or at least of certain objects made of these metals.[6] At Fez, if a little child is ill (the nature of the illness was not specified), a small vessel filled with water is taken to a blacksmith, who dips into it a piece of red-hot iron, and the water is then given to the child to drink. Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an empty stomach (Ḥiáina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). In Andjra a person who comes to commit robbery or burglary and finds the owner or the guard asleep puts a dagger, or any other object of steel, underneath his head to prevent him from waking up. Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance,[7] and so are

(London, 1909), p. 405 *sq.*; Lasch, 'Die Ursache und Bedeutung der Erdbeben im Volksglauben und Volksbrauch', in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, v. (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1902), p. 374 *sqq.*; Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 107 *sq.* (Syria); Thorburn, *Bannú; or our Afghán Frontier* (London, 1876), p. 163 (Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan); Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs* (Edinburgh & London, 1896), p. 225; Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), p. 5 n. 2 (Malays of the Malay Peninsula).

[1] The same is said in Syria of a person who lets kitchen-salt fall on the ground (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 103). On the holiness of salt among the Arabs and in classical antiquity see von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, i.-ii. 17 *sqq.*

[2] *Infra*, i. 302–305, 313, 315–320, 325.

[3] *Infra*, i. 431. For the ritual use of salt see also 'Index', *s.v.* Salt.

[4] *Infra*, i. 431.

[5] *Infra*, Chapter V. *passim*.

[6] *Infra*, i. 305 *sq.*

[7] *Infra*, i. 439 *sqq.*

alum (Arab. *šębb*; Berb. *azarif* [Aiṯ Yúsi], *zârif* [Aiṯ Wäryâğer]),[1] which is also used to keep off *jnūn*,[2] sulphur (Arab. *kebrīt*^{s}; Berb. of Ṯemsâmän *ršebríy*^{t}),[3] and certain stones.[4] Silver is further a charm for good luck,[5] and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft.[6] Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.[7] In the Ḥiáina, for example, if a man intends to go on a journey and his wife or any other woman wants to prevent him from carrying out his intention, she gathers seven little stones from seven different roads, one from each road, and puts them at the threshold outside the entrance door of the house. Though it is good to sit on the ground, it is dangerous to sit on a stone. The Shlöḥ say that it is better for you to sit down on a poisonous snake than to sit on a stone:—*Yuf atiggáurt f taffiġra wala tiggiúrt f úzru* (Igliwa).

The ground would be barren without rain (Arab. *št*^{s}*ā*; Berb. *anzar* [Shelḥa], *anza*^{r} [Ṯemsâmän]), which is mentioned in the Koran as one of God's special mercies.[8] "He it is who sends down water from the sky, whence ye have drink, and whence the trees grow whereby ye feed your flocks".[9] God sends angels to conduct the clouds to the place where they are to dissolve into rain, and with every drop an angel comes down from the sky; if it were otherwise every drop of rain would kill a human being, if not more.[10] Rain which falls at a wedding is supposed to bring good luck to the community (Aglu). A child who is con-

[1] *Infra*, i. 429 *sqq*. For the ritual use of alum see also 'Index', *s.v.* Alum.

[2] *Infra*, i. 308. [3] *Infra*, i. 430 *sq*. [4] *Infra*, i. 439, 459.

[5] *Infra*, ii. 20. See also 'Index', and Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Silver.

[6] *Infra*, i. 248. For the ritual use of sulphur see also 'Index', *s.v.* Sulphur.

[7] See 'Index', *s.v.* Stones.

[8] *Koran*, vii. 55. [9] *Ibid.* xvi. 10.

[10] The Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan believe that "when the rain falls, a separate angel is in charge of each drop, and when through carelessness or other cause, any drops run together, lightning is produced" (Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 164).

ceived on a night when it is raining but there is no wind will be good (Tangier). Rain-water in which a written charm has been dissolved is given to a boy to drink in order to make him apt to learn his lessons.[1] Especially rich in *baraka* is the rain which falls in the *nîsān*, that is, the period from 27th April to 3rd May (Old Style), or at least on the first or the three first days of it;[2] whereas rain in *ḥáiyan*, the time from 25th February to 4th March, is considered very dangerous to people, animals, and crops.[3] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it *qausu 'llāh*, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge;[4] but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.[5] It is called in Arabic *'ărôṣaṭˢ* (*'ărûṣaṭˢ*, *'ărûsṭˢ*) *lĕ-mṭár* (*l-mṭar*), "the bride of the rain"; or sometimes *l-ḥăzăm ḏ lálla Fāṭîma z-zúhra*, "the beautiful lady Fāṭimah's belt" (Andjra); or *grīb z-zīt*, meaning a skin in which oil is kept (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). In Berber it is called *ṯíslit únzar* (Aiṯ Sádděn) or *táslit uⁿnzar* (Ait Waráin) or *ṯäsriṯ wŭnzaʳ* (Ṯemsâmän), "the bride of the rain";[6] or *tásmṛt n ígnuan*, "the belt of the sky" (Iglíwa). In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkâla and among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day. It reminds us of the notion of the bridge Ṣirāṭ extending over the midst of hell, sharper than the edge of a

[1] *Infra*, i. 213 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, ii. 177 *sqq.* [3] *Infra*, ii. 175 *sq.*

[4] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 533.

[5] Lerchundi mentions, in his *Vocabulario español-arábico del dialecto de Marruecos* (Tánger, 1892; p. 100), the terms *qaus el-mā*, "the bow of the water", and *qaus en-nabī*, "the bow of the Prophet".

[6] For similar names among some other Berbers see Basset, in Hastings, *op. cit.* ii. 510.

sword, over which all souls must pass and from which the wicked shall fall into hell—a notion which Muhammadanism has in common with the Jewish and Magian traditions.[1] It seems to me quite possible that the notion of this bridge was suggested by the rainbow.

There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. *braq* ; Berb. *usman* [Iglíwa], *usm*, plur. *usmän* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *lbraq* [Ait Waráin], *răbráq* [Aiṯ Wäryâġer], *rậbrōq* [Ṯemsâmän]). In Andjra, if the lightning strikes a tree and splits it, a piece of its wood is burned and the smoke inhaled by persons suffering from fever. In the Ḥiáina a person troubled with warts (*tˢûlän*) rubs them with his hand when there is lightning, in order to get rid of them ; but at the same time much lightning is supposed to be bad for the eyes, and even to cause blindness, if people look at it, and they therefore take care to hide their eyes from it. Thunder (Arab. *ra'd* ; Berb. *iggig* [Iglíwa], *tigᵞnau* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *tijnau* [Ait Waráin], *ajjar* [Aiṯ Wäryâġer], *ajjạj* [Ṯemsâmän]) is caused by Sîdna Jḍbrîl moving his wings (Andjra). People are frightened by a thunderstorm, and say, *Ṣ-ṣalậṭu u s-salậmu 'álḍk yā sîdna rasûlŭ llah*, "Prayer and peace upon you, O apostle of God" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz) ; or *Š-šfá'a yā rasûlŭ llah*, "Intercession, O apostle of God", and then recite something from the Koran (Fez). The women make a noise resembling the sound of a loud kiss, just as they do when they mention the *jnūn* by name (Aiṯ Yúsi) ; and some soot is put between the eyes of little children to prevent *jnūn* from injuring them (*ibid.*, Ḥiáina). Thunder is bad for the bees and fowls ; if a hen is sitting on eggs three of these are painted with soot and then put back underneath the hen, as it is believed that otherwise there would be no chicks. Thunder in the *ṣmaim* (the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive, Old Style) is generally supposed to indicate sickness or death among men and domestic animals, or also much heat.[2]

[1] Sell, *op. cit.* p. 221 ; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 79 ; Palmer, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vi. (Oxford, 1880), p. lxix ; Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 595.

[2] *Infra*, ii. 206.

In Aglu thunder in the autumn is said to prognosticate a bad year. There is a small book on the forebodings of thunder.[1]

There is *baraka* in the celestial bodies. The pagan Arabs worshipped the sun,[2] but their sun-god was subsequently degraded into an evil spirit.[3] The Prophet would not have his followers commence their prayers at sunrise, nor exactly at noon or sunset, because, he said, infidels worshipped the sun at such times.[4] God "subjected to you the night and the day, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars are subjected to His bidding".[5] "He it is who made the sun for a brightness, and the moon for a light, and decreed for it mansions, that ye may know the number of the years and the reckoning".[6] The sun (Arab. *šems*, *šęms*, or *šęmš*; Berb. *tafûkt* [Iglíwa], *ṯafuḫṯ* [Aiṯ Sáddĕn], *tfušt* [Ait Waráin], *ṯfušṯ* [Ṯemsâmän], *dfuiṯ* [Aiṯ Wäryâğer]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the

[1] See Abou Bekr Abdesselam ben Choaïb, 'La divination par le tonnerre d'après le manuscript marocain intitulé Er-Ra'adiya', in *Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie publiée par l'Institut ethnographique international de Paris*, 1913, p. 90 *sqq.*

[2] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 60; Nöldeke, 'Arabs (Ancient)', in Hastings, *op. cit.* i. (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 660; Osiander, *loc. cit.* p. 468 *sq.*; *Idem*, 'Zur himjarischen Alterthumskunde', in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xix. (Leipzig, 1865), p. 262 *sq.*; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i. (Berlin, 1861), p. 252 n. 1; Muir, *op. cit.* i. pp. clxi, ccxii; von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 3, 18; *Koran*, xxvii. 24.

[3] Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. (Leiden, 1896), p. 114.

[4] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 84; *cf.* Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 114.

[5] *Koran*, xvi. 12 [6] *Ibid.* x. 5.

sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head. You should never point at the sun.[1]

In some cases appeals are made to the sun. When a child has cast a tooth it throws it in the direction of the sun and says, *Häk sénnetˢ lă-ḥmâr u aʿṭéni sénnetˢ lă-ġzäl*, "Here, take the tooth of a donkey and give me the tooth of a gazelle" (Fez; similar appeals in the Ḥiáina, in Dukkâla, among the Mnáṣăra, and in Andjra); or, *Aḥám ā ṯáfuḥṯ áwărġ* (instead of *auraġ*) *šfíyiḍ ázărf* (instead of *azarif*), "Take O sun the yellow [thing], give me alum" (Aiṯ Sádděn; a similar appeal among the Ait Waráin). Or instead of throwing the tooth in the eye of the sun, the child shows it to the sun and then buries it underneath a stone (Dukkâla). It is believed that if a fowl should find the tooth and eat it, no other one would grow in its place (*ibid.*); hence the child often goes outside the village to throw (Aiṯ Sádděn) or hold up (Mnáṣăra) its tooth towards the sun. Though these practices are very widespread in Morocco—I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among the Shlöḥ of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Aiṯ Wäryâġer and Ṯemsâmän said that they had never heard of anything of the kind among their own people. On the other hand, there are similar practices in Algeria [2] and Palestine,[3] as also among the Nandi in British East Africa.[4] It is easy to see why the child expects white and shining teeth from the sun; the rite is certainly not an offering to it.

[1] You should also take care not to fire off a gun towards the sky (Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). This recalls the existence among the ancient Libyans of a sky-god of a general and vague character, established by Toutain in his book *De Saturni dei in Africa Romana cultu* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1894). The aborigines of Gran Canaria believed in a god who "dwelt on high, and governed every thing on the earth. They adored him by putting their hands together, and lifting them towards heaven" (Abreu de Galindo, *loc. cit.* p. 819).

[2] Certeux and Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 190.

[3] Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 52 *sq.*:—"When a tooth comes out of itself, they throw it in the eye of the sun, saying, 'Take this donkey's tooth, and give me a gazelle's instead'".

[4] Hollis states (*op. cit.* p. 30) that a child must throw its milk teeth away towards the rising sun and say, "God, take the brown teeth and give me white ones, so that I may drink calf's milk".

There is an incantation addressed to the sun by a married woman who wants her absent husband to come back. She burns at sunset pepper-corns and coriander seed which she has procured from a shop facing the west, and then, turned to the east, lets a towel with which she has cleaned herself flutter in the wind, at the same time expressing the hope that the setting sun on its return will find So-and-so, son of such or such a woman; and if her wish is not fulfilled she addresses another incantation to the sun when it rises. M. Doutté has given a detailed description of this rite as practised at Mogador,[1] and I have heard of a similar incantation at Tangier, where it is known under the name of *'azîmat š-šems*. This rite, too, has obviously a magic character: it is believed that the return of the sun will bring back the absent husband. The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called *sūratu 'š-šams*, "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in magic rites.[2] In Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs; in the latter case every word ending with *āhā* is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer a band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said *sūrah* on a piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the animals.

In spite of their magic character all these rites may perhaps contain a vague survival of ancient sun-worship.[3] It is by no means certain that the Arabs who came to Morocco were quite rid of the idolatry of their ancestors; even nowadays it does not seem to be extinct among the Bedouins of Arabia. Palgrave writes:—"Hardly had the first clear rays struck level across the horizon, than our nomade companions, facing the rising disk, began to recite alternately, but without any previous ablution or even

[1] Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 131 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 133.
[3] *Cf. ibid.* p. 132.

dismounting from their beasts, certain formulas of adoration and invocation, nor desisted till the entire orb rode clear above the desert edge. Sun-worshippers as they were before the days of Mahomet, they still remain such".[1] In his book on the Arabs of Moab M. Jaussen speaks of an Arab who, when the sun rose, stopped for a moment on the road, gazed at it, and with expanded hands said a prayer beginning with the words "O Lord, O Lord".[2] Moreover, sun-worship existed among the ancient Berbers. This is directly stated by Ibn Ḫaldūn.[3] Herodotus says that all the Libyans sacrificed to the sun;[4] and many other classical writers speak of sun-worship among the Libyans.[5] There are also numerous Numidian and Mauretanian inscriptions

[1] Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. (London & Cambridge, 1865), p. 8. Something similar has been noticed in Southern Algeria (Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 133 n. 1). In a tribe in Northern Arabia Wallin ('Notes taken during a Journey through Part of Northern Arabia, in 1848' [London, 1850–51; reprinted from *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xx.], p. 20 *sq.*) found the custom of ringing a large bell, suspended on the middle pole of the tent every evening at the time of sunset, when the camels and flocks returned from pasture. On inquiring its meaning he could get no other information than that it was an old custom with them thus to hail the return of the camels and the mystic hour of descending night.

[2] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 293 *sq.*

[3] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by de Slane, i. (Alger, 1852), p. 177.

[4] Herodotus, iv. 188. He excepted from sun-worshippers the Atarantes by saying that they cursed the sun for its wasting heat (iv. 184), but they may have been Ethiopians (Gsell, *op. cit.* i. 248 n. 3). Pomponius Mela (i. 8) and Pliny (v. 45) states that the *Atlantes* cursed the sun when it rose and when it set; but this is probably due to a corruption of the text of Herodotus (Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. [London, 1878], p. 252; Gsell, *op. cit.* i. 248 *sq.* n. 3).

[5] Pliny, ii. 103; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, iii. 57, xvii. 50; Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 4; Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, iv. 7. 31; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, i. 21. 19; Ampelius, *Liber memorialis*, 9; Corippus, *Johannis seu de bellis libycis*, iii. 81 *sqq.* On the sun-worship of the Libyans see Bates, *op. cit.* p. 187 *sq.* For sun-worship among the Guanches see Hans Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 40.

dedicated to the sun[1] or to the sun and moon together;[2] and even if M. Gsell were right in his assumption that they represent beliefs of foreign origin,[3] they would nevertheless bear testimony to the prevalence of sun-worship in a country inhabited by Berbers.

An eclipse of the sun (*kusūf*) is supposed to indicate that the Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Ḥiáina, Ṭemsâmän), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or generally that some evil will befall the world (Iglíwa, Aiṭ Wäryâġer).[4] These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did among the Arabs. According to the Mishkāt, "the people in ignorance used to say that an eclipse of the sun or moon is on no other account than foreboding the death of a great man".[5] But the Prophet denied that eclipses are signs of the death of any person, and said that God frightens his servants with them; hence the people should say prayers till the eclipsed sun or moon becomes light, or "till God orders something else".[6] When the sun is eclipsed the so-called *ṣalāt*^{s} *l-kusūf*, consisting of certain portions of the Koran, is recited in the mosques; and if the eclipse lasts for a considerable time the scribes in a town go to the *mṣálla* to make their

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. viii. *Inscriptiones Africae Latinae*, ni. 1329, 9331, 9629, 2675, 4513.

[2] *Ibid.* nr. 14,688 *sq.*

[3] Gsell, *op. cit.* i. 249. Mr. Bates (*op. cit.* p. 187), on the other hand, is of opinion that Herodotus' statement receives confirmation from these inscriptions.

[4] de Chénier, who in 1778 witnessed an eclipse of the sun which was total at Salli, says (*op. cit.* i. 239) that the eclipsed sun or moon is believed to be swallowed by a dragon, and that prayers are offered for its deliverance from this cruel enemy. In Arabia, according to Niebuhr (*Travels through Arabia, and other Countries in the East*, ii. [Edinburgh, 1792], p. 271), there is a belief that "a huge fish pursues the planet which is eclipsed". Some Berber people believe that an eclipse is caused by a fight between the sun and the moon (Benhazera, *Six mois ches les Touareg du Ahaggar* [Alger, 1908], p. 63; Voinot, *Le Tidikelt*, p. 110).

[5] *Mishkāt*, iv. 51. 3 (English translation, vol. i. 329).

[6] *Ibid.* iv. 51. 1 (i. 326 *sq.*), 3 (i. 329).

recitations. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn a goat is killed for a certain number of people, who then eat it with *sěksû* (*afttäl*), inhaling the fume to remove *ainnâi ḫḫan*, "that which is bad" (corresponding to the Arabic *l-baṣ*). In Aglu a bullock is sacrificed at Sîdi Buhâdi's shrine, situated on a high hill. If three persons among those who go there to sacrifice are taken ill at the place, it is an indication that the saint has averted the omened sickness from the tribe; and if the eclipse will be followed by fighting he announces it by letting a light radiate from his tomb at night, as if somebody were firing a gun.

The moon (Arab. *qámar*, *qmar*, or *gắmra*; Berb. *aiyur* [Iglíwa], *ayur* [Aiṭ Sádděn], *yur* [Ait Waráin], *ḏäziri* [Aiṭ Wäryâger], *ṭäziri* [Ṭemsâmän]) receives more attention than the sun. In all parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new moon (Arab. *š-šhar*, or *l-hilāl*; Berb. *yūr* [Ṭemsâmän]). In Andjra the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it towards the moon, saying, *Sîyibna 'ălik l-ḫắḏûra ma tˢwurrîna la šarr wạ la ḏrûra*, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either evil or harm". He then makes *fâtˢḥa*, reciting perhaps a few passages from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, *Ălláh iṭáḫḫlěk'ălîna bẹ r-ráḥḥa ú l-hěna*, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkâla, Aiṭ Wäryâger). The Shlöḥ of the Iglíwa throw some grass in the direction of it, so as to make the month "green", and pray, *Akfíllaġig rábbi d únbark, akfíllaġišíkšm rábbi sě lhěna dě lman, adiáwi rábbi aman n únzar, adiáwi rábbi ŕrḥa*, "May God let you bestow blessing upon us, may God let you bring us quietness and safety, may God send rain-water, may God send cheapness of living". The Ait Waráin have a similar custom. Among the Shlöḥ of Aglu, again, the new moon receives no offering, but a prayer is made: —*Akfíllaġig rábbi d unbárki, akkídzwarn lārzáqnġ, aggikíssukt rábbi lārzáqnġ*, "May God let you bestow blessing upon us, may the good we have wax faster than you, may God increase our good while you are shining";

or, *Akkidzwurn lārzáqnġ, akfillaġig råbbi d unbárki sĕ lhĕna dĕ ṣṣaḥt, a sîdi råbbi issúkt gik lārzáqnġ*, "May the good we have wax faster than you, may God let you bestow upon us blessing with quietness and health, O my lord God, may he increase our good while you are shining". The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, likewise without making any offering, stretch out their hands and pray, *Llah idáḫḫlĕk 'ălîna bă r-razq ŭ l-baraka ŭ ṣ-ṣáḥḥa ú l-hĕna*, "May God let you bring us prosperity and blessing and health and quietness". A man from the Ḥiáina makes *fât^{s}ḥa* and prays, *L-ġámra dôri dôri, wúss'ăi d-dâra u ḫáilna guddám s-súltan ġēr n-nuwâra*, "Moon, go round go round, increase the orb, and may our horses before the Sultan be like flowers only" (that is, please him). At Fez the men make a recitation from the Koran with their hands stretched out, and the women trill the *zġârīt^{s}* from the roofs of the houses.

There are similar rites among the Arabs of the East. Doughty says that when the men saw the new moon they rose, gazed at it, and looking up to heaven prayed fervently, "That in the time of this moon it might be well with them, and that the Lord would deliver them from their enemies".[1] The nomads of Moab, when they first see the new moon, "prennent entre les mains un morceau de bois ou un brin de paille, le brisent en deux en regardant la lune et disent: 'O nouvelle lune de la montée, tu reviens vers nous; tu nous donneras le bien qui se manifeste, tu nous déliveras du mal qui disparaît'".[2] According to Conder, "it is said that the Arabs east of Jordan are pagans, and that moon-worship and yet more curious rites exist among them".[3] The peasants of Palestine turn a silver coin towards the new moon that the month may be "white" towards them.[4] Again, with reference to the Tuareg of the Ahaggar M. Benhazera writes:—"A chaque nouvelle lune, le targui fait sa prière. Les mains ouvertes, comme un livre, il regarde l'astre de la nuit et formule le vœu d'être en vie à la prochaine

[1] Doughty, *op. cit.* vol. i. 455.
[2] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 294.
[3] Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, p. 347.
[4] Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 213.

lune ".[1] There was moon-worship among the ancient Arabs ;[2] and in three places in the Koran the Prophet himself swears by the moon.[3] With regard to the Libyans Herodotus states that the one divinity which, besides the sun, was worshipped by all of them was the moon ;[4] and Ibn Ḫaldūn expressly testifies to the existence of moon-worship among the Berbers in the West.[5]

There is curative power in the new moon. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn persons troubled with warts rid themselves of them by exposing the affected part of the skin to the new moon, saying, *Ā hläl yā hläl rfed mḛnni häḏ t-tûläl*, " O new moon, O new moon, take away from me these warts ". In Aglu the moon in March is appealed to by girls who are losing hair. When three days have passed after the appearance of the new moon, they mount the roof of the house at night, smear their hair with a mixture of oil and henna, and while combing it say to the moon, *Fkîġak azzârad llí däri íllan ay áiyur fkîyi wînĭk*, " I gave you this hair of mine, O moon give me yours ". And they repeat this ceremony every third night during the whole lunar month.

The moon plays a part in many magical rites. At Mogador I heard of the following ceremony practised by married women who have lost the love of their husbands by failing to give them a child. On a moonlight night the woman goes to the open court in the centre of the house, after she has removed her pubes and painted her teeth with walnut bark and her eyes with antimony. She dishevels her hair, takes off her clothes, and sits down upon them by the side of a trough, which she has filled with water. She says to the moon, " O moon, if you are in love and I am nice-looking come to me ". By this invocation she hopes to

[1] Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 59. The Nandi spit and pray for good luck when the new moon is seen (Hollis, *op. cit.* p. 79).

[2] Al-Buḫārī, quoted by von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 3 ; Osiander, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vii. 469 ; Sprenger, *op. cit.* i. 252 n. 1 ; Muir, *op. cit.* i. pp. clxi., ccxii.

[3] *Koran*, lxxiv. 35, lxxxiv. 18, xci. 2.

[4] Herodotus, iv. 188. Notice also the dedications to the sun and moon together referred to above, p. 122 *sq.*

[5] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *op. cit.* i. 177.

induce the moon to come to the water and impart to it magic power. She pours some of the water over the towel with which she cleans her husband after they have had connubial intercourse, and puts inside it seven pieces of harmel, seven myrtle twigs, four lumps of alum, and pieces of sulphur and rock-salt, one piece of each. She hides it underneath her husband's pillow, and leaves it there for three nights. Then she grinds its contents together with some wheat, makes of the mixture a loaf of bread, which she breaks in two, and puts one piece underneath his head and the other one underneath his feet, leaving them there for three nights. She finally grinds the bread to powder and makes of it porridge, which she gives to the husband to eat. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz women pour water in a trough, let the full moon shine upon it, and then work magic with it. Various magical practices in which the moon plays a part will be mentioned below.[1] Certain charms must be written when the moon is shining. Charms for good purposes should be written between the 1st and the 15th or the 20th days of the month, and by preference on the night when the moon is full (*līlt*^{s} *l-kmäl*, or *līlt*^{s} *l-badr*).[2] Charms intended to promote the increase of something, for example love or money, however, must be written when the moon is on the increase. A child conceived at the full of the moon will have a nice round face (Tangier).

It is considered bad to point at the moon; when you speak of it you may look at it—that is all. To sleep in a place where the moon is shining is as bad as to sleep in the sun; if you sleep out-of-doors on a moonlight night you should lie in the shade of something. Otherwise you will become ill; the moon may strike your shoulder or make you crooked for ever (Ait Waráin) or give you a headache. Some people even maintain that he who is struck by the moon can never be cured (Aglu). At Demnat I was assured that if the moon shines on a person who is lying, or even sitting, it consumes the same quantity of his blood as the quantity of barley eaten by a horse. A woman who is with child should be particularly careful not to sleep under the

[1] *Infra*, i. 553 *sq.* [2] *Cf. infra*, i. 217, ii. 42, 46.

moon. Once a woman in Aglu who deserted her husband did so on the way to her old home, and some time afterwards she gave birth to a still-born child which had neither nose nor mouth. In Andjra I was told that the moon, like the sun, gives fever to persons sleeping out-of-doors in the *ṣmaim* or the autumn. Sexual intercourse should also be avoided in moonlight; a child conceived in such circumstances would have ringworm (Fez).

The moon is in various ways supposed to indicate future events. The directions in which the horns of the new moon are turned are commonly taken for omens of dearth or cheapness. A scribe in Dukkâla told me that if the new moon appears with its horns turned upwards, everything will be dear, and that if it appears with them turned vertically to the left, everything will be cheap; but I have heard different, and even contrary, interpretations elsewhere. A ring round the moon means rain, but may also mean fighting. If the ring is green the month will be rainy and peaceful, if it is red there will be sunshine and fighting (Ait Waráin). Very conspicuous spots in the moon when she is at her full are an evil foreboding (Tangier). An eclipse of the moon (*ḫûsūf l-qámar*) means that the Sultan is ill or will die, or that some great saint has died, or that there will be fighting, famine, or sickness; and to avert the evil the *ṣalāt*^{s} *l-ḫûsūf*, consisting of certain portions of the Koran, is recited in the houses of people, or in mosques by scribes who happen to sleep there. Among the Ait Waráin it is agreed at the next market that a fowl shall be sacrificed on behalf of each person, and a scribe finds out for them if the fowl should be black or white. This is done to remove the *bas* (*áinni qâbḥän*, "that which is bad"), which would otherwise affect them. The fowls are killed and eaten with *sĕksŭ*, either at saint-shrines or in the villages, and *fâṭḥa* is made and God is asked to save the people from the threatening evil. The same custom is observed in the case of a grave epidemic. In Aglu a bullock is sacrificed at Sîdi Buhâdi's shrine, as in the case of an eclipse of the sun. Once when this sacrifice was omitted after an eclipse of the moon there were much rain in a season which is usually dry, storm, and fighting.

Every man on earth has his star (Arab. *néjma*, plur. *ńjūm*; Berb. *itri*, plur. *itran* or *itṛan* [Shlöḥ, Ait Waráin], *iṯri*, plur. *iṯṛan* or *iṯrän* [Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Wäryâġer], *iṯriⁿ*, plur. *iṯrän* [Ṯemsâmän]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, *Ălláh iṭálla' néjmäk*, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, *Ălláh iṭáiyäḥ néjmäk*, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a *jédwäl* with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is intended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to be used for witchcraft (*sḥör*)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the *ṭabé'a*, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a *réḥi* it is exposed to the wind, if he is a *mâwi* it is put in water, if he is a *tˢorâbi* it is buried in earth, if he is a *nâri* it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's *ṭabé'a*. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them *baraka* by shining on them.[1]

It is bad for a person to sleep in starlight, as it is to

[1] *Infra*, i. 211, 213, 217, 218, 328.

sleep in moonlight; the stars, also, may strike his shoulder or make him crooked (Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Sádděn), and they are particularly dangerous to a woman who is with child (Aglu). The Ait Waráin and the Aiṭ Sádděn, as also their Arabic-speaking neighbours, believe that sleeping under the stars is apt to produce a white spot in the eye, which, if not cured, will make the eye blind. There is only one remedy for it, and this, too, is not infallible. A scribe writes something from the Koran on an egg. He then touches the eye with it, breaks the egg, and pours out its contents on the palm of his hand. If he finds there the white spot, the patient is cured; otherwise he repeats the experiment on the following day and, if it is necessary, on the day after; but the white spot may still fail to appear.

There are signs in the stars. I was told that in a certain year when shooting stars were unusually abundant, there was much fighting in the Rīf; and I heard of a similar superstition at Fez. It is a general belief that a falling star is a dart thrown by angels at a *jenn* who tries to get up to heaven, or at *šayâṭīn*, who are listening to their conversation so as to be able to assist wicked people in practising witchcraft.[1] If a person who goes out to commit robbery finds that one of the stars of the Great Bear (Arab. *bänâtˢû nâ'šin*; Berb. of the Ait Waráin *tiġdwin*) is not in its usual place, he turns back for fear of being caught (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin); and a person who intends to go on a journey likewise alters his mind if he notices a star between two stars in the said constellation which are usually seen next to each other, because this is considered an evil forebodement (Ḥiáina). In October, when the Pleiades (*tˢríyya*) rise at the time for the evening prayer, you should commence the sowing of beans on the following day, in accordance with the saying, *Ida ṭal'âtˢ t-tˢríyya 'and l-'âša ármi l-fūl be l-kémša*, "If the Pleiades rise at supper time throw the beans with a handful" (*ibid.*).[2] The Milky Way (Arab.

[1] *Infra*, i. 270. *Cf.* i. 369, 382 *sq.*

[2] The association of the Pleiades with agriculture, especially with the sowing or planting of the crops, has been and is widespread over the world. "The reason for the association seems to be the coincidence of the rising or setting of the constellation with the commencement of

mjarr k-kebš [Fez], or *sárrāq t-tʿben*, "the robber of straw" [Ḥiáina]; Berb. *iḫ̌ûwan ûwálim* [Aiṭ Sádděn], *iḫ̌ûwan ulum* [Ait Waráin], *iḫ̌ûwânen urum* [Ṯemsâmän], "the robbers of straw") is the road on which the angels dragged the sheep to be slaughtered instead of Sîdna Ismâʿil (Fez). If it is clear and uninterrupted the year will be bad (Ḥiáina), or anybody who tries to commit robbery will be killed or wounded or caught (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin); on the other hand, if it is indistinct and interrupted the year will be good (Ḥiáina), or robbers are safe (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). A comet (Arab. *néjma bḛ̃ d-dénba* [Fez] or *néjmatˢ š-šûwạl* [Ḥiáina]) is an evil omen, foreboding fighting or strong heat and drought or some other calamity; one was seen shortly before the death of Mûlăi l-Ḥạsạn.

In the beliefs relating to the stars, old African elements are probably mixed up with Islamic ideas. In Roman times the Africans were held to be good astrologers;[1] and of those who inhabited Libya and Numidia, Leo Africanus states that each of them worshipped some certain planet to which prayers and sacrifices were offered.[2]

Fire (Arab. *nār*, generally called euphemistically *ʿáfia*;[3] Berb. *täkät* [Shelḥa], *timssi* [Ait Waráin], *ṯimssi* [Ṯemsâmän], or *lʿáfit* [Shelḥa], *lʿáfiṯ* [Aiṭ Sádděn], *lʿáfḛ̌št* [Ait Waráin], *rʿafšṯ* [Ṯemsâmän]) is haunted by *jnūn*;[4] but there may nevertheless be *baraka* in it. Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the *baraka* will leave the house (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). I was

the rainy season" (Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. [London, 1912], p. 307 *sqq.*; see also Andree, 'Die Pleiaden im Mythus und in ihrer Beziehung zum Jahresbeginn und Landbau', in *Globus*, lxiv. [Braunschweig, 1893], p. 362 *sqq.*). Among the ancient Arabs the constellation of the Pleiades (*aṯ-ṯuraiyā*) was supposed to bestow rain (Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 660). The peasants of Palestine believe that when the Pleiades rise, and wind comes on, plenty of rain is to be expected for a fortnight (Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 311).

[1] Basset, in Hastings, *op. cit.* i. 510; Bates, *op. cit.* p. 176.

[2] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 163.

[3] *Infra*, ii. 28.

[4] *Infra*, i. 293 *sqq.*

told at Demnat that most people of that neighbourhood cover up the fire with ashes at night to prevent its going out, and that they do not do it simply in order to save themselves the trouble of lighting it afresh; whereas in the day they do not care whether the fire goes out or not. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer do not extinguish the fire or let it go out unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes. At Fez, for example, a person who has got a fright and become ill in consequence, may be cured by somebody unexpectedly touching his neck with the heated handle of a spoon on a Thursday morning. In Andjra a person gets rid of hiccup by putting seven of his finger-tips, one after the other, into the ashes of the fire-place and then licking them, on condition that he does it in the morning before he has eaten or drunk anything. Among the Aṯ Ubáḥṯi cold ashes taken from the fire-place are applied to the stomach of a person suffering from colic. Fire is used to counteract the evil eye [1] and to destroy evil spirits.[2] Much *baraka* is attributed to the bonfires made at Midsummer [3] and on the *'āšûra* day.[4]

The idea of the holiness of fire is most probably an heritage from the early Berbers. I have only found it in Berber-speaking tribes, except in the case of the Midsummer and *'āšûra* fires, which themselves have descended from the Berbers.[5] If we may believe Leo Africanus, the ancient Africans had in times past temples dedicated to the honour of fire in which they kept fire kindled day and night, "giving diligent heed that it might not at any time be extinguished".[6] On the other hand, according to Wellhausen, the holiness of the hearth was unknown to the Arabs and to the Semites generally.[7]

There is *baraka* in certain days and periods. This is the case with Midsummer.[8] The *nîsān* gives benign virtue to the rain.[9] Such virtue is also ascribed to the eating cere-

[1] *Infra*, i. 429, 430, 432 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, i. 314. [3] *Infra*, ii. 182 *sqq.*
[4] *Infra*, ii. 65 *sqq.* [5] *Infra*, i. 71, 72, 204.
[6] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 162 *sq.*
[7] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 116 n. 2.
[8] *Infra*, ii. 182 *sqq.* [9] *Infra*, ii. 177 *sqq.*

monies practised, and to certain plants gathered, at New Year's tide (Old Style).[1] The month of October is said to be a blessed month.[2] *Baraka* is ascribed to the *'āšûra* day (10th Muḥarram) and the eve of it.[3] The third month of the year, in Morocco called l-Mûlûd, is a particularly blessed period, and the holiest part of it is the week commencing on the twelfth day of the month, when the festival of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated.[4] In the seventh and eighth months, Rajäb and Ša'bān, there are certain days which have *baraka*.[5] The following month, Ramaḍān, is holy throughout, but the twenty-seventh night of it, the *lîlt^s l-qadr*, when the Koran is supposed to have been sent down to the Prophet, has more *baraka* than any other part of the month.[6] Immediately following Ramaḍān comes the *'īd ṣ-ṣġēr*, or "Little Feast", and more than two months later, on the 10th of Ḏu 'l-ḥijja, the *'īd l-kbīr*, or "Great Feast", the latter of which is considered the holiest occasion of the year.

In Morocco, as all over the Moslem world, Friday is a holy day. According to the Muhammadan traditions, it is the best day on which the sun rises, the day on which Ādam was taken into Paradise and turned out of it, the day on which he repented and on which he died. It will also be the day of resurrection.[7] It is the day of public service, which confers blessings upon all who take part in it. To be born or to die on a Friday is fortunate, though the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz maintain that it is only lucky for a boy to be born on that day.[8] A person who dies on a Friday or on a Thursday after *'âṣar* will not be examined and punished in his grave.[9] It is also good for a child to be conceived on the night between Thursday and Friday; hence matrimonial intercourse is recommended on that night, and Thursday is held to be a very suitable day for bringing a bride to her new home.[10] Almsgiving on a Friday is particularly meritorious. Charms written on that day before sunrise are remarkably efficacious, but they should be written with rose-water mixed with

[1] *Infra*, ii. 162 *sqq*. [2] *Infra*, ii. 207. [3] *Infra*, ii. 58 *sqq*.
[4] *Infra*, ii. 87 *sqq*. [5] *Infra*, ii. 89 *sq*. [6] *Infra*, ii. 91 *sqq*.
[7] Hughes, *op. cit*. p. 131
[8] See *infra*, i. 225. [9] *Infra*, ii. 465. [10] *Infra*, ii. 44 *sq*.

saffron, not, as usual, with Moorish ink. In Andjra it is one of the days by preference chosen for the commencement of the sowing of maize and durra. Various acts which are either recommended or tabooed on a Friday will be mentioned below.

Other days of the week are regarded as lucky in certain respects and also have taboos connected with them,[1] but none of them is looked upon as holy, unless it be Sunday among the women of various tribes belonging to the Central Berbers. Anyhow they refrain from work on that day, though some of them work on Fridays ;[2] and among the Aiṭ Nḍēr they smear their hair with henna, and the younger women also paint their eyes with antimony and their teeth with walnut root. The abstinence from work on Sunday is presumably due to early Christian influence. It differs from other taboos connected with certain days of the week by being restricted to the women, that is, the most conservative section of the community. And however nominal Christianity was among the Berbers, it may, after all, have brought to them a taboo of this kind.

There is *baraka* in the observance of the five practical duties of Islam, called the pillars of religion : the recital of the *kalimah*, or creed ; the prayer consisting of the recital of a certain prescribed and invariable formula at five stated times of the day ; the fasting between dawn and sunset throughout the month of Ramaḍān ; the giving of the *zakāt*, or legal alms ; and the pilgrimage to Mecca in the twelfth month of the Muhammadan year. There are, in Morocco, several sayings relating to prayer. *Ṣ-ṣlā f wắqtˢha ậḥsĕn mĕn d-dúnya wạ mā fệha*, " Prayer at its [proper] time is better than the world and what is in it ". *L-mā blậ šrā, l-qábla blậ krā, ălláh yenʿál tˢårẹ̆k ṣ-ṣlā*, " Water is not bought, there is no hire for the direction of Mecca, may God curse him who has given up praying ". Prayer is a means of purification :—*Dŭbōr l-mŭṣálli nqā mĕn fŭmm tˢårẹ̆k ṣ-ṣlā*, " The anus of him who prays is cleaner than the mouth of him who has given up praying ". But nobody benefits by another person's prayer :—*Kull šātˢ tˢʿállaq mĕn krá'ha*,

[1] *Infra*, ii. 40 *sqq*. [2] *Infra*, i. 226.

"Every sheep hangs by its own leg". Prayer without almsgiving, however, is of no avail:—*L-bḥīl lĕ n-nār wâlû yâ'bed bĕ l-līl u n-nhār*, "The niggard [will go] to hell even though he worships God by night and day". On the other hand, the charitable mạn will be amply rewarded; as it is said in the Koran, "Those who expend their wealth by night and day, secretly and openly, they shall have their hire with their Lord".[1] Almsgiving is also more meritorious than the pilgrimage to Mecca:—*Lúgma buffârha ạḥsĕn mĕn Mĕkka û ġbârha*, "A handful of *sĕksû* (literally, 'the father of her fume') [given in charity] is better than Mecca and its dust" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). It may be added that prayer gives *baraka* to the rosary (*tsbēḥ*).[2]

In Morocco, as elsewhere in the Moslem world,[3] the fast of Ramaḍān is practically regarded as of more importance than any other religious rite. Many persons neglect their daily prayers, but the duty of fasting is publicly transgressed by no sane person and secretly by very few, and even travellers and invalids, on whom it is not incumbent, do not readily take advantage of this privilege.[4] It is said that he who keeps the fast of Ramaḍān will be pardoned all his past faults, a belief which is in agreement with the Muhammadan traditions.[5] Besides the obligatory five daily prayers, the legal alms, and the compulsory fasting in Ramaḍān, there are other prayers, alms, and fasts,[6] which are optional and meritorious. And while it is considered obligatory on each head of a household to sacrifice one animal at the Great Feast, there are persons who sacrifice more, even as many as three or four, this being supposed to increase their merit.[7]

[1] *Koran*, ii. 275. *Cf. ibid.* ii. 267.

[2] On the rosary in Islam see von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. (Wien, 1877), p. 39 *sqq.*; Blackman, 'The Rosary in Magic and Religion', in *Folk-Lore*, xxix. (London, 1918), p. 270 *sqq.*

[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 106; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i. (Wien, 1875), p. 460.

[4] *Infra*, ii. 91 *sq.*

[5] *Mishkāt*, vii. 1. 1 (vol. i. 462); Sell, *op. cit.* p. 317.

[6] *Infra*, ii. 74, 89, 109 *sq.*

[7] *Infra*, ii. 118.

We have seen that extraordinary piety and devotion may even make a person a saint.[1]

According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet said that he who makes a pilgrimage for God's sake, and does not talk loosely, nor act wickedly, shall return as pure from sin as the day on which he was born ;[2] and that the reward of a pilgrimage is Paradise.[3] He who dies during the journey is particularly blessed ; the Moors say, *Ma käyérja' ġēr n-nḥās u n-nóqra ma ḳaṭ'erjá' ši*, " What returns is only copper, and silver what does not return ". The pilgrimage gives *baraka* to the body and clothes of the pilgrim. Even after he has removed his *ḥram* (*iḥrām*), or pilgrim's garb, he refrains from having his head shaved until he has returned home and had a bath, so as to bring with him *baraka* from the holy places of Mecca, Medina, and Yanbo' (where the great saint Sîdi Zâra' is buried) ; and the hair is then preserved by his wife or mother in her box. There is also *baraka* in the pilgrim's sweat and in the dirt of his shirt ; hence many pilgrims do not like to wash their shirts after leaving Mecca or Medina until they have returned, and some of them even wear the same unwashed shirt during the whole journey from Tangier and back. The unwashed shirt and the *ḥram* are also put into a box to be preserved, and the latter is afterwards now and then kissed by its owner and his family ; there is *baraka* in the dust which remains in it. When the pilgrim comes back from his journey his friends kiss his right hand or his forehead or mouth to benefit by his *baraka*. The animal which he rides on his way to his village is likewise benefited by it. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a feast, called *l-'örs* (or *l-'ärs*) *dyāl l-ḥajj*, " the wedding of the pilgrim ", is arranged in his village on the third evening after his return, and he then touches with his fingers the *sĕksû* in each dish to make it blessed.

[1] *Supra*, p. 44 *sq.*

[2] *Mishkāt*, xi. 1. 1 (vol. i. p. 600). *Cf.* al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xxv. 1, xxv. 4. 3 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. i. [Paris, 1903], p. 495).

[3] *Mishkāt*, xi. 1. 1 (vol. i. p. 600).

Every pilgrim brings home with him water from the well Zemzem, which is within the precincts of the mosque of Mecca, to be used at his own or other persons' funerals,[1] and also to be sprinkled in his house or garden, or on his field before he commences the sowing of corn. Many pilgrims buy at Mecca the shrouds in which they are to be buried. They also bring small triangular cakes made of dust from the mosque of Mecca and the Prophet's tomb at Medina mixed with water from the well Zemzem or from the holy spring 'Ain Zubîda at Medina; these cakes are then hung up in the shrines of saints—as presents, as it were, from their ancestor, the Prophet—or in houses or shops, or are worn as charms. For the tying of them are used dry palmetto leaves bought from shereefs in Mecca or Medina, who impart much *baraka* to such leaves by putting them on the roof of the Ka'bah or of the Ḥujrah (containing the grave of the Prophet) to be rain-soaked. The pilgrims also take home with them dust from the holy places which, mixed with water, is given as medicine to sick people; and various little things, such as rosaries, turbans, rings, dates, sugar, tea, candles, perfumes, henna, and incense, to distribute among their friends. In Andjra it is the custom for the pilgrim to give a date to each one of the persons who come to meet him on his return to his village.

Formerly, when the pilgrimage was performed by land, much *baraka* was attributed to animals which had been used for this purpose. Chénier wrote, "A camel that has been on pilgrimage to Mecca is well fed, and maintained without work, and is allowed to graze freely wherever she shall stray".[2] Mûlăi Ismā'īl's horses, which had been at Mecca, were likewise exempted from all labour; the king himself dared not mount them, and anybody who had incurred his displeasure was sure of pardon if he could throw himself between their legs.[3]

There is *baraka* in the *qábla* (in the written language

[1] *Infra*, ii. 449, 458.

[2] de Chénier, *op. cit.* i. 192.

[3] Busnot, *The History of the Reign of Muley Ismael* (London, 1715), p. 55 *sq.* *Cf.* St. Olon, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1695), p. 57 *sq.*

qiblah), or the direction of Mecca. The word *qiblah* means literally anything opposite or the direction which a person is facing, especially when he is praying. After the *hijrah*, or flight from Mecca to Medina, the Prophet bade his followers turn their face, as did the Jews, to the temple at Jerusalem; but in the second year of the *hijrah* he changed his *qiblah* in accordance with the ancient Arab custom and turned to the Ka'bah at Mecca when he prayed.[1] He laid down the rule, "From whencesoever thou comest forth, there turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque, for it is surely truth from thy Lord; God is not careless about what ye do".[2] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direction of Mecca on account of its *baraka*,[3] for example, the slaughter of an animal. A person should sleep with his face turned in that direction (Fez, &c.); if he dies while doing so, he will go to Paradise (Andjra). The face of a dying person is turned likewise, and so is that of a dead body in its grave. A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Aiṭ Wäryâġer) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

The *qábla* gives *baraka* to the east wind. *Š-šárqi läyídfa' l-blā*, "The east wind wards off misfortune" (Andjra). When it is blowing the people let it enter the sleeves of their cloaks to remove the *baṣ* (Ḥiáina). It prevents the *jnūn* from leaving their subterranean abodes, because, if they did, it would make them blind (*ibid.*, Andjra) or lame or kill them (Ḥiáina). *Ṣ-ṣbaḥ ṅ-nda u š-šérgi 'and lá-ġda*, "In the morning dew, and east wind at dinner-time", will make the year good; because the east wind is then neither strong nor persistent, but will be succeeded by west wind at *'âṣar* (*ibid.*). If strong and lasting the east wind is not good, it dries the crops. An easterly gale also indicates that there is much fighting and that many men are killed (Andjra, Ait Waráin); in Dukkâla it is said to be a sign of fighting in the Ġarb. In spite of the *baraka* attributed to the east wind there is the saying, *Kull men jā mẹn l-qábla*

[1] Palmer, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, vi. 20 n. 2.
[2] *Koran*, ii. 144.
[3] See also 'Index', *s.v. Qábla.*

mlēḥ ġēr l-marḍ u r-rēḥ, "Everything which comes from the *qábla* is good, except the sickness and the wind" (Ḥiáina).

Nothing can be holier than the Koran, its passages, and its names of God. Certain portions of it, however, are holier than others. The second chapter (*sūratu 'l-baqarah*) contains more *baraka* than all other chapters together, and the recitation of it equals that of the whole Koran. The 256th verse of this chapter (*āyatu 'l-kursī*), alone, has as much *baraka* as one half of the Koran, and to recite it twice is equivalent to the recitation of the whole book. So are the threefold recitation of the 36th chapter (*sūratu yā sīn*), which contains as much *baraka* as a third part of the Koran, and the fourfold recitation of the 112th chapter (*sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*), which has as much *baraka* as a fourth part of it. As to the *āyatu 'l-kursī* the Prophet is related to have said that if a person repeats this verse after every prayer, nothing prevents his entering into Paradise but life, and that if he says it when he goes into his bed-chamber God will keep him in safety, together with his house and the house of his neighbour.[1] According to Islam, the holiest of the names of God is *al-ismu 'l-a'ḍam*, "the most great name" of God, which is known only to prophets and, possibly, to some eminent saints, and there is a tradition to the effect that whoever calls upon God by this name will obtain anything he desires.[2] In Morocco the term *ism l-'a'ḍam* is popularly used for the ninety-nine names of God collectively, and another term for them is *asma' llāh l-ḥŏsna*, "the excellent names of God".

There is also *baraka* in certain human names, though, of course, not in the same degree. Foremost among these is the name of the Prophet. A person who is called by this name is commonly addressed "*sī* Mŭḥámmed", even by his own parents. At Fez he is called "*sdi* Mŭḥámmed", and by his mother, still more reverentially, "*sîdi* Mŭḥámmed"; and it is said that anybody who does not observe

[1] *Mishkāt*, iv. 19. 3 (English translation, vol. i. 203).

[2] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 273; Sell, *op. cit.* p. 185; Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 220.

this custom will go to hell.[1] In Dukkâla, if a person in addressing another, whose name is Mûḥámmed, omits the word *sī* before his name, a third person who happens to be present interferingly remarks, *Läh la iwúrrik ẅújhů*, "May God not let you see his (that is, the Prophet Muḥammad's) face". A scribe belonging to the tribe Aiṯ Sádděn told me that if a person whose name is Mûḥámmed lives in a house or tent, angels will always be there—unless they are driven away by a black dog or a band of musicians comprising one playing a flute called *inḏiázěn* (in Arabic *zfáfna*, made of two pieces of bamboo) and three playing the tambourine (*állun*); their performance drives away the angels for forty days, because the man who plays the flute dances while he is playing, and this is considered objectionable to God. Another Berber, living among the Aiṯ Nḏēr, said that if three persons who have the name Mûḥámmed simultaneously live in the same tent, its inmates need not fear going to hell after death. On account of the *baraka* attributed to this name, persons bearing it play an important part in certain magical rites.[2] In Andjra and Dukkâla both Mûḥámmed and Ăḥmed are said to secure the persons possessing these names admission to Paradise after death.

There is *baraka* in all names derived from Mûḥámmed, such as Mḥámmed, Maḥmūd, Ḥmed, and the diminutives Ḥămîdo and Ḥămîda, as also, though in a smaller degree, in all names beginning with 'Abd, such as 'Abdllah, 'Abdsslam, 'Abdrráḥman, 'Abdlkrim, 'Abdlqâder, 'Abdlḫâlaq, and 'Abdlûhäb. There is much *baraka* in Fāṭimah, the name of the Prophet's daughter, as also in the names derived from it, such as Fáṭma, Fṭôma, Făṭṭôm, Fṭêṭem, Ṭâma, Ṭôma, Ṭâmů, and Ṭṭām. But the name of the Prophet's first wife, who also was the first convert to a belief in his mission, Ḫadījah (in Morocco pronounced Ḫadîja or Ḫdîja), is regarded as still holier, and so are the derivatives Ḫaddūj and Ḫaddûja. In Fez it is the custom in houses where there is no woman having one of these names to hang

[1] Among the Aiṯ Sádděn a scribe whose name is Mûḥámmed is addressed, not *sī*, but *ṭṭâlěb* Moḫánḏ.

[2] *Infra*, i. 218, 445, ii. 216, 328, 342.

on the wall a paper with the word Ḥadījah written on it so as to give *baraka* to the house. In many places a child born at a religious feast is named after it;[1] no doubt because the name is supposed to partake of the *baraka* of the feast.

The belief in the *baraka* of certain names is in agreement with the traditional sayings of the Prophet. He said, "There is no people holding a consultation at which there is present one whose name is Muḥammad or Aḥmad, but God blesseth all that assembly"; and, "Whoever nameth his child by my name, or by that of any of my children or my companions, from affection to me or to them, God (whose name be exalted) will give him in Paradise what eye hath not seen nor ear heard".[2] But although he told his followers to name their children after their Prophet, he also said that the names which God likes best are 'Abdu 'llāh, "the servant of God", and 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān, "the servant of the Merciful One".[3]

There is benign virtue in certain numbers. As God is one, the odd numbers are better than the even ones—*l-wit'r*, popularly called *l-ferd*, is better than *š-šáf'ă*. This is a general Muhammadan belief; a tradition says, "God is odd, he loves the odd".[4] But the belief in the lucky significance of odd numbers is of course much older than Islam, and has a much wider scope;[5] reference to it is made by Virgil[6] and Pliny.[7] Yet the general excellence of odd numbers does not apply to ploughing, which should be done with two animals, not with one:—*Ḥart's zûja ḏ̣ḥsĕn mĕn*

[1] *Infra*, ii. 406.

[2] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 190,

[3] *Mishkāt*, xxii. 8. 1 (vol. ii. 417).

[4] Sell, *op. cit.* p. 264. For odd numbers in Islam see Goldziher, 'Über Zahlenaberglauben im Islam', in *Globus*, lxxx. (Braunschweig, 1901), p. 31 *sq.*; Muir, *op. cit.* iii. 61 *sq.* For the belief in the unluckiness of even numbers among the Arabs see Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* (London, 1830), p. v; and among the ancient Jews, see Blau, *op. cit.* p. 77.

[5] See Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe* (London, 1898), p. 312 *sqq.*

[6] Virgil, *Eclogae*, viii. 75.

[7] Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, xxviii. 5.

ferd;[1] though the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Taza plough with one only. The numbers three[2] and seven[3] are very frequently made use of in magical practices, and five is a favourite charm against the evil eye. This number also plays a prominent part in Islam: there are the five fundamental religious duties or "pillars of religion", the five keys of secret knowledge, the five daily prayers. Yet, owing to its association with the evil eye, it is looked upon as an unpleasant and uncanny number. It is considered improper to mention the word for it in conversation with a governmental official, sometimes also it is not mentioned when the measures of grain are counted after the threshing, and at Fez the number five is avoided in giving presents.[4]

The number seven figures very prominently in the theology, as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens,[5] seven earths,[6] seven seas,[7] seven divisions of hell[8] with seven gates,[9] seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it.[10] Groups of seven saints buried at

[1] For the avoidance of odd numbers in certain cases in Syria see Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 89 *sq.*; and in Persia, see Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs* (Edinburgh & London, 1896), p. 223. Cf. *infra*, ii. 332 *sq.*

[2] See 'Index', *s.v.* Three. [3] See 'Index', *s.v.* Seven.

[4] *Infra*, i. 447 *sq.*, ii. 240 *sq.*

[5] *Koran*, xxiii. 17, lxv. 12, lxxviii. 12. [6] *Ibid.* lxv. 12.

[7] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 567. *Cf. Koran*, xxxi. 26.

[8] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 171. [9] *Koran*, xv. 44.

[10] Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 186. In Morocco other numbers are also popularly associated with sacred things. One to twelve have the following epithets added to them: *Wáḥed—hûwa llah*, "One—that is God"; *zūj—l-līl u n-nhār*, "two—the night and the day"; *tˤlâtˤa—l-ʿarš u l-kúrsi u l-qáläm*, "three—the canopy and the throne and the pen [of God]"; *árbʿa—t-tˤúrātˤ wä l-ínjīl u z-zábōr u l-fórqān*, "four—the Pentateuch and the Gospel and the Psalter and the Koran"; *ḫámsa—ḫámsů ṣaláwātˤ*, "five—five prayers"; *séttˤa—sittˤâtˤů aiyām*, "six—six days" (Saturday not being included); *sébʿa—sabʿŏu sąmą̊wątˤ*, "seven—seven heavens"; *tˤmęnya—ḫammâlätˤ l-ʿarš*, "eight—the bearers of the canopy [of God]" (that is, the eight angels spoken of in the *Koran*, lxix. 17); *tsʿŏud—tˤisʿátˤů ráḥtīn*, "nine—nine persons" (that is, the nine persons spoken of in the *Koran*, xxvii. 49, "who despoiled the land and did not right"); *ʿášra—ṣḥāb n-nbi*, "ten—the friends of the Prophet"; *ḫădáš—íḫwátˤů Yůsef*, "eleven—the brothers of Joseph"; *tʿnāš—ʿádą̊d š-šóhŏr*, "twelve—the number of the months".

the same spot (*seb'át'u rîjāl*) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, *séb'a ṣ'ăiba*, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven *mūzûnāt'* or seven *blâin* or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Ẉäryâġer; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Ḥiáina). When the measures of grain are counted the word *sáhla*, "easy", or some other expression is used instead of *séb'a*.[1] The suggestion has been made that the belief in seven as a mystic or sacred number originated in Babylonia and from there spread to different parts of the world;[2] and it has been accounted for by the observation of the seven planets and the constellations of the Great Bear, the Lesser Bear, and the Pleiades.[3] But it seems that the lunar phases, changing every seventh day, have also had something to do with this belief.[4] Hippocrates says that "the number seven by its occult virtues tends to the accomplishment of all things, to be the dispenser of life, and fountain of all its changes, for as the moon changes its phases every seven days, this number influences all sublunary beings".[5] The number forty also plays a part in ritual and belief in Morocco,[6] as well as in other Moslem countries.[7]

[1] *Infra*, ii. 239 *sqq.*

[2] v. Andrian, 'Die Siebenzahl im Geistesleben der Völker', in *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxi. (Wien, 1901), pp. 262, 271.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 271; Lawrence, *op. cit.* p. 318 *sq.*

[4] *Cf. ibid.* p. 318; and my theory of the origin of the Jewish Sabbath, in *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), p. 286 *sq.* The connection between the Hebrew Sabbath and the moon has been subsequently discussed in detail by Professor Webster in his book *Rest Days* (New York, 1916), ch. viii.

[5] Quoted by Wain, *The Wonderful Number 7* (Tunstall, 1888), p. 1 *sq.*

[6] See 'Index', *s.v.* Forty.

[7] See, *e.g.*, Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 348; Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 188; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 246; Lassy, *The Muharram Mysteries among the Azerbeijan Turks of Caucasia* (Helsingfors, 1916), p. 173 *sq.* n. 1. For the number forty among the Semitic peoples see Roscher, 'Die Zahl 40 im Glauben, Brauch und Schrifttum der Semiten', in *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xxvii. (Leipzig, 1909), p. 93 *sqq.*

Certain combinations of numbers are supposed to possess magic power, which gives efficacy to charms. There is a charm, said to be good for anything, which is written in the following manner. The scribe asks the person who wants the charm what is his name, and writes down the numbers which represent the letters contained in it. Every letter of the Arabic alphabet has a certain numerical value indicated by its place in the formula *abjad*, the Moorish version of which runs as follows: *Ạbạjid häwäzin ḥoṭayin kälämnin ṣa'faḍin qoṛesätˢ ṯäḫuḏ ḍaġšin.* Thus ā (*álif*) is 1, b 2, j 3, d 4, h 5, w 6, z 7, ḥ 8, ṭ 9, y 10, k 20, l 30, m 40, n 50, ṣ 60, ' 70, f 80, ḍ 90, q 100, r 200, s 300, t 400, ṯ 500, ḫ 600, ḏ 700, ḍ 800, ġ 900, š 1000.[1] If a person's name is, for example, Ṭahar, the scribe writes down the numbers 9, 5, and 200, and by adding them up he gets the number 214. He then asks the name of the person's mother. If it is, for example, Fáṭma, he writes down the numbers 80, 9, and 40, representing the letters f, ṭ, and m respectively, and by summing them up he gets the number 129. He then sums up the numbers 214 and 129 and gets the number 343. He makes a *jḍwäl* (also called *jḍwīl* or *jḍwḷ*) containing four horizontal and four vertical rows—a so-called *jḍwäl mûrábbaʿ*—according to the following scheme, in which the sum of the figures in each of these rows, as well as in the two diagonal ones, is 34:

8	11	14	1
13	2	7	12
3	16	9	6
10	5	4	15

[1] The numeric value given to a letter in Morocco differs in some cases from that given to it in the East, where s is 60, ṣ 90, š 300, ḍ 800, ḏ 900, and ġ 1000. This is in accordance with the formula *abjad hawwaz ḥuṭṭī kalaman saʿfaṣ qarašat ṯaḫḫiḏ ḍaḏiġ* (Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache*, i. [Giessen, 1898], p. 4).

But instead of 1 and 9 he writes 343; instead of 2 and 10, 344; instead of 3 and 11, 345; instead of 4 and 12, 346; instead of 5 and 13, 347; instead of 6 and 14, 348; instead of 7 and 15, 349; and instead of 8 and 16, 350. The *jędwäl* thus assumes in the present case the following appearance:

350	345	348	343
347	344	349	346
345	350	343	348
344	347	346	349

Something from the Koran is written round the *jędwäl*, after which the paper is put into a small case of leather or brass and then worn by the person for whom it was made.

Another scheme for a charm is the following, in which the *jędwäl* contains three horizontal and three vertical rows —a so-called *jędwäl můtˢállätˢ*—and the sum of the figures in each of these rows is 14:

4	9	1
8		6
2	5	7

In the central square of this *jędwäl* is written the sum of the numbers representing the letters of the person's own name;

hence the *jḍwäl* in the present case gets the following appearance :

4	9	1
8	214	6
2	5	7

In this case also something from the Koran is written round the *jḍwäl*. These charms are in use in Fez, where I got my information about them.[1]

It is not in every case easy or even possible to decide whether the miracle-working power of which something is supposed to be possessed may be called *baraka* or not. It may be *baraka* although it is, in certain circumstances, a source of evil, but its mechanical effects must, on the whole, be of a beneficial kind. *Baraka*, which is looked upon as a bounty from God, as blessed virtue, is intimately connected with the religion of the Prophet. But, as we have seen, the term *baraka* is often only a religious interpretation of a belief in mysterious forces infinitely older than Islam, which prevailed among the ancient Arabs and Berbers alike.

It is also sometimes impossible to distinguish between *baraka* and the profane ; an instance of this is the medicinal virtue of many plants. A beneficial power is *baraka* only if it is looked upon as more or less mysterious, wonder-working, " supernatural ", not if it appears as ordinary, common, " profane ". It is the feeling of wonder that is at the bottom of it. But this feeling allows of many degrees and may at times dwindle into insignificance or pass away ; and the same is the case with *baraka*. There is not that impassable gulf between the holy and the profane which has

[1] For combinations of numbers in written charms *cf.* Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 190 *sqq.*

been postulated by Durkheim.[1] The Moors even assert that every person is possessed of *baraka*, although it is only in certain cases sufficiently strong to be taken notice of.

[1] Durkheim says (*Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* [Paris, 1912], p. 53) that in the whole history of human thought there is no other instance of two categories of things which are so profoundly different, so radically opposed to each other, as the sacred (*le sacré*) and the profane, their heterogeneity being absolute.

CHAPTER II

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS MANIFESTATIONS AND EFFECTS

A PERSON who is possessed of *baraka* in an extraordinary degree, a saint, is regarded quite as a supernatural being. He can see behind as well as ahead, he can see the whole world as though it were expanded on the palm of his hand, he can see the seven heavens, the seven earths, and the seven seas. He knows what is happening in distant places and foresees the future. He works miracles (*käiḍáhhar s-serr* [or, plur., *l-'asrār*], *l-bűrhą̈n* [or, popularly, *l-bűrhąm* or, plur., *l-barâhim*], *l-'árbūn*, *l-karâma*, *l-'ibâra*, or *l-baraka dyâlû*) which fill the people with amazement.

Saints can move from one place to another in ways contrary to the laws of nature. Once when Sîdi 'Abdlhâdi, whose grave is at Brīš in the Ġarbîya, wanted to cross the river T^{s}ahaddart^{s} on his way from Azîla to Sîdi Qâsĕm's shrine and the ferrymen told him to wait for a while because they were busy, he put on his slippers, which he carried in his hand, and walked over the river on the surface of the water. Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j 'Abdsslam of Wazzan, who died in 1892, rode on horseback from Tangier to Gibraltar across the Straits. Many saints are able to fly [1] or in some other miraculous manner to move in an instant from one place to

[1] *Cf.* Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. (Halle a. S., 1890), p. 294. A Moorish friend of mine, who is a shereef but not a saint, once wrote to me that he wished he were so holy that he could fly to me in London; he weighed at least sixteen stone. It was before the days of the aeroplane.

another. The great saint Mûlâi 'Abdlqâder flew over the whole world. Sîdi 'Allal l-Ḥa^{dd}j, of the Baqqâli family, flew to Mecca. Of Sîdi Ḥmed l-Barnûṣi the following story is told. He was in his lifetime a gardener in Fez. The owner of the garden in which he was working went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and, though himself in Fez, he heard his master in Mecca say to himself, " How much I should like to have some grapes from my garden ! " The gardener gathered a good quantity of grapes and put them on a mule ; and all of a sudden his master saw him coming with his animal. He went out to speak to the man, but the latter disappeared as suddenly as he had come, and only the grapes were left. The master then knew that his servant was a saint, and on his return to Fez he made him a present of the garden in which the saint now lies buried. At Tangier there was living, not long ago, a saint called Sī Mûmen, who was sometimes seen in one town and almost simultaneously in another town ; once when a steamer left Tangier he was there, and when the steamer arrived at Mogador he was there. A saint may also be seen at the same moment in different places because he has more than one body. A *qoṭb* may have forty bodies.

There are also saints who have in an instant transported other individuals to remote places. Once upon a time, when Mûlâi 'Abdlqâder was walking outside Fez, dressed in dirty clothes, lame, and with a stick in his hand, he saw a man sitting on the ground in tears, and asked what was the matter with him. The man answered that he had been deserted by his wife ; the governor of the town, who was in love with her, had told her to leave her husband, because the latter had vowed to make a pilgrimage to Mecca that year and to divorce his wife if he did not fulfil his vow. This was a lie, and now it was too late for him to make the pilgrimage since the pilgrims were going to Mount 'Arafa on the following day. The saint gave the man some money and told him to bring a hot loaf of bread from a public oven in the town. So he did ; and the saint now asked him to seat himself on his shoulders and shut his eyes. When he again opened them he found himself in Mecca,

and the loaf was still hot. He accomplished the pilgrimage, and, by order of the saint, told some pilgrims from Fez, whom he met, to write letters to their families at home. He took their letters, placed himself once more on the shoulders of the saint, and was in a moment back in Fez. When the people had read the letters from their friends, they showed them to the governor to prove that the man had really made the pilgrimage; and the governor was obliged to give him back his wife.

A somewhat similar story is told of Sîdi Ḥmed Bū̃qū́ddja, who was a brother of my friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam l-Baqqâli's grandfather and is buried at Tangier. One of his followers expressed to him his wish to go to Mecca. The saint told him to go to the sea and throw himself into the water. He went there but could not persuade himself to follow the saint's advice and remained standing on the shore. A man came riding on horseback, and asked him what he was doing. On hearing that the saint had promised his *ḥdīm* that he would reach Mecca if he threw himself into the sea, the horseman fearlessly rode into the water. The saint, who was hidden in the sea, at once took the horse with the rider on his shoulders and carried them to Mecca. The marks which the horse-shoes left on his shoulders proved the truth of the story.

The following tale is related about Sîdi 'Abdsslam ber Râisul, whose grave is in Tetuan. Once when he was walking to the mountain called Jbel Būhâšem in the district of the Bni 'Ăroṣ, which he was in the habit of visiting, he found a man coming behind along the same road, and on hearing that the man was going out hunting he proposed that they should walk together. When they had arrived at the mountain the saint told his companion to lift a certain stone which was lying on the ground. Underneath the stone there was a box full of silver coins. The saint advised the man to take the money, but the latter said that he would come back on the next day to fetch it. He was then asked by the saint to lift up another stone, and found underneath it a box full of gold. When the saint also advised him to take this treasure he again replied that he would do so on

the next day. On the following morning the man returned to the mountain to fetch the treasures, but could not find them. When he complained of it to the saint, who lived in his own village, the latter answered, " We were yesterday on Mount 'Arafa, and it was there you saw the treasures ".

Moorish saints have not only been able to transport themselves and others to Mecca or its neighbourhood in a miraculous manner, but they have also succeeded in making holy places in Mecca come to them. Mûläi 'Abdsslam ben Mšīš once told some of his followers to go with him to the top of the mountain on which he now has his grave, because he wanted to show them from there the great mosque in Mecca; and so he did. Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j l-'Arbi of Wazzan caused the Ka'bah to come to Wazzan and walk round him seven times, just as the pilgrims walk round the Ka'bah in Mecca; some of his followers who had been there saw this with their own eyes and recognised the sight.

Saints can make themselves invisible or change their shape. Sîdi l-Ḥósni l-Baqqâli once entered the Sultan's palace without being seen by anybody, and appeared there then in the shape of a woman; and on another occasion, when he paid a visit to the Sultan and gave him his hand, it was changed into a lion's paw. Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j 'Abdsslam of Wazzan did more than this: when he was at a dinner-party in Paris and his table companions began to pass nasty remarks about him, he frightened them by suddenly converting himself into a lion. And saints can not only transform their own bodies, but other things as well. The said shereef of Wazzan was very fond of alcohol and often made himself drunk. When I expressed to some natives my surprise at so holy a man constantly transgressing the law of the Prophet, I was told that he did not really drink wine, because when the wine touched his saintly lips it was transformed into honey. " But how could the honey make him drunk? " I asked. The answer was, " Anything is possible for a saint ". Here we have two miracles at the same time: the wine became honey, and the honey made the saint drunk. Once when Sîdi Ḥafíḍ ben 'Addů, who is buried at Fez, was seen to drink wine an *'âlem*, or learned

man, said to him, "One who drinks wine is not a shereef". The saint poured out some wine from the bottle and offered it to the *'álem*. The latter refused to drink it, but was at last overcome by the threats of the saint; and when he drank from the glass he found to his astonishment that he was drinking milk. I heard a similar story about a shereef belonging to Mûläi 'Abdsslam's family, who used to appear at the market of Tangier with a bottle of wine in his hand. A man who made reproachful remarks about it was asked by the shereef to taste himself what he offered him in his glass. He smelled that it was wine and refused to drink it. The shereef emptied the glass and filled it again from the bottle, asking the man once more to smell it; and now the glass was found to contain orange-blossom water (*má zhar*). It is said that while an ordinary Muhammadan by drinking wine loses the *baraka* of Islam, the *īmān* or "faith", a shereef, by drinking what appears to be wine, often is enabled to tell other people's most sacred thoughts. Who knows what he is really drinking? I was told of a shereef, who was travelling from tribe to tribe and from town to town in company with a thousand of his followers and managed to feed them all though he was absolutely penniless. When he arrived at a place the inhabitants asked him to procure for them rain and sunshine, good crops and fruit, and children from God; and he got all that they wanted by merely writing something on a paper and blowing it up in the air, as though it were a letter to God.

Saints can, in many different ways, interfere with the ordinary course or laws of nature. The following miracle was performed by Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥámduš while he was alive. A wife of the Sultan was permitted to pay him a visit, but was told to be back before the sun had sunk behind the wall of the palace. She did not find him at home, and decided to wait for him. At last he came, not long before sunset time. She gave him money as an offering, but also expressed her fear of the punishment which the Sultan would inflict on her for coming home so late. The saint comforted her by assuring her that the sun would remain in the sky till she was back. So it did; but as soon as she arrived at the

palace it suddenly set, and it became dark at once. After this miracle Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥámduš was called *gûwäd š-šęms*, "the leader of the sun"; but this epithet is in some parts of the country, as in Dukkâla, given to Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa, the saint of Tazĕrwalt. Of Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j 'Abdsslam of Wazzan Mr. Spence Watson was told by one of his servants that he once called down the full moon from the sky and made it rest upon his arm, hurling it up again when he was tired of it; the man had seen it himself, and another servant declared that the tale was true.[1] Du l-Qornáin (Dū 'l-Qarnain), described as a prophet before Muḥammad who lived a thousand years,[2] split the mountain which once united Morocco with Spain, and thus opened the passage now known as the Straits of Gibraltar. Once when Sîdi Mḥámmed ben Menṣōr wanted to add water to his ink, he thrust his pen into the ground, with the result that water spurted out of it and formed the well which is still seen at his grave in the tribe of the Mnáṣăra. When Sîdi Mâ'u l-'Ain, from Shĕngiṭ in the Sahara, touched the ground with his hand in the presence of the Sultan, water came out of it; and when he shook hands with the Sultan, milk effused from the nails of his fingers. During my stay among the Beni Ăḥsen I was told that when a certain shereef living among the neighbouring tribe of the Zemmūr spits on the ground, a flame rises towards the sky.

The prayers of saints are particularly efficacious; hence they are constantly asked by people to intercede for them with God. Their blessings are much more powerful than those pronounced by ordinary persons, and so are their

[1] Spence Watson, *A Visit to Wazan* (London, 1880), p. 193.

[2] This personage is mentioned in the *Koran*, xviii. 82 *sqq*. His name means literally "the two-horned", and he is generally held to be Alexander the Great, who is so represented on his coins (Palmer, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, ix. 24 n. 1; Zetterstéen, *Koranen* [Swedish translation of the Koran; Stockholm, 1917], p. 519). Muhammadan writers state that he was contemporary with Abraham (Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* [Paisley & London, 1896], p. 576; Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* [London, 1896], p. 717). Al-Qasṭallānī says, "There is some difference of opinion as to his being a prophet, but all learned men are agreed that he was a man of faith and piety" (Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 717).

curses. It is always dangerous to displease a saint. Some years ago Sîdi l-'Azri, of Mûläi 'Abdsslam's family, begged a fruit-seller in the green-market of Tangier to give him some fruit for nothing. When he did not get it he asked God to burn the whole market, and he had hardly left the place when his prayer was fulfilled. This frightened the people so much that afterwards, whenever he went to a shop, anything he wished to have was given him at once. There is a saying, *Š-šrīf ma tˢbéi'ŭ má tšerih*, " Don't sell [anything] to a shereef, don't buy from him ". If you sell a thing to him you cannot make him pay the price you would get from others ; and if you buy a thing from him you cannot bargain with him, or he may sell it reluctantly and curse you in his heart. Yet there are people who like to buy animals from shereefs because there is *baraka* in them. A Wazzan shereef cursed the tribe Bni Měssâra because some tribesmen had robbed him of a cow, and ever since the people of that tribe get very little butter from the milk of their cows, although the milk is plentiful. My host in the village Ḍār Fĕllaq, in the tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb, told me that the shereefs of Wazzan at Tangier once asked him to become *mqáddem*, or superintendent, of their subjects. Being already an old man, he informed them, in a letter, that he was unable to accept the post ; but as soon as he had written the letter he was seized with fever and remained ill for a whole year. When he went to Tangier and met the shereefs the fever left him, but on his way back he was taken ill again immediately after crossing the brook in the valley below his village. He suspected that his illness was a punishment inflicted on him by the angry shereefs, and at last wrote to them that if they did not relieve him of his fever he was going to complain of them to their governor, Mûläi t-Tˢhâmi. They answered him that he was now cured of his illness and, as a matter of fact, he has been well ever since. The descendants of Sîdi 'Allăl l-Ḥaᵈᵈj are famous for their curses, which are said to be fulfilled almost instantaneously ; hence these shereefs are called *ûlad l-bățtár*. Lálla 'Ăwiš, a shereefa belonging to the same family, who recently died, once asked the *ḫlîfa* of Tangier

to set free her slave who had been imprisoned by the authorities. When he refused to do so, she asked God and her holy father Sîdi l-Ḥósni to punish him with a venereal disease; and the *ḫlîfa* had soon after to go to Mûläi Ya'qob's springs, near Fez, to be cured. The curses of the Baqqalîyin are so much feared that people do not like having anything to do even with their shepherds. And the curse of a shereefa is even more dangerous than that of a shereef.

Saints, and even persons whose *baraka* is hardly strong enough to give them a claim to sainthood in the strict sense of the word, not only cause diseases to those who arouse their anger but also, I hope more frequently, act as doctors. At Fez, when a person is ill, a shereef or a *fqī* who is possessed of much *baraka* is asked to read over him an incantation (*i'ázzem 'álih*). He puts the first three fingers of his right hand on the patient's forehead and very slowly moves the thumb and the two other fingers towards each other time after time, while he is reciting in an inaudible voice the following portions of the Koran: the *āyatu 'l-kursī*, "the verse of the throne", that is, the 256th verse of the 2nd chapter, the *sūratu 'l-baqarah*, preceded by the phrase, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; the 129th and 130th verses of the 9th chapter, the *sūratu 't-taubah*; the 21st-24th verses of the 59th chapter, the *sūratu 'l-ḥašr*; the 112th chapter, the *sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*; and the 113th chapter, the *sūratu 'l-falaq*. As soon as he has finished the incantation (*'azîma*) he slightly shakes the fold of his dress so as to prevent the patient's illness from affecting him. The patient must pay him a fee, called *ûqîyit š-šēḥ*, amounting at least to a *dérhäm*, or, if he has no money to give him, a lump of sugar or a little salt. This is held to be a very necessary part of the ceremony, since it is believed that the doctor otherwise would become ill himself, though in such a case the patient would not necessarily get rid of his illness. I have found similar practices, differing somewhat in different places, among the Jbâla and Rifians in the north, among the Arabs of the plains, and among the Shlöḥ in the south. In Northern Morocco the doctor, who there, as everywhere else, must be a man possessed of *baraka*,

puts his right hand, or two fingers of it, on the affected part of the body or, if the patient suffers from fever or headache, on his forehead, and recites the *āyatu 'l-kursī*, the 129th and 130th verses of the *sūratu 't-taubah*, and the *sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*. He then says to the sick person, *Ălláh išâfi*, "May God cure", and spits three times on the part of the body on which he kept his hand. If the patient has no money to give, he offers the doctor a few grains of salt, which the latter puts into his own mouth so as not to be affected by the illness. The fee is also called *lĕ-ftôḥ*, "the opening", or *dérḥam l-ftˢöḥ*, or *dérḥam š-šēḫ*; and while it is everywhere considered essential for the welfare of the doctor, I have, besides, heard the opinion that it is as necessary for the recovery of the patient as is a key for the opening of a lock. But if money is lacking, something white, like wool, eggs, buttermilk, salt, or sugar, or also some grain, may be given instead; and if the patient has nothing at all to give —for example, if the cure is performed in the open—the doctor takes a thread or piece from his clothes, spits on it, and lets it fall.

At Fez boils are cured by the shereef or *fqī* simply spitting on them three times without reciting anything. In Andjra a malignant ulcer is cured in the following manner by a *fqī* who has been endowed with *baraka* by some saint. He brings seven small stones, all of different kinds, rubs one of them against the others so that the grit falls into the sore, spits on each stone after rubbing it, and throws it away, saying some words like these, *Ana sīyíbtˢû 'ăla l-jābābīr ḏe l-yahûḏ au n-nṣâra f ḏăk l-berr 'åla arb'átˢû árkan*, "I threw it (that is, the illness) on the ancestors of the Jews or the Christians in that (that is, their) country over [its] four corners".

The *baraka* possessed by the members of certain families enables them to cure some specific diseases. Thus the descendants of Sīd l-Mắnḍri, many of whom are blacksmiths in Fez, heal a swelling (*năfḥ*) in any part of the body by moving a burning oleander twig towards it but without touching the skin, and then spitting on the swelling; and the same speciality is attributed to the shereefian families of

the Grẹnîyin, Lyäzämîyin, and Mắṣbaḥîyin, though the last-mentioned shereefs, instead of using an oleander twig, draw lines with tar over the swelling after spitting on it. The descendants of Sīd l-Mắnḍri also cure headache in women by spitting on some henna, which, mixed with water, the patient then applies to her hair. In Northern Morocco itching sores (*ḥnîša*) are cured by shereefs of the family of Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman l-Mejdûb, who apply to them a mixture of earth, henna, tar, and spittle from their own mouths.

It is a speciality of certain families to cure persons who have been bitten by a mad dog (Arab. *kelb* or *jrû mĕs'ôr* or *mĕṣ'ôr* or *jậḥắl*; Berb. *aiḍi immúzzan* [Ţemsâmän]). In the Faḥṣ this is done by the *šúrfa z-Zgélwa*, descendants of the shereef z-Zgélwi of the family of the Ûlạd Mắṣbaḥ. The patient buys a *ṭan^{d}jîya*, or earthenware vessel of the kind used at the milking of sheep or goats. The doctor fills it with water, spits into the water, and tells the patient to sprinkle his body with it during three days by help of an olive twig which he puts into the water; but all this time the vessel must be kept hanging, since the treatment would be ineffective if it touched the ground after it was bought. It is supposed that if such a patient does not undergo this treatment he will die after forty days. In the Ḥiáina a person who has been bitten by a mad dog goes to a shereef of the Ulâd Sîdi Ắḥmed ben Brâhim, belonging to the Wazzan family; the shereef makes a cut in his own leg, and the patient puts in the bleeding wound a piece of bread or a fig, which he then eats. Again, if an animal has been bitten it is sprinkled with water mixed with some drops of the shereef's blood. Other specialists in the same line are the Ait (Sîdi) Ḥsạin, who live in a Berber village between Fez and Mequinez. The treatment is very similar: the doctor makes a cut in his own leg or hand and touches the wound with seven pieces of bread, which are to be eaten by the patient on seven consecutive days. If a dog has been bitten, some bread wet with the shereef's blood is likewise given it to eat; and if the victim is a horse or a cow, some grains of barley are put in the doctor's bleeding wound and then, mixed with other barley, given to the bitten animal.

Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz there are certain shereefs who know how to cure persons bitten by a mad dog. The shereef gives the patient his own shirt to wear, and orders him to eat only a little, not to drink unboiled water, and to avoid the sight of any person who is sexually unclean. The treatment lasts for forty days, after which the patient is supposed to be out of all danger; but on the twentieth day he has a short attack of rabies. If an animal affected with rabies sees one of these shereefs it goes to him and, instead of biting, only licks him. In the same tribe, if there is a mad dog in the village, men and animals are prevented in the following manner from being affected with rabies: a *fqēr*, or saint, spits on some salt and makes a paste of it, water is poured over the paste, and the people and their animals and tents are sprinkled with the water. In Sūs, also, there are certain men possessed of *baraka* who prevent bites of mad dogs from causing rabies; in Aglu the bitten person lies down on the ground, the doctor touches his body from head to foot with a stick, drawing, as it were, transversal lines over it, and smears the skin round the wound with spittle from his own mouth; and the patient finally goes into the sea and lets seven waves pass over his body.

As already said, saints are possessed of prophetic gifts [1] and know what is happening in distant places. Some years ago there lived in the village T^{s}ägzärt^{s}, in the district of the Bni 'Ăroṣ, a saint belonging to Mûläi 'Abdsslam's family, called Sîdi lă̈-Ḥsen, who used to predict future events and give advice accordingly to those who consulted him; his reputation was so great that he was even visited by people from the Sahara. During the war with Spain in 1859–60, when the Spaniards were marching on Tetuan, the inhabitants of the town asked Sîdi 'Abdsslam ber Răisul, then alive, if he would advise them to remain in the place or to leave it. He told them to watch, on the following morning, the gate through which people going to Tangier

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *Notes sur l'Islâm maghribin—Les Marabouts* (Paris, 1900), p. 59 *sq.*; Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 112 *sq.*

generally leave the town and kill the first person who went out by it; if they did this, he said, the Spaniards would not enter Tetuan. They watched the gate, as the saint had advised them to do, but when the first person who passed through it in the morning was found to be the great shereef of Wazzan, Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j 'Abdsślam, they did not dare to follow the instruction given them. They informed the saint about it, and he answered, "Now the Spaniards are coming"; and he was right. The prophetic gift is particularly attributed to saints who are *mäjâdib* (plur. of *mejdûb*); they are often consulted with regard to the future, and the first words they speak are regarded as prophetic. It is said of such persons that when they speak, their reason, which is generally in heaven, is for the moment permitted to return to them, and that their words should therefore be treasured up as those of inspired beings.[1] Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman l-Mejdûb is supposed to have known everything on earth and in heaven. I was told that once when one of my servants, a shereef, was in trouble in Tetuan, his holy brother in Tangier, whose mind is deranged, showed by his behaviour that he was aware of it, although he did not mention it to anybody.

The *baraka* of a saint is not lessened, but rather increased, by his death. Properly speaking, a saint never dies; his body is not subject to decay,[2] he is only slumbering in his grave. He may appear to the living, not only in dreams like ordinary dead people, but in reality. For instance, if a person walks alone in a desolate place and, feeling fear, invokes some dead saint for protection, and then suddenly finds by his side a man who speaks kindly to him—it is the saint himself. A man was once attacked by four robbers in a garden outside Marráksh and called on Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder for help. A person appeared at the gate and said, "I am going to tell the governor about your doings". The robbers ran away, and the man went to the gate but found nobody there; the saint who had been there had already disappeared. Dead saints may also appear in animal shapes, for example,

[1] *Cf.* Drummond Hay, *Western Barbary* (London, 1844), p. 100.

[2] This is the general belief in Muhammadan countries (Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. 323).

as pigeons [1] or snakes.[2] Sîdi Daud in Aglu has frequently been seen at his shrine in the disguise of a jackal. The great Atlas saint Mûlăi Brâhim ben Sâlĕm has the epithet *ṭīr j-jbel* because he often flies from his tomb to his *ḫálua*, which is on a mountain on the other side of the Ġeġáya valley.

Some other dead saints are in two graves at the same time. This is the case with Sîdi ṭ-Ṭâhạr Bōqăbrạ́in, who, as his name indicates, is a "master of two graves"; one of them is situated among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz in Dukkâla, but where the other one is my informant could not tell. Sîdi 'Ăli l-Ġrnâṭši has a grave inside Salli and another grave outside the town. After being buried in the latter place, the saint appeared to his sons in a dream telling them to dig in the ground at a certain spot inside Salli. When they did so they found his body there and built a *qóbba* over it; and it is believed that the saint is in both graves because his body was never removed from the grave in which it was buried. When Mûlăi Bůšˢa died the mountain tribes Fẹ̆štˢâla and Bni Mezgẹ́lda fought about his body, each of them wanting to bury it inside their own district. The saint appeared to the leading men of the tribes in a dream and told them to have two coffins made, to put his body in one of them, and after closing the coffins to order two men from either tribe to carry them away without knowing which of them contained the body of the saint. All this was done. But when the coffins were opened, one by the Fẹ̆štˢâla and the other one by the Bni Mezgẹ́lda, the saint was found to be in each box.[3] Sîdi Ġâlĕm has two graves in Dukkâla, Sîdi Bů'ăli one among the Aiṭ Sádděn and another one among the Aiṭ Yúsi, both with a *qóbba*; Sîdi Mḥắmměd u (or ben) Slîmạn l-Jạzûli is even said to have seven graves—in Marráksh, Frûga, Ḥaḥa, the Ida Utânan, Dukkâla, Sūs, and the Ságya l-ḥámra farther south. When the inhabitants of the districts in which he now has his graves were quarrelling about his dead body, he told them to dig a grave for him and

[1] *Infra*, ii. 337. [2] *Infra*, ii. 348 *sq.*

[3] A slightly different account is given by M. Levi, 'Mulai-Buchta-l-Khammar', in *Les archives berbères*, ii. (Paris, 1917), p. 255.

make a *qóbba* in each place and promised to remain in all the graves.

The fact that a saint has two graves, however, does not make him a *mûla qabráin*, in the proper sense of the term, unless his body is believed to be simultaneously in either grave. It may be that after a grave has been dug for the saint in the place where he died, but before he is buried in it, he appears to his people in a dream and tells them to bury him in another place, which he indicates to them; there he is buried, but the former place may also, nevertheless, be regarded as his grave. Or a saint may have more than one grave, because different parts of his body are buried in different places. Thus the patron saint of Tangier, Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j, has three graves, one at Tangier, another at Fez, and a third in the district of the Bni Ḥássᾱn. He was killed in this tribe, but before his interment the Sultan's soldiers cut off his head, which was buried at Fez. His body was then buried at the place where he had been killed; but one night his descendants and followers at Tangier came to take it away. When they caught hold of the body, the heart, lungs, liver, stomach, and other entrails remained in the grave, so that they carried with them only the more solid parts of the body, which were then interred at Tangier. Sîdi Mḥámmed ben Menṣōr, again, is not a *mûla qabráin* but a *bῡqóbbtīn*, because he has two *qbeb* (plur. of *qóbba*), though only one grave. Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem is buried outside Fez although his *ḥauš* in Andjra has more *baraka*, in accordance with an utterance of the saint himself during his last illness; he was then in Fez, and when people from Andjra went there to fetch him but were opposed by the townsfolk, he said that "he who wants *baraka* should go to [his *ḥauš* in] Andjra and he who wants finery to [his *qóbba* outside] Fez".

Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints. In Dukkâla, *ignis fatuus* in a desert place is taken for the sign of an unknown saint having died there; the people make a *mzára* on the spot and worship the saint under the name of Sîdi l-Ġrīb, "My lord the Stranger". Elsewhere also such light is attributed to saints, though

there are people who say that it may as likely be fire kindled by *jnūn*. Sîdi Boqnâděl's shrine in the district of the Ait Waráin shines at night, and so does Sîdi l-Máḫfi's *ḥauš* in the village Ḍār l-Ḥjar in Andjra. A strange light has been seen at the top of an olive tree growing on the ground which formerly belonged to Sîdi l-Ḥósni in the village Bné Ḥlu, in the same district. In the Rīf also there are trees connected with saints which are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sîḍi Ăḥmeḍ Märrui's shrine in the district of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer; my informant had seen it himself.

Outside the *qóbba* of Sîdi 'Allạl l-Ḥa^{dd}j at l-Ḥráyaq, in the mountains of Ġzáwa, there is a fig tree which begins to move when the shereefs of his family, at his feast in the month of the Mûlūd, *käiḥáḍḍrů* round it, moving their bodies up and down to the music of tambourines; the tree imitates their movements. In the village Būsemläl, near Tetuan, I was told that during a drought, or also when there is much rain, a shot is heard from the shrine of its patron saint, Sîdi l-Máḫfi; this was said to happen once every year.

No end of miracles are attributed to dead saints. Sîdi Mḥámmed l-Mellâla, among the Mnáṣăra, dislikes corpses and grain. If anybody is buried near his shrine, he will compel the dead person to rise from his grave as soon as his friends have gone away, and the poor fellow will probably be devoured by dogs; and if a subterranean granary is made there, any grain which is put in it will be thrown out. Near the shrine of Sîdi Bůṣărġin, the patron saint of Ṣĕfru, there is a stone which is said to have been a Christian who once wanted to lead water from the brook coming from the rock above the shrine to a place on the plain where he intended to make a garden; the angry saint transformed him into a stone, and nowadays people who visit the shrine often throw stones at the petrified Christian. Once when Mûläi Būsĕlhäm had his feast and many people had formed themselves into a queue at his well, one of them, who became impatient at having to wait so long, suggested that they should go to the sea-shore to drink, as the saint was sure

to make the water drinkable for them. The advice was followed, and the water was found to be sweet; but on the following morning it was salt as before. The same saint can make the sea outside his shrine on the Atlantic shore calm or rough, just as he wants it to be. We have seen that certain saints are invoked by people on the sea when a gale is blowing;[1] and one of these saints, Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ, can not only make the wind abate, but is also appealed to by farmers who want a westerly wind to be able to winnow their corn.[2] Sîdi Mûsa ben 'Omran, whose tomb is outside Mazagan, has the epithet *gûwaḍ s-sfūn fi l-bḥōr*, "the guide of the ships on the seas"; whilst Sîdi Qâsĕm, whose sanctuary is farther north, in the Faḥṣ, has the reputation for wrecking steamers passing along the coast. It is said that the failure of the Tourmaline expedition to Sūs in 1898 was caused by the saints of the country. If a descendant of the Ûlaḍ Bûṭwâjen, who killed Mûlăi 'Abdsslam, approaches his sanctuary, a heavy fall of rain or snow or a thunderstorm at once displays the wrath of the saint. The mountaineers living in the neighbourhood of his shrine also go there to pray for rain; and similar appeals are made to a large number of saints in all parts of the country. The power to produce rain is indeed one of the gifts most frequently attributed to saints.[3]

The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised. When a person in Fez wants to learn to play a string instrument (*ḍ̂la*) he goes to Sîdi l-'Auwaḍ's *qóbba* in the afternoon or at night and puts underneath the *dárbūz* of the saint some red raisins, which he takes away on the following morning and eats; the *baraka* of the saint will then produce the desired effect. At Mequinez would-be musicians and singers receive assistance from Sîdi Qaddūr l-'Alâmi. Reputed instructors of the playing of the *gĕmbri*, the little two-stringed guitar which is the most common of all musical instruments used in Morocco, are Mûlăi Bûšṭ^{s}a and Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa, who are appealed to with a sacrifice. He who goes to the shrine of the latter in Tazĕrwalt in

[1] *Supra*, p. 90 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, ii. 231. [3] *Infra*, ii. 256 *sqq.*

order to become a skilful player kills there a sheep, walks three times round the *qóbba* with his *kanbri* (*gĕmbri*) in his hand, and then calls upon a certain descendant of the saint living close by, to whom he hands his instrument in order to get it back with an invocation that God may help him to become a good player. Other saints visited for the same purpose are Sîdi Jâbar at Fez and Sîdi Ḥbīb ; he who goes to the latter sacrifices a goat or a cock, but a poor man who came to his shrine empty-handed caught a blackbird there and killed it and was on his return home one of the best *gĕmbri*-players in the tribe. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer a person who wants to learn to play the flute (*ḏäšebbäḇṯ*) visits the shrine of Sîḏi 'Ḗsa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute ; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

At Fez girls who want to marry go to the *ḥauš* of Sîdi Mbârăḳ ben 'Ăbâbû, outside the gate Bäb g-Gîsa, make an offering, and address the saint with the words, *A sîdi Mbârăḳ ben 'Ăbâbû a'ṭêni r-râjel blā ḥbâbû*, " O Sîdi Mbârăḳ ben 'Ăbâbû, give me a husband who has no friends " (that is, relatives). This they do in order to avoid being given in marriage to a cousin, since cousin-marriages are supposed to lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple.[1] A speciality of Sîdi Ḥmed bnḗ Ḥya is to make tyrannical husbands kinder to their wives ; hence his *qóbba* in Fez is often visited by married women, who pray, *Sîdi Ḥmed bnḗ Ḥya ṙfeḍ 'ălîya qlâlin lá-ḥya*, " Sîdi Ḥmed bnḗ Ḥya, save me from those who have little shame ". Ill-natured camels are taken to Sîdi Būlḥĕlf, whose shrine is on the border between the Ait Mdîwal and Ait Buwúlli, at a day's distance from Demnat.

Very many dead saints are held in repute as doctors, either as general practitioners or as specialists who are able to cure certain complaints. In many cases the patient goes and stays at the shrine until the saint appears to him in a dream telling him to leave ; and sometimes the saint advises

[1] *Cf.* Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 54 *sq.*

him to visit the shrine of Sîdi or Mûlăi So-and-so, being himself incapable of curing him. The principal doctor of Fez is Sîdi 'Ali Bũġâleb, who is the healer of all sorts of illnesses; to his *qóbba* are attached a *dār ăr-rjāl*, for male patients, and a *dār n-nsa*, for female patients, each containing several rooms in which the sick are lodged as long as is necessary. Sîdi 'Ăli Mzâli, with a *ḥauš* in Fez, cures the cough of little children. On a Saturday morning the child is placed on his grave and has its throat "cut", as it were, with a stone picked up from the place; this is a simulated slaughter of the cough. Moreover, the person who carries the child to the *sîyĭd* takes with him some white and black benzoin, as also a brush, which is supposed to brush away the cough; these things are subsequently appropriated by the *mqáddem* of the shrine. Sîdi 'Abděddäim has the epithet *mṣaḥḥaḥ g-gwäim*, because he is believed to "give strength to arms and legs"; but his *ḥauš*, which is in a garden at Fez, is visited by women only, who mostly go there, on Tuesdays, for picnicking. The sulphurous springs of Mûlăi Ya'qob, in the hills above Fez, attract syphilitic patients from all parts of Morocco.

At Tangier, malaria (*ḥómma*) is cured by Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j and typhoid (*sálma* or *mkéllfa*) by Sîdi l-Mĕṣmûdi, the patients remaining at the shrine of the saint until he tells them in a dream to leave. A person suffering from pain in his joints goes to the *záwia* of Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder and stays there likewise till the saint appears to him in a dream. Whooping-cough (*ṣarrâḥa*) is cured by Lálla š-Šą́fia, who has only a whitewashed cairn in a garden belonging to a Christian; some white benzoin is burned there, and the throat of the sick child is touched with the blunt side of a knife, which is then left on the cairn. A little child suffering from *ṣolḥ*—that is, who is restless and cries and has no appetite—is taken to the shrine of Sîdi Dris in the Faḥṣ; a cock is killed, and some earth from the *sîyĭd*, enclosed in a small piece of a bamboo, is hung round its neck. The shrine of Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem in Andjra is visited by persons suffering from *láqwa*, or a distortion of the face; and the same saint cures the illness called *hbũṭ*, the symptoms

of which were said to be diseased and projecting eyes, a swollen face, and often also swollen hands.

In the district of the Ulâd Râfa, in the tribe of the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, an infant troubled with the stomach complaint called *šĕmm*, which is supposed to be caused by the smell of an owl, is carried by its mother, on a morning before sunrise, to the *ḥauš* of Lálla Fâṭna Ŭmmû. The mother offers to the saint something white, as an egg or some white wool, or also a copper coin, ties round the neck of the child a black woollen cord which she has dipped in tar, and afterwards, on her return home, washes both her own clothes and those of the child; and so effective is this cure that the child will recover on the same day. An infant suffering from the illness called *já'ra*, which may be fatal though its only conspicuous symptom is crying, is carried to the *ḥauš* of Sîdi l-Ġrîb. The mother makes an offering of the same kind as in the last-mentioned case, addresses the saint with the words *D'áit lik ḥăd j-já'ra*, "I called down upon you this *já'ra*", and then leaves the child alone at the *ḥauš* for a while; my informant said that the illness is thus left at the place and destroyed by the saint. There are many other specialists in the Ulâd Râfa or in other parts of the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz. A child who is backward in learning to walk is carried to Sîdi Mḥámměd s-Sâyăḥ; the mother kills a fowl as *'ār* on the saint, puts the child inside his *ḥauš*, and leaves it there alone a little. Sîdi Busĕdra cures diseases of the eye and Sîdi Bbŵârak warts (*tălūl*); the eyes are rubbed with an unbroken egg or some wool, and the warts with *gélya*, consisting of roasted wheat with the addition of salt and water. Sîdi Yâḥya l-Hûwwâri heals sores caused by abscesses; the patient goes to his *qóbba* on a Friday evening, sacrifices a fowl or goat or sheep as *'ār* upon him, and remains at the place until the saint tells him to leave, all the time treating his sores with earth taken from the *sîyĭd*. The same saint also cures the ear-disease *zämmâl*, consisting in purulence and deafness; in this case also the patient goes to the shrine on a Friday evening, makes there an *'ār*-sacrifice, and brings on the following morning from the market some oil to put into his ears at the *sîyĭd*, after

which he goes back home. Sîdi 'Ăli cures typhoid fever (*mkéllfa*); the patient sacrifices a fowl as *'ār* at his shrine, and washes himself with water which he has brought with him. In the Ulâd Râfa there are the two veterinary saints, Sîdi 'Ăli Štwan and Sîḍi Mḥámměd š-Šnhâji; if a sheep or cow or ox dies of a disease, one of its shanks with the hoof is deposited at the shrine of one of these saints in order to prevent other deaths among the animals, and at the same time a promise is made to sacrifice an animal to the saint in case this hope shall be fulfilled. Certain syphilitic affections are cured by Sîdi Wa'dûd at Azemmur; the patient stays at his shrine for three times seven or four times seven days, during which time he eats sarsaparilla (*'ášba*), bought from the *mqáddem* of the place, and abstains from all flesh but mutton, as also from butter, fruit, and vegetables.

In the neighbourhood of Mogador there is the tomb of Sîdi 'Abĕlla u 'Omar, with a mosque attached to it, which is visited by persons suffering from rheumatic pains; they go there three days in succession after *'âṣar*, rub the affected part of the body, with the clothes on, against the wall of the mosque, and then throw some barley at the wall three times, saying, "O Sîdi 'Abĕlla u 'Omar, the thing which I threw on you was not barley"—meaning, of course, that it was the illness. In the tribe Ůnzůṭṭ, in the Great Atlas, there is a *sîyĭd* called Bâba S'ăid u Ḥsaṇin, with a spring from which water is taken to be used as a remedy when a person has been bitten by a mad dog; and on the border between the Ġarbîya and Jbel Ḥbīb there is at the *ḥauš* of Sîdi l-Ḥaum a spring the water of which, fetched in the morning before sunrise, is used for a similar purpose, both externally and internally in the case of a person, and internally if an animal has been bitten. Very many saints rule over the *jnūn*[1] and are therefore appealed to by people who are troubled with illnesses caused by those spirits.

Dead saints are generally benevolent beings, ready to bestow their favours on those who approach them in the proper manner. They are invoked in the most varied circumstances by persons who feel themselves in need of

[1] *Infra*, i. 363 *sq.*

their assistance, either in averting evil or in securing good. Some of them have the reputation for granting, on certain conditions, every request addressed to them. This is the case with Sîdi Bûker bel 'Arabi if the petitioner visits his *qóbba* outside Fez on seven consecutive Thursdays before sunrise. The same is true of saints belonging to the Šnhâja, Rgrâga, and Bni Dġōġ, provided that saints of all the three families are visited: —*Šnhājîya rgrāgîya dġōġîya li zârhum ḥâjtû măqdîya* (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). So also Mûläi Idrīs will give a person what he asks for if he has said his prayers on forty mornings in succession at daybreak.

The simplest way of appealing to a dead saint is to invoke him by mentioning his name; but a better method, which is resorted to in more serious cases whenever it is possible, is to visit (*izôr* or *izûr*, pret. *zār*) his shrine or some other sanctuary connected with him. The visitor often kisses its wall, window, door-ring, or threshold,[1] or rubs his eyes with the door-ring. Both men and women kiss the threshold of Mûläi Idrīs' *qóbba*, though the thresholds of other shrines in Fez are kissed by women only. If the sanctuary contains a grave, the supplicant kisses the *dárbūz*, or, if there is no *dárbūz*, the grave itself. In Fez one kiss is held sufficient, but in Tangier it is the custom to kiss five different parts of the *dárbūz*, the centre first and then each corner. Scribes disapprove of kissing altogether, saying it is *ḥărâm*, but many of them do it nevertheless. The supplicant now sits down close to the *dárbūz*, recites a few passages of the Koran if he is able to do so, and makes his request in a whisper or silently without saying anything; for a saint knows people's secret wishes, and nobody likes other persons to hear what they are. In Tangier the request is followed by five kisses in the same places as before, after which the petitioner in many cases puts some money in the *rbé'a*, or money-box of the saint; but this is not usually done by scribes, who maintain that their recitations make cash contributions superfluous and are even preferred by the saint. Other gifts are handed over by the supplicant to the *mqáddem*, or care-taker, of the shrine before he proceeds to

[1] *Cf.* Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 71.

the *dárbūz*. The gifts may consist of various things, such as eggs, milk, bread, corn, or honey; but the regular present is (besides money) oil, one or more candles, or a live animal. The candles may be placed by the petitioner himself either on a shelf (*márfa'*) in the sanctuary or on the *dárbūz* before he kisses it; whilst the animal is always left outside the entrance, to be killed as a sacrifice by the *mqáddem*, if there is one, and otherwise by the person who brought it. The tomb of the saint is often fumigated with incense. To make an offering to the saint, however, is not obligatory on him who enters his shrine; but in some parts of the country it is the custom for those who have nothing else to give to put myrtle twigs on the *dárbūz*.[1] Petitions may be made and gifts offered by proxy.

An offering to a saint is called *ziyâra* or *ziára* (Berb. *zzîart* [Shelḥa]), which really means the visit itself and is used in this sense as well, though not, I was told, in Fez.[2] Other words for an offering are *hdîya*, "present", *ṣadâqa*, "alms", and, if it consists of money, candles, or oil, *baraka*. At Tangier and elsewhere the offering of an animal is not called *ziára* but *hdîya*, and the term *ṣadâqa* must not be used by shereefs. A sacrifice is called in Arabic *ḏbêḥa*, and in Berber *tiġărsi* (Shlöḥ, Ait Waráin) or *ṯaġărṣa* (Aiṯ Sádděn). The sacrifice of a camel or bullock which is stabbed in the hollow of the throat near the breast-bone is also called *nḥer* or *nḥêra*,[3] in Shelḥa *nnḥērt*.

If descendants of the saint are living at the place where he has his shrine, the offerings are divided between them; and if such as are living elsewhere happen to be present when the division is made, they may also receive a share of them. If the descendants of the saint have a *mézwaṛ* or provost, a certain portion of the offerings belongs to him, even should he be of another family;[4] and another portion belongs to

[1] *Cf.* Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 70 *sq.*

[2] Among the Ait Temsâmän the word *zziâ'* is applied to the visit only, the offering being called *ssḏgăṯ* (*ṣadâqa*).

[3] *Cf. infra*, ii. 362.

[4] Thus the *mézwaṛ* of the Drisîyin does not belong to their family, and many other shereefian families residing in Fez have only one *mézwaṛ* between them.

the *mqáddem* of the shrine. At Fez the offerings are divided into equal shares—the same for men, women, and children —and the *mézwaṛ* and the *mqáddem* only receive one share each. The division is made once a week, on a fixed day, which differs in the case of different saints. The *mqáddem* keeps the key of the *rbé'a*, or money-box, but when it is opened by him two respectable members of the saint's family are present ; and the same is the case when sacrificed animals are divided and the portions of their flesh sent round. Offered fowls and candles, with the exception of the candles burned at the *sîyŭd*, are sold by the *mqáddem*, who puts the money into the *rbé'a*. The gifts offered to Mûläi Idrīs during the first fortnight of the month of l-Mûlūd, however, are the lawful property, not of the saint's descendants, but of the country shereefs of Mûläi 'Abdsslam's family, who come to Fez and, on the last night of the preceding month, substitute their own *rbắya'*, or money-boxes, for those of the Drisîyin. Formerly they had a right to the offerings during the whole month, but once when the Drisîyin made objections and a fight ensued between shereefs of the two families inside the sanctuary, Mûläi l-Ḥaṣaṇ decreed that thenceforth the descendants of the saint should have the offerings during the second half of the month. At Tangier the *mézwaṛ*, who keeps the key of the *rbé'a* and opens it every Saturday, receives three shares of the offerings of money, candles, oil, and animals, and the same is the case with the *mqáddem* ; but minor gifts of eatables, like eggs, bread, and corn, are taken by the latter and the shereef or shereefs who are sitting with him at the *sîyŭd*.

If the saint has no relatives the shereefs of some other family, who have no dead saint with a shrine among their ancestors, may have acquired from the Sultan the right to appropriate the gifts offered to him. Thus at Fez Sîdi 'Ăli Bŭğâleb's and Sîdi Ḥmed l-Barnûṣi's offerings belong to the Ṭalbîyin, Sîdi Ḥmed š-Šáwi's to the Qadrîyin, and Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem's to the Debbağîyin. If no such privilege has been granted to other shereefs, as in the case of Mûläi Ya'qob's offerings, the office of the *mqáddem* is rented by the Government to some person for a certain sum a month,

and he receives all the offerings. Elsewhere the *mqáddem* preserves the portion of them which does not belong to him for defraying the expenses for the shrine and for the entertainment of temporary guests; and at Sîdi Héddi's sanctuary they are also used for the maintenance of the saint's followers who are living there. If the shrine is visited by scribes, the *mqáddem* shares with them some of the offerings, but not money, candles, or oil. It is said, *L-fóqra tlāls ṭ-ṭálba flāls*, "The saints are corn-sacks, the scribes are cockerels"; that is, while the saints get the main part of the offerings made to them, the scribes get the leavings. In case the *mqáddem* happens to be absent, shereefs and scribes may take any offerings they find at the shrine, and so they may do at the shrine of a saint who has neither descendants nor a *mqáddem*, as for example Sîdi Dris and Sîdi 'Ămár in the Faḥṣ; but a scribe must first recite something from the Koran so as to remove the danger which would otherwise attend the appropriation of presents given to the saint. At Fez, where the shrine of every saint to whom *ziâra* is offered has a *mqáddem*, a shereef has the privilege of taking any candle or any money, not locked up in the *rbé'a*, which he happens to find at the *sîyĭd* in the temporary absence of the *mqáddem*, and this is the case whether the saint has descendants or not and even though the shereef has otherwise no share in his offerings; but he is not allowed to take anything in the presence of the *mqáddem*.

As for the *mqáddem* of a shrine it may be added that he must not belong to the family of the saint, and at any rate, if the latter has descendants he must not even be a shereef. It is believed that if he were, he might steal offerings entrusted to him without being punished for it by the saint. Now it is otherwise. Once when the *mqáddem* of a certain shrine at Fez fraudulently opened the *rbé'a* and tried to take money from it, he was unable to remove his hand, and some of the saint's descendants had to come and sacrifice and pray to their holy ancestor till at last one of them managed to pull out the *mqáddem's* hand from the money-box. At Fez, the *mqáddem* is appointed by the shereefs who have a right to the offerings, and the rule is that a son of the previous

mqáddem becomes his father's successor, if grown-up and otherwise held suitable for the office; there is hereditary *baraka* in the families of *mqáddmīn*. The *mqáddem* is not paid by the shereefs, but, besides having a share in the *ziâra*, receives presents from the people visiting the shrine. Mûlăi Idrīs' sanctuary has two *mqáddmīn*, who always belong to the Râmi and the Agûmi families, and are simultaneously appointed by the Government. The keys of the *qóbba* are kept by a member of the Agûmi family who lives close by, but is not one of the *mqáddmīn*.

The petitioner may also promise to give the saint a present in case his request is granted—to sacrifice an animal to him, to provide his *dárbūz* with a new covering, to give him a flag or a clock or a sum of money or something else, or to whitewash his sanctuary. Among the Ait Waráin hunters secure the assistance of the reputed saint Sîdi Bel Qâsĕm Azĕrwal ("the blue-eyed"), whose shrine is in the district of the Ait Bŭnṣar, by promising him the skins of the *udâděn* (sing. *udăd*; *Ovis tragelaphus*), or wild sheep, they are going to shoot. The *fellâḥa* living in Fez, just before they begin the ploughing of their fields, promise one of the dead saints of the town to give him a certain portion of the harvest—not larger than they think is necessary—in case he will help them to get a specified corn crop from their fields. If the *fellāḥ* gets it when the corn is threshed, he sells the promised portion (*ḥaqq s-sîyĭd*) and puts the money into the money-box of the shrine, or he gives it as it is to some poor descendants of the saint; and even if the amount stipulated is exceeded, it is not necessary that he should give more than he promised. In case the harvest is rich, he will, the next year again, apply to the same saint for assistance, whereas, in the opposite case, he will change his patron.[1] There are similar customs with regard to vegetables and oil; in the case of the latter the promise is made after the olives have been taken down from the trees, but before the oil is pressed. The promised portion of the oil is not sold, but sent to the *mqáddem* of the saint to be used for the illumination of the shrine. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, if the owner of a mare wants it

[1] *Cf. infra*, ii. 221 (Ḥiáina.)

to give birth to a mule or a foal, he takes a new *škāl*, or rope of the kind used for tying up the feet of such animals when pasturing, and deposits it at a *sîyĭd*, promising to offer something to the saint if his wish is fulfilled; and in a similar manner they promote the increase of their camels, donkeys, and cattle. In the same tribe a man who is losing many of his animals by death goes to a shrine, taking with him some dates and the peg to which one of the dead animals used to be tethered. He puts the dates at the head of the grave, asks the saint to remove the cause of the evil, and promises him a sheep or a goat if his request is granted. He then leaves the peg on the road, hoping that somebody will pick it up and use it and thereby unwittingly transfer the evil to his own animals. In Andjra a person who is losing many of his animals either by death or by robbery takes the remaining ones a number of times round Sîdi 'Ălî ben Ḥărâzem's *ḥauš*, tells the saint that they belong to him, and sacrifices one of them; and if, after this, there are no more losses among the animals, he makes a similar sacrifice to the saint every year. In the same district a person who invokes a dead saint in order that his mare or his cow shall give birth to a foal or a calf promises the saint a certain portion of its value if his wish is fulfilled.[1]

If a sick person promises to give to a saint some money or cloth for the covering of his *dárbūz* in case he gets well, he puts it underneath his pillow and keeps it there until he recovers; but even if he dies it is given to the saint. Again, if a person is travelling and a member of his family makes a similar promise in order to secure his safe return, the promised object is set aside for the purpose of being presented to the saint in due season. A promised sheep or other animal is in many cases marked by having a piece of its ear or some of its wool cut off. If a petitioner does not keep his promise, although his request is granted, he will suffer some misfortune; for example, if he asked for the birth of a son, the child will become ill or mad or die. A promised offering is called *wá'da*. When the promise to the saint is fulfilled it is said that *l-wá'da märfûda m'a s-sîyĭd*;

[1] For other promises made to saints, see 'Index', *s.v. Wá'da*.

hence the gift offered to him in fulfilment of a previous promise is in Dukkâla called *l-märfûda dyālt s-sîyĭd*, the term *wá'da* not being used there at all.

Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.[1] To take a few instances: Sîdi Mŭḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j at Tangier is chiefly visited on Fridays and, less often though with greater profit, on Tuesdays; Sîdi Mûsa ben 'Omran outside Mazagan on Sundays, the visitors spending the night at his shrine; Sîdi Mĕgdûl, Sîdi Káuki, Sîdi Brâhim u 'Ệsa, and Sîdi Ḥärrāz, all outside or in the neighbourhood of Mogador, on Saturdays, Sundays, Mondays, and Thursdays respectively; the Glawi saint Sîdi 'Ali Mûsa at Arg and the Aglu saint Sîdi Waggag on Sundays and Thursdays; Sîdi Bŭṣărġin and Sîdi Ḥmed t-Tădli outside Ṣĕfru on Saturdays and Mondays respectively; Sîḍi Bŭḥaiyâr among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer on Thursdays and Fridays; Sîdi Ṭálḥa in Andjra on Fridays; and Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem in the same district on the first Sunday of every month. The days of the week, mentioned below, on which some of the saints of Fez have their annual festivals are also, at any rate by preference, their weekly reception days.

Besides the gifts and promises of individual petitioners there are other forms of attention shown to dead saints. In towns it is the custom for the *ġaiyâṭīn* and *ṭabbâlīn*, the professional hautboyists and drummers, to visit in small groups the various shrines of the town and give there a serenade on every Friday, except in the months of Muḥarram and Ramaḍān. They do it in order that the saints shall lend them assistance; should they omit the weekly serenades there would not be many weddings or other profitable occasions. Persons who are sitting at the *sîyĭd* or pass by while they are playing often give them some coin to induce them to play a little more, and this is considered in the same light as an offering to the saint.

At many sanctuaries of saints there is daily religious service: a *múdden*, or an *imām* as well, is attached to them, prayers are said there at certain hours, and recitations from

[1] *Cf.* Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 70; Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. 312.

the Koran are regularly made by scribes. This is true of Sîdi Ḥmed š-Šáwi's and Sîdi Ḥmed bnę́ Ḥya's shrines at Fez; and Mûläi Idrīs has several *múddnīn*, and scribes make recitations at his sanctuary four times a day—in the morning, at noontide, in the mid-afternoon, and at sunset. On the other hand, no *múdden* is attached to, and no scribes read at, the shrine of Sîdi 'Ăli Bů̈gâleb inside the same town and Sîdi Bujîda's, Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem's, and Sîdi Ḥmed l-Barnůṣi's shrines outside it. At Tangier there are several shrines where prayers are said either by a special *imām* or by the *múdden* at sunset and in the evening; in the *qóbba* of Sîdi Můḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j they are said at *ḍhor*, *'âṣar*, and sunset, and in that of Sîdi Můḥámmed ber Rấisul five times a day. But on Fridays prayers are said at no other saintly sanctuaries in Tangier but the *qóbba* of Sîdi Můḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j, the *záwia* of Sîdi Ḥmed ben Nâṣăr, and the mosque of Sîdi Bů'béid.

At many shrines a feast is held once every year,[1] and at some even more than once. Such a feast is called in Arabic *můsem* or *mûsem* or, among the Jbâla and in the Faḥṣ, *'ămâra* or, among the Arabic-speaking country-folks in the neighbourhood of Fez, *lấma* or *lấmma*; the Aiṯ Sádděn call it *llấmma*, the Ait Waráin *llấmmt*, the Ait Temsâmän *rmûsĕm*, the Iglíwa *lmûbīt* or *lmûsĕm*, the Shlöḥ of Aglu *almůggar*. A favourite time for celebrating the festivals of saints is the month of the Můlūd. Sîdi Mḥámmed ben 'Ę̂sa, for example, has his feast on the 12th day of this month, "the Prophet's birthday", Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥámduš and Sîdi Ḥbīb on the 19th, Sîdi Můḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j on the 19th and 20th. Mûläi 'Abdsslam has a feast on the 15th of Ša'bą̄n (the so-called *nhār n-nĕṣḥa*) and another feast on the day of 'Arafa. Sîdi l-Móḫ^{ṣ}ar at Tangier has one *'ămâra* on the first day of the Little Feast and another on the second day of the Great Feast, both being celebrated chiefly by 'Ęsáwa. The Dukkâla saint Mûläi 'Abdllah had formerly his *můsem* at the Great Feast, but not very long ago the time for it was changed to the early autumn.

[1] *Cf.* Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 71 *sq.*; Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. 312.

The festivals of the great saints of Fez are held either in autumn or in spring, on no fixed dates, but on certain days of the week. Mûlăi Idrīs has his *mûsem* in the early part of the autumn, on a Thursday; in 1909, when I was staying in Fez, it was celebrated as early as in August to avoid collision with the month of Ramaḍān, during which there must be no *mûsem*, but another year it may be held in September or October. Sîdi ʿĂli Bŭġâleb's *mûsem* likewise takes place in autumn, on a Wednesday. The following saints have their feasts in spring: Sîdi Ḥmed l-Barnûṣi, whose *qóbba* is situated at Lămṭa at about an hour's distance from the town, on a Sunday; Sîdi Mḥámmed ben lă-Ḥsen outside Băb g-Gîsa and Sîdi Bujîda, on a Wednesday; Sîdi ʿĂli ben Ḥărâzem, on a Saturday; Sîdi Ḥmed bnę̂ Ḥya and Sîdi Ḥmed š-Šáwi inside the town, in the latter part of spring, the former on a Monday and the latter on a Thursday; and Sîdi Bûker bel ʿArabi outside Bāb m-Maḥrôq, on a Thursday, when the students have their feast with a mock Sultan. Mûlăi Idrīs of Zărhūn and Mûlăi Yaʿqob have also their feasts in spring, the former on a Thursday and the latter on a Saturday.

The Aiṭ Sádděn and Ait Waráin celebrate the feasts of their saints either in spring or in autumn. The *mujāḥędīn* in the Rīf have their yearly feasts in autumn at the time when the figs are ripe. Sîdi Qâsĕm in the Faḥṣ and Sîdi ʿAbdlhâdi and his son Ḥmed at Brīš in the Ġarbîya have their feasts on Midsummer day. The feast of the *mujāḥędīn* called r-Rwâḍi on the sea-shore between Cape Spartel and Azîla is held in August, that of Sîdi Ḥsáyĭn in the Faḥṣ on 17th September. Sîdi Sʿăid u ʿAbdnnăʿim among the Ida Ubŭzia in Ḥaḥa has his feast on 1st March; Sîdi Mḥammd u ʿĂli among the Ůnzůṭṭ and Sîdi ʿĂli u Mḥammd among the Iglíwa have their feasts on the first Thursday in August; Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa of Tazĕrwalt has three *ilmúggarn* (plur. of *almúggar*), one beginning on 15th March and lasting for three or four days, another beginning on the first Thursday in August and lasting to the following Saturday inclusive, and a third beginning on the first Thursday in October and lasting likewise for three days.

The feast of a saint is arranged by his descendants or his *ḥŭddạm*, or followers, or in some cases, when he has neither, by those who have the special privilege of appropriating the gifts offered to him. At Fez the saint's descendants buy considerable quantities of food to breakfast all those who come to the *mûsem* in the morning, and they also send small portions of meat or some candles to the houses of their friends as "*baraka*"; even if the latter are themselves present, their wives are not, except perhaps at the *mûsem* of Sîdi 'Ăli Bŭġâleb, which is the only one in Fez to which women are admitted. The expenses, however, are soon covered by the gifts which the visitors bring with them. In other cases also, when the feast is not arranged by descendants of the saint, a meal is in the morning served to all the visitors; and in the afternoon, after *'âṣar*, companies of 'Ẹsáwa, Ḥmádša, Jilâla, and Gnậwa come and entertain the people with their performances. Sîdi Ḥmed bnệ Ḥya's *mûsem* is arranged by his descendants; Sîdi Ḥmed š-Šáwi's and Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem's by the shereefs of other families who have a right to their offerings, as these saints have neither descendants nor *ḥŭddạm*; Mûlăi Idrīs' by the *ḥarrâra*, or weavers of silk; Sîdi Bujîda's by the *derrâza*, or weavers of wool; Sîdi 'Ăli Bŭġâleb's by the *ḥajjâma*, or barbers; Mûlăi Ya'qob's by the *gerrâba*, or water-sellers; Sîdi Ḥmed l-Barnûṣi's by the Jbâla residing in Fez, who are his *ḥŭddạm*; and Sîdi Mḥámmed ben lă-Ḥsen's by a shereef of the family of the 'Alawîyin, who makes money by selling graves inside the *ḥorm* of the saint. At the feast of Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j, the patron saint of Tangier, a bullock is slaughtered by the inhabitants of each quarter (*ḥáuma*) of the town, by the governor, by the soldiers (*'áskar*), by the artillery-men (*ṭabjîya*), and by the boatmen (*bạḥrîya*). This is done on the first day of the feast, called *nhar l-hădăyāt^{s}*, and on the following day, *sába' l-mûlūd*, there is the circumcision of boys.

In Dukkâla everybody who goes to attend the *mûsem* of a saint brings with him a present, even if it be nothing more than a candle. Those who take there an animal or a fowl kill it close to the back wall of the shrine, so that the blood

touches the wall; I was told that they do this in order to find favour with the saint and secure his assistance. If the saint has descendants living at the place they divide between themselves all the gifts, including the sacrificed animals; otherwise the offerings are taken by other relatives or *ḫŭddąm* of the saint, including the *mqáddem* of the shrine. Only distinguished visitors are on this occasion entertained with a meal. But everybody who has made an animal sacrifice receives as *l-bārōk dyāl s-sîyĭd* a small portion of its meat or a piece of its skin, which is made into a highly appreciated charm; and even other visitors try to get some part of the animal for themselves, and often fight for it.

Many saints at Marráksh and its neighbourhood receive at their feasts a female camel as a gift from some particular tribe or corporation. There is powder play at the start; one rides on the camel and the others urge on its speed, as custom requires that it should run very fast to the shrine. When it is slaughtered the people who brought it stand round so as to prevent others from getting hold of any part of the animal. The *debbâġa*, or tanners, of Marráksh receive a quarter of the meat of the camel which they sacrifice at Mûläi Brâhim's *mûsem*, as also the skin of the animal, by which they make money for buying another camel for the next year's *mûsem*; but other people present want to procure pieces of the skin, which contains much *baraka*, and have a fight with the tanners. Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa's feast in October is arranged by the tribe Iměǰǰaṭ, living south of Tazĕrwalt, who bring with them a large number of camels loaded with corn for the maintenance of the scribes of the *lĕmdărst*, or college, attached to the sanctuary. They also bring flour, of which *tagúlla*, a kind of hard porridge, is made on the third day of the feast for the entertainment of the whole crowd; and immediately after the meal all the people divide into two parties, a northern representing the Ġarb and a southern representing Sūs, and a fight with slings ensues, which, though only a game, is often attended with serious accidents. It is believed that if Sūs wins in this contest the year will be good, and if the Ġarb wins, bad.

While dead saints are, generally speaking, kindly dis-

posed to those who show them proper attention, even if the latter are only casual visitors, there are often particularly intimate and lasting relations between certain saints and certain persons. Districts, tribes, towns, villages, corporations, families, and private individuals have their patron saints. The patron saint of a district or place is called *mūl lĕ-blâd* (Fez), *ḍâmen* ("security") *l-blād* or *lĕ-blâd*, or *ḍâmen l-blād u l-ulâd*; while all its saints are collectively called *ḍúmman*, *rijâl*, or *mwâlīn lĕ-blâd*. In Dukkâla the patron saint of a village is also named *ḍâmen d-dûar* or *fqēr lĕ-blâd*; in Andjra *ḍâmen* or *mūl ĕd-dšar*. The word *šēḥ* (often pronounced *šeḥ* or *šẹḥ*), implying the idea of chieftainship rather than protection, is applied to the patron saint of a tribe or the inhabitants of a town, and particularly to that of a corporation, fraternity, or person. There are also saintly protectors of places whose names are not generally known, but who are collectively called *l-áutˢāḍ*, because they are to the place the same as "the pegs" to a tent.

Mûlăi Idrīs the Elder is the patron saint of the whole Ġarb, *ḍâmen* or *mŏftˢāḥ l-Ġarb*. The Shlöḥ maintain that Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa occupies the same position as master and protector of all that part of Morocco which lies south of the river Ůmm r-Rbē', even though the Arabs are unwilling to admit it. Mûlăi 'Abdsslam is the patron saint of all the Jbâla. A tribe which has no patron saint is like a flock without a shepherd; but it may be that several tribes have only one patron saint between them. Thus Sîdi 'Ăli u Mḥammd is the patron saint not only of the Iglíwa, but also of the Ait Wauzgit, among whom he is buried. Every town has a patron saint, and there are towns which have more than one.

The various occupations and trades have their saintly patrons.[1] At Fez the shrine of Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem is visited by the school teachers (*ṭúlba derrâra*), who go there picnicking on Thursdays when the schools are closed, whilst the shrine of Sîdi Bujîda is visited by the college students

[1] *Cf.* [R. L. N. Johnston,] 'Idle Hours in Sunset Land', in *Al-Moghreb Al-Aksa*, No. 625, 12th January 1895 (Tangier); Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii. 310.

(*ṭûlba mdarsîya*), who go there on Wednesdays to make recitations from the Koran and perform *fâtʿḥa*. But the chief patrons of the scribes are Sîdi Ḥmed ben Nâṣăr, who is said to be their *šēḫ*, and Mûlăi ʿAbdsslam ben Mšîš, who is called *ḥbîb ṭ-ṭûlba*, "the friend of the scribes", as if he were one of their relatives. It is considered proper for every scribe living or studying in Fez to make a pilgrimage to his tomb, though this rule is not always observed. Mûlăi ʿAbdsslam is reported to have said that if there is one scribe at a place he is the second, and if there are two he is the third, but if there are four scribes together his *baraka* only, not himself, is with them, as his presence is no longer needed. Sîdi ʿĂli ben Nâṣăr is the *šēḫ* of the hunters and riflemen (*ṙma*), Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa of the acrobats, Sîdi Bû'béid š-Šâṛqi of the equestrians, Sîdi ʿAbdrráḥman l-Mejdûb of the butchers, Sîdi Mḥámmed bel lă-'Rif of the artisans (*ṣnāyʿîya*), Mûlăi Yaʿqob of the water-sellers (*gerrâba*).

Sîdi Bel ʿAbbâs is the patron of commerce in general, the friend of selling and buying—*ṣaḥb l-bâyaʿ u š-šâri*. It is an old custom—no longer strictly observed—that the shopkeeper every morning when he comes to his shop sets aside a coin as *ʿabbâsîya*, which is then given to some blind or lame or other sick and poor person, Sîdi Bel ʿAbbâs being "the father of the blind and the weak"—*äb l-bûṣra wû ḍ-ḍûʿâfa*. At Tangier the butcher, before selling his meat, gives a trifle of it away in charity as *ʿabbâsîya*; the fisherman does the same with his fish, and the fruit-seller with his fruit. At Fez the *sĕffâj*, who sells sponge fritters (*sfenj*), every morning before beginning the sale sets aside some six or seven small fritters specially made for the purpose of being given away to poor people or children who come and ask for *ʿabbâsîya*; but I was told that this is the only offering known under this name at Fez. In Dukkâla, after the corn has been threshed and winnowed, and just before it is going to be measured, a few handfuls of it are set aside as *ʿabbâsîya*, and in other parts of the country the same is done with the first measure of corn, or of pulse as well, which is called "the *mudd* of Sîdi Bel ʿAbbâs".[1] He is

[1] *Infra*, ii. 238.

one of the kindest of saints; it is said, *Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ mûġîtˢ l-berr u l-bḥar*, "Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ helps on land and at sea", and, *Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ mûġîtˢ tˢläin u seb'ăin âlef kull mäṭlá' šemš*, "Sîdi Bel Abbaṣ helps seventy-two thousand [persons] at every sunrise". He is not the only saint, however, to whom first-fruit offerings are made; among the Iglíwa, for example, when the threshed corn is measured, the first basket is offered to the patron saint of the district, *šŝeḥ n tmazirt*, as represented by his descendants. The vendors of sweetmeats (*ḥalwîyin*, or *ḥalwîya*; sing. *ḥálwi*), before selling their goods, make an offering to Mûläi Idrīs, who is habitually invoked by them—according to some because the best sweetmeats are made in Fez, according to others because this saint first visited Morocco in the disguise of a *ḥálwi* with a view to seeing the country and its inhabitants, being afraid of being killed by them. Mûläi Idrīs is also known to help any poor stranger who comes to Fez by sending somebody to feed and look after him, and is therefore called *karrám ḍ-ḍaif*.

It is not only respectable occupations that have their saintly patrons. Sîdi Qaddûr ben Mlēḳ, whose shrine is outside Mequinez, is the patron saint of gamblers. Saints are, in fact, ready to help those who invoke them even for the most wicked purposes. A mountaineer was once sitting outside his house with a gun in his hand guarding his mare. A robber came and invoked Mûläi Bûštˢa just when he entered the yard, with the result that the man suddenly fell asleep and the robber ran away with his animal. Many saints, even great ones, have a reputation for helping robbers or thieves who promise them an offering if they succeed in their unlawful undertaking; to these belong Mûläi Brâhim, Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa, Sîdi Bûjbâra of Tiznit, Sîdi Măqḍí Ḥája among the Ait Waráin, and even the sultan of all the saints, Mûläi 'Abdlqâder. The last-mentioned saint is also known to help liars, and has therefore acquired the epithet *šēḥ l-kĕddḍâba*; but it is said that although he is compelled to assist thieves and liars who invoke him, he afterwards punishes them for their behaviour.

There are many religious orders or fraternities, each one

with a dead saint as its head and patron. The ʿEṣáwa have as their *šēḫ* Sîdi Mḥámmed ben ʿEṣa of Mequinez; the Ḥmádša, Sîdi ʿĂli ben Ḥámduš, whose tomb is between Mequinez and Zärhūn; the Dġōġîyin (a branch of the Ḥmádša), Sîdi Ḥmed d-Dġôġi, whose tomb is in the same neighbourhood; the Ṣadqîyin, Sîdi Ḥmed ben ʿAbdṣṣâdaq of Tafilelt; the Tˢhämîyin, Mûläi t-Tˢhâmi of Wazzan; the Jilâla, Mûläi ʿAbdlqâder j-Jilâli, whose tomb is in Baghdad; the Naṣerîyin, Sîdi Ḥmed ben Nâṣăr of the Drā country; the Därqâwa, or rather a large section of them, Mûläi l-ʿArbi d-Därqâwi, whose chief *záwia* is in the tribe Bni Zṛwal, another section having as its *šēḫ* Sîdi Mûḥämmäd bel ʿArbi, whose tomb is in the tribe of Wād Mdġra not far from Tafilelt, and those of Tangier and Andjra Sîdi Ḥmed ben ʿĂjîba; the Sqallîyin, Mûläi Ḥmed Sqálli of Fez; the Kĕttˋänîyin, Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Kĕttˢâni of the same town; the Tˢijänîyin, Sîdi Ḥmed t-Tˢijâni of the same town; the Yusfîyin, Sîdi Ḥmed ben Yûsĕf; the Qasmîyin, Sîdi Qâsem Bû'asrîya; the Ġazîyin, Sîdi l-Ġâzi; the Mwâlīn d-Dâlīl, Sîdi Slîmạn l-Jạzûli; the Kerzazîyin, Sîdi Ḥmed bem Mûsa or Ḥmeid u Mûsa, buried in Kerzāz. There are congregations of all these fraternities in Fez. Sîdi Bûnū, whose grave is in the Drā country, has also followers in Fez, who are *fḫḫáma*, or sellers of charcoal, but they have no *záwia* and no *mqáddem*. Other religious orders found elsewhere in Morocco [1] are not, so far as I know, represented in Fez. The patron saint of the Gnạ́wa, of whom I shall speak in another place,[2] is Sîdi Bûlel or Bläl, who is said to have been a black slave and the Prophet's *múdden*.

The name for a religious order or fraternity is often given as *ṭáifa*. Properly speaking, however, this word is not used for the order as a whole, but for a congregation of it; the order itself is simply spoken of by the term for its members, as the *fóqra* or *ṣḥāb* of Sîdi So-and-so, the *šēḫ* of the order. In 1910 there were at Fez at least twenty *ṭwaif* (plur. of *ṭáifa*) of the ʿEṣáwa and as many *záwiạ̄tˢ*, one for

[1] See Montet, *Les confréries religieuses de l'Islam marocain* (Paris, 1902), pp. 13, 21 *sqq*.

[2] *Infra*, i. 347

each *ṭáifa*; six *ṭwaif* of the Ḥmádša, including the Dġōġîyin, with one *záwia* in common; and three *ṭwaif* of the Tˢhämîyin, one consisting of *fóqra* of Fez, Tafilelt, and Tlemcen descent respectively, all with one *záwia* in common. Every *ṭáifa* has a *mqáddem*, who is chosen by the *fóqra* from among themselves, and if suitable for the office a son generally becomes the successor of his father. Among the Tˢhämîyin the election has to be ratified by the *wŭld š-šēḥ*, who is the *mézwaṛ* of the Wazzan shereefs. The *mqáddmīn* of the various *ṭwaif* of the 'Ḍsáwa are subordinate to the *mqáddem mqáddmīn*, who himself is subject to the *mézwaṛ* of the descendants of Sîdi Mḥámmed ben 'Ḉsa in Mequinez; and the *mqáddmīn* of the Ḥmádša are subordinate to the *mézwaṛ* of the descendants of Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥámduš. In the other fraternities represented in Fez the descendants of the *šēḥ* have no authority over the *fóqra*, but the *mqáddmīn* have to give *ziâra* to them, even though they live so far off as in Tunis.

The *mqáddem* is called the *ḫlîfa dĕ š-šēḥ*. He administers the money of the *ṭáifa*, gives *ziâra* out of it at the *mûsem* of the *šēḥ* if he has a *mûsem*, as in the case of the 'Ḍsáwa, Ḥmádša, Dġōġîyin, and Qasmîyin. He intervenes in the case of quarrels between the *fóqra*. He teaches the novices the *wŭrd*, or motto of the *ṭarêqa dĕ š-šēḥ*, "the road of the *šēḥ*", which is to be recited twice a day, in the morning and in the afternoon; or, in the case of the 'Ḍsáwa, Ḥmádša, and Jilâla, who have no *wŭrd*, the *ḥęzb d-däim* ('Ḍsáwa) or the *ḥęzb š-šēḥ* (Ḥmádša and Jilâla), consisting of a portion of the Koran, which is to be recited every day immediately after the sunset prayer. He superintends the *záwia* and conducts the service which takes place every Friday in the afternoon, especially between *'âṣar* and sunset, and lasts for about an hour.

Among the Därqâwa, Sqallîyin, Kĕttˢänîyin, and Tˢijänîyin a party of the *fóqra*, called *mûsämmi'ăin*, are seated in the *záwia* chanting portions of the poetry of al-Bŭṣīrī and Lálla Rabē'a, while the other *fóqra* stand round them in a circle and *käirédḥŭ*, that is, move their bodies and heads up and down, exclaiming *Allâh* time after time. Among the

T^{s}hämîyin, Ṣadqîyin, Yusfîyin, Ġazîyin, and Qasmîyin one party of the *fóqra*, called the *dĕkkâra*, are seated along a wall in the *záwia* chanting and playing, while the other *fóqra* stand round them in a semicircle, moving their bodies and heads as said before, except among the Ṣadqîyin, who, instead of keeping their feet still, stamp on the floor. Among the 'Ḍsáwa and Ḥmádša the *dĕkkâra* likewise sit along a wall in the *záwia* chanting and playing, and the other *fóqra*, surrounding them in a semicircle, cut capers (*käit^{s}ḥáirû*) in their peculiar ways, the 'Ḍsáwa jumping up and down and the Ḥmádša violently extending their legs.

The *fóqra* also assemble in their *záwia* before going to a wedding to which they are invited. When a *fqēr* marries he is obliged to invite the other *fóqra* of his *ṭáifa*, or, if he is unable to invite them all, at any rate a considerable number of them, to his wedding, which they enliven with their performances. So also when a *fqēr* dies the other members of his *ṭáifa* are invited to his house, where they form a ring round the dead body and sing and *käirédḥû* in the usual manner, but refrain from playing, or, in the case of the 'Ḍsáwa, Ḥmádša, and Jilâla, do nothing more than recite their *ḥezb*. The members of a *ṭáifa* generally live on very amicable terms with one another, helping and supporting each other in case of need; they are *ḥōt^{s} f š-šēḥ*, children, as it were, of their common *šēḥ*, and therefore brothers. There are also female members, called *fqêrāt^{s}* (sing. *fqêra*), in all the *ṭwaif*, and every *ṭáifa* has therefore a *mqáddma* (fem. of *mqáddem*) governing them. In many orders, however, the *fqêrāt^{s}* do not visit the *záwia* of their *ṭáifa*; but in this respect the rules may vary even within the same order. Thus among the T^{s}ijänîyin they are excluded from the *záwia* of their *ṭáifa* at Tangier, but not at Fez.

The various fraternities have their peculiarities, some of which have been described by earlier writers. The public performances of the 'Ḍsáwa and Ḥmádša are well known, and some practices performed for curative purposes by the 'Ḍsáwa, Jilâla, and Gnáwa will be mentioned in another chapter.[1] At Marráksh I received some information about

[1] *Infra*, i. 341, 344 *sqq.*

the Ait Sîdi Bûnū, while staying in a house belonging to a member of this brotherhood. They have a mania for climbing palm trees, and to do so is the chief performance at their feasts. I was told that if they find a palm tree they must climb it at once, and that if they do not find any they begin to cry and stare towards the sky. They need not be afraid of being pricked; should the tree prick the climber, it would die. They have very sensitive heads, and wear always white caps; should anybody touch their heads they would get very excited, and become dangerous.

The Kerzazîyin of Fez, the majority of whom are water-sellers from the South, have no *záwia* in that town, but perform a ceremony by which they are said to make the winter enter. On the day before the eve of the beginning of the winter they assemble in the house of their *mqáddem*, where they are entertained with a meal. Before they begin to eat, a small portion of food from every dish, together with some sugar, is put on a palmetto tray, which is covered up since the *baraka* must not be left uncovered. After they have finished the meal the *msîyäḥ*, or *ḷilîfa*, of the *mqáddem* sets this food up for auction. Many blessings are called down upon the highest bidder, who puts the food into his bag and afterwards eats it together with his family, with the result that any desire he may have will be fulfilled. The money is taken by the *mqáddem*, who buys cloth for it to send as *ziâra* to the shrine of the *šēḥ*, Sîdi Ḥmed bem Mûsa. At daybreak they all go to the shrine of Sīd l-'Auwad, inside Fez, to make *ḥáḍra* by sitting down with the hoods of their cloaks pulled over their faces, nodding their heads to and fro, and ejaculating the word *Allâh* time after time; while they have their faces covered Sîdi Ḥmed bem Mûsa is supposed to pass in front of them. About sunrise many of them have dishes of *sěksů* with meat sent to them from their respective homes, and they all have a meal, which is shared by poor people who have gathered at the shrine. On this occasion, also, a small portion of food is taken from each dish to be set up for auction, as was done before. From Sīd l-'Auwad they walk in procession through Bāb Ftˢöḥ to Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem's shrine, carrying with them

the flags of the saint brought from the *mqáddem's* house. Outside the door of the shrine they group themselves round the grave of a shereef belonging to Sîdi Ḥmed bem Mûsa's family, sweep the grave, and put the flags on it; after which some of them deposit money on the grave and *fâtʿḥa*[1] is made on behalf of the donors. This money, too, is taken by the *mqáddem* to be used for the benefit of the *šēḫ*. The ceremony in question is performed a little in advance because, on the night before the entrance of the winter, women are much addicted to witchcraft. It is at this time of the year that Sîdi Ḥmed bem Mûsa has his *mûsem* at his shrine at Kerzāz. But the same ceremony is repeated at the end of the winter to celebrate the entrance of the spring.

There are many persons who do not belong to any of the religious orders, but nobody is, or should be, without a *šēḫ*; of him who has no *šēḫ* it is said that Šíṭan, the devil, is his *šēḫ*:—*Li ma 'ándu šēḫ š-síṭan šéḫu*. Many a saint who is no head of a religious order has *ḫúddam*, "servants" or followers, whose *šēḫ* he is; and if a saint has descendants he is their *šēḫ*. The *šēḫ* of a person is frequently a saint whose shrine is in the neighbourhood of the place where he is living. Hence the names of persons differ so greatly in different places, according as the names of their great saints, who are their patrons, differ; thus in Azemmur and its neighbourhood Buš'áib is a very frequent name, after Mûlăi Buš'áib, and among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and in Mazagan Smâ'in, after Sîdi Smâ'in Bušíšda, and 'Abdllah, after Mûlăi 'Abdllah. The *šēḫ* of a person also becomes the *šēḫ* of his children; and nobody can change his *šēḫ*. The relations between the *šēḫ* and his *ḫdīm* are of a very intimate character. The *šēḫ* is more fond of his *ḫdīm* than of his own son; he says, *Wĕldi nĕmši līh sâyĕr wă ḫdîmi nĕmši līh*

[1] The ceremony of *fâtʿḥa* (*fâtḥa*) consists in an invocation with the hands stretched out and the palms turned upwards. It should not be confounded with the *fātiḥa*, or opening chapter, of the Koran (*cf.* Vassel, *Über marokkanische Processpraxis* [Sonderabdruck aus den Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Jahrg. v Abth. ii., 1902], p. 19), though it may have its name from it (see Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* [Paris, 1911], p. 165 n. 3; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. [Haag, 1889], p. 35, especially n. 2).

ṭâyăr, "To my son I go walking and to my *ḥdīm* I go flying". If a person is travelling on land and his animal tumbles down he invokes his *šēḫ*, and if he is travelling on sea and gets a fright he does the same. On the other hand, the *ḥdīm* owes obedience to his *šēḫ*, in accordance with the saying, *Le rráhnŭ nbé'ŭ li nḥâdmŭ nṭé'u*, "What we pawn we sell, whom we serve we obey" (Dukkâla), or, *Li tˢráhnŭ bé'ŭ li tˢḥádmŭ ṭé'ŭ*, "What you pawn sell, whom you serve obey" (Tangier). He must also give *ziâra* to his *šēḫ* and his descendants, if the saint has any descendants. One of my friends in Dukkâla told me that the descendants of his *šēḫ* came to his village twice a year, at the Great Feast and at the threshing time. On the former occasion those of his *ḥŭddạm* who own sheep give them a sheep and those who have none give them money, and on the latter occasion they all give them corn; but in addition my friend goes once a year to the shrine of his *šēḫ* to give him *ziâra*. A person may also be the *ḥdīm* of a living saint, who is then his *šēḫ*. The word *šēḫ* is further used for the teacher of a certain occupation, and a person may thus have one *šēḫ* who has taught him the Koran, another who has taught him shooting, and so forth. The most highly respected of them is the first-mentioned one, whose curse is considered as powerful as that of a father.

A person may also have more than one patron saint, and he may visit other shrines besides that of his *šēḫ*, to make requests and offer *ziâra*. The Tˢijänîyin, however, are an exception to this rule. They can neither become members of any other religious order nor *izŭrŭ* any other *sâdāt*ˢ or *zawiạt*ˢ than their own; they may visit them but must refrain from invocation and worship—from kissing any part of the sanctuary or the chest or grave of the saint, from making *fât*ˢ*ḥa*, from offering *ziâra*. At Fez, where they are very numerous and all the inhabitants are supposed to be the *ḥŭddạm* of Mûläi Idrīs, they are nevertheless forbidden to *izŭrŭ* his shrine. Their *šēḫ*, Sîdi Ḥmed t-Tˢijâni, is said to have laid down such a rule, not out of jealousy, but because he was afraid that they might not know how to approach other saints in the proper manner and thereby arouse their anger.

The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, the *qóbba* of Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j l-'Arbi at Wazzan; the *ḫálua* of Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ on the mountain Gîliz, near Marráksh; the *ḫálua* of Mûlăi Brâhim in the tribe Iġiġain; the mountain Âḍaḍ Mĕdni, near Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa's shrine in Tazĕrwalt; and Sîḍi Ăḥmeḍ Märrui's *qóbba* among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer. All the great saints of Morocco, and also eastern saints like Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder, assemble on the day of 'Arafa at Mûlăi 'Abdsslam's shrine, and go from there to Mount 'Arafāt, near Mecca, to join the pilgrims. A place where saints meet is called *mĕ́jma' ṣ-ṣāléḥīn* or *ṣ-ṣâlḥīn* or *l-aulîya*; it is sometimes marked with a *mzâra* (Dukkâla) or a cairn (Andjra).[1] But not even saints are perfect, and discipline has to be maintained, if need be, by punishment or threats. Sîdi Héddi once broke his right leg at the place where he now has his grave, as a punishment inflicted on him by the other saints for having injured boys who had teased him on account of his queer behaviour and curious dress; this happened, of course, while he was alive, but he was already looked upon as a member of the society of saints. If a dead saint takes no notice of a petition, although *'ār* has been put upon him, the petitioner may go and complain of him to some greater saint, who is then supposed to impress upon him the necessity of listening to the request and to threaten him with God and the Prophet if he refuses to do so.

The assistance of saints is secured not only by humble supplications and offerings, but by means of a very different character: in numerous cases the petitioner puts pressure upon the saint by putting *'ār* on him. The word *'ār* is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request; and *'ār* is frequently cast on dead saints, as well as on living men and *jnūn*. I shall, in a subsequent chapter, speak of various methods of putting *'ār* upon saints, such as the throwing of stones on a cairn connected with a saint, the tying of rags or clothing or hair to

[1] *Supra*, p. 60.

some object belonging to a *sîyĭd*, the knotting of palmetto leaves or white broom growing in the vicinity of a shrine, or the killing of an animal. The *'ār*-sacrifice is not meant as a gift, but as a means of constraining the saint; if the petitioner himself kills the animal he does it without the usual *bismillāh*, and, unlike an animal offered as a gift, it is not eaten except by poor people or by scribes, who generally first recite something from the Koran to make it eatable. Yet if the *sîyĭd* has a *mqáddem*, the animal brought as *'ār* is often handed over to him alive so that he may kill it "in the name of God"—this, I was told, is invariably done in Fez; and in such a case the descendants of the saint, if he has any, and the *mqáddem* himself have no hesitation in eating it. But I have also heard the opinion that an animal which is handed over to the *mqáddem* to be killed by him is *hdîya* and not *'ār* (Tangier); while according to another use of these terms an animal sacrificed as *'ār* on a saint is also called *hdîya* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). Thus the two kinds of sacrifice, though theoretically different, may in practice be undistinguishable from each other. The word *ḏbêḥa* is applied to both alike.

I have sometimes asked how it is that a saint, although invoked with *'ār*, does not always grant the request addressed to him. The answer has been that he no doubt does what he can, but he is not all-powerful, and God may refuse to listen to his prayer. Occasionally he appears in a dream to the person who put *'ār* on him, tells him that he is unable to help him, and advises him to go and slaughter an animal at the shrine of another saint, Sîdi So-and-so; and in such a case the *'ār* is no longer considered to rest on the saint. In any case the casting of *'ār* on a saint is held to be a very efficient method of securing his assistance. But the saint does not like it. I was told that it makes him frown and shake his head in his grave.

The influence exercised by dead saints is not always of a friendly character. While bountiful to those who deal with them in the right manner, they are dangerous to those who provoke their anger. A saint would severely punish the appropriation of, or interference with, a thing which is in his

ḥorm, unless, indeed, it be a mere trifle intended to be used for some special purpose on account of its *baraka*. Sîdi Bulfḍail, whose *qóbba* in Aglu is overshadowed by a tree growing on the rock above, allows people to take leaves from it to give the juice to their children when they are coughing, but a man who once climbed the *qóbba* to push away from it some branches of the tree fell down in consequence. Sîdi Bŭrja in Ḥáḥa, who does not mind the breaking of a twig from the miracle-working bush inside the wall enclosing his grave, on no account allows anybody to take away even a leaf from the argan tree which is regarded as his grave-cupola; and though people freely remove a little piece of Argan Isîsĕl's bark to use it as a remedy for a headache or a sore throat, they would never dare to cut off one of its branches or otherwise mutilate the tree. Once when a man gave his ox some leaves from a large olive tree at Bné Ḥlu in Andjra, underneath which Sîdi l-Ḥósni used to sit in his lifetime, the animal which ate them died in consequence; and I was assured that if anybody should take a stone from the ruins on the ground which formerly belonged to that holy man and make use of it in building a house, the walls of the house would fall down at once. Of a certain Rīf saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rīf saint, Sîḍi Bůḫaiyâr of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, is said to make stones fall down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his *ḥorm*; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sîḍi Bůḫaiyâr has his grave, the saint would make him blind. The saints of Masst, in Sūs, even require a person who goes to another tribe to clean his slippers before he crosses the border, so as not to carry away with him any earth from their country. When some persons once led water from a spring below the hill outside Ṣĕfru where its patron saint, Mûlăi 'Ăli Bůṣărġin (popularly called Sîdi Bůṣărġin), is buried, he punished them by making the water destroy the vegetables in their gardens. A mounted policeman who spent a night at a *sîyĭd* in the neighbourhood

of Fez killed and ate a cock which he found there, regardless of the protests of the people; but he did not do it unpunished. For the next day, when the *múdden* made his cry, he suddenly crowed like a cock, and the same thing happened at every call to prayer, until he removed the curse by making a sacrifice to the saint and giving some money to his descendants. No animal or bird must be shot in the vicinity of a *sîyĭd*. A British ambassador who shot two pigeons on the hill Gîliz outside Marráksh, where Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ has his *ḥálua*, died on the following morning. In the neighbourhood of the cave Imi n Taqqándut in Ḥáḥa a couple of pigeons were shot by my party. Shortly afterwards my horse happened to stumble and fell upon one of my servants, who was carrying a gun. The gun was broken and the man became lame for some days; and I was told that the accident was caused either by the cave-spirits or by their *fqī*, Sîdi Mḥámmĕd u Slîmaṇ, who has a sanctuary in the same neighbourhood, as a punishment for the shooting of the pigeons. If anybody shoots an animal or bird near Sîdi Ṭálḥa's *ḥálwa* in Andjra, he must, with some of the money he gets for it, buy a candle to offer to the saint.

A frequent punishment for theft committed at a *sîyĭd* is that the thief is unable to leave the place.[1] A man stole at night a bucket from Sîdi 'Abĕlla u Mŭḥámmäd's shrine in Aglu and then, as he thought, went away. But when it was dawning, he found to his astonishment that he was still at the *sîyĭd*, and that the bucket stuck to his calf; and it could only be removed by an operation, which made him lame. In the same tribe there is the shrine of another saint, Sîdi 'Ăli u Bráhim, who likewise prevents the escape of anybody who commits theft inside his *ḥorm*. Once when Sîdi Ḥsáyĭn in the Faḥṣ had his feast, a man robbed another of his mare inside the *ḥorm* of the saint, and intended to ride away on it; but although he rode all the night he found himself in the morning in the *ḥorm* as before. The Ulâd Râfa, belonging to the Ulâd Bŭ'ăzîz in Dukkâla, have twenty subterranean granaries (*mṭâmar*) in the *ḥorm* of their patron saint; and once when two men went there at

[1] *Cf.* Falls, *Three Years in the Libyan Desert* (London, 1913), p. 301.

night to steal corn, the saint deprived them of their memory, so that they could not find their way back but were caught in the morning not far from the *sîyĭd*. Elsewhere, also, people protect their property from robbers by placing it near a shrine;[1] thus an enclosure of stones near Sîdi Ḥbīb's shrine, at the place where the mule which took his body up the mountain rested, is a depot for wood and other things. In Dukkâla it is the custom for women who are losing hair to take it to a shrine and leave it there, in order to prevent other women from getting hold of it for the purpose of practising witchcraft. In tribes whose women are in the habit of cutting their hair on the death of a near relative the shorn locks are likewise deposited at a *sîyĭd*; and so are very frequently the charms of persons who have died, so as not to be appropriated by anybody else. Contrary to the general rule, however, shereefs and scribes can, in certain circumstances mentioned above,[2] with impunity take offerings they find at a *sîyĭd*, and scribes may also cut off branches from trees growing there if only they recite something from the Koran, which is supposed to remove the danger.

Some saints not only resent theft committed at their sanctuaries but also punish robbers who merely pass by, either preventing them from proceeding further until they are caught, or making it impossible for them to sell the stolen object, so that they are found out at last. This is the case, for example, with Sîdi Mḥámmed s-Sâhli and Sîdi 'Ăli l-Herher in the Ḥiáina, and Sîdi Bŭrja and Sîdi 'Ăli Bízzů in the Ida Ugŏrḍ in Ḥáḥa. So also, if a thief passes Mûläi 'Abdsslam's sanctuary, the saint either sends somebody to take away from him the thing he has stolen, or makes him fall down and break his leg so that he can walk no further; and the same was said to be the case with Sîdi 'Allal l-Ḥa^{dd}j and "other saints who have much *baraka*". The reason for their hostility to an offence which does not

[1] *Cf.* Falls, *op. cit.* p. 300 (Libyan desert); Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 27; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 35.

[2] *Supra*, p. 171.

directly concern them seems to be that they have been so often appealed to in oaths taken by persons suspected of theft that they have at last come to be looked upon as permanent enemies of thieves and guardians of property, quite independently of any invocation. I made a suggestion of this kind in my book on *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, as an illustration of my theory that various departments of social morality have been placed under the guardianship of supernatural beings largely through men's habit of invoking such beings in connection with some particular kind of conduct.[1] This suggestion has been corroborated by certain facts which have subsequently come to my knowledge. To the shrines of the Ḥiáina saints just mentioned persons suspected of theft are regularly taken to make oath; and another fact which points in the same direction is the moral sensibility of those saints in Fez by whom it is considered most dangerous to swear.[2] That a supernatural being like a saint meddles with questions of social morality is not a matter of course, but calls for an explanation. Even the patron saint of a village is expressly said not to care about the behaviour of its inhabitants outside his own *ḥorm*; and, as already mentioned, it is the general belief that a saint is ready to help anybody who invokes him in the proper manner for any purpose whatsoever.

Sîdi Mḥámmed s-Sáhli in the Ḥiáina is dangerous not only to thieves but to policemen: should a mounted policeman pass the shrine of this saint, he would become ill or die in consequence, unless he could deceive the saint by removing his *šāšîya*, or pointed red cap, from his head and keeping it hidden. Nor does Sîdi Mḥänd u Lfarḥ allow any representative of the Government to pass his *qóbba*, close to the village Tánšraramt in the tribe Ait Waráin; I was told that when a sultan, long ago, came there on a war-expedition against those Berbers, the dead saint caught him by the throat and compelled him to leave. No sultan

[1] Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), pp. 67, 68, 731 *sq.*

[2] *Infra*, i. 498.

of Morocco would dare to visit the shrine of the great Atlas saint Mûlăi Brâhim, who once during his lifetime was expelled from Marráksh because, when he came there, all the people, including the Sultan's own soldiers, flocked round him on account of his holiness. The sanctuary of Sîdi ṣ-Ṣġēr ben l-Mḳnyār, near Demnat, is carefully avoided by the governor of the district, because if he went by it, a revolution would break out among the people; and another *sîyĭd* in the same neighbourhood is similarly avoided by him. A government official who once went to the shrine of Sîdi 'Ăli Mûsa, outside the village Arg in the tribe of the Iglíwa, was paralysed in consequence. Nor can any representative of the Moorish government with impunity visit the shrine of Sîdi Wásmīn, the sultan of the Rgrâġa, in the Shiâḍma, or that of Sîdi Brâhim u 'Ăli at Tiġanîmin, the patron saint of the independent mountain tribe Ida Utânan in Ḥáḥa, or Lálla 'Ăzîza Bůhů's *qóbba*, which is situated on the border between the independent and the subdued part of the tribe Isksáwan (Sḳsáwa), whose patron saint she is. Departed saints may thus act as defenders of the liberty of the people in whose midst they are buried, or as avengers of their lost independence.[1] Of one of the saints buried outside Demnat I was told that his hostile attitude towards officials is due to the quarrels which his ancestors had with the Moorish government; and the rivalry between the Dār ḍ-Ḍmâna and the Sultan compels the servants of the latter to avoid all shrines of that family. But saints may also have another reason to look upon policemen or other officials with unfriendly, or at least suspicious, eyes: they have only too often violated the right of sanctuary, which is regarded as very sacred in Morocco, especially in those parts of the country where the Sultan's government has little or no power.[2]

[1] In Dukkâla I was told that once when Mûlăi 'Abdlăzîz went there with an army to punish the people for their rebellious behaviour, four of their great saints appeared to him in a dream and informed him that if he had only come there on a visit he was welcome, but that if he had evil intentions he had better turn back. They thereby let him know that they sided with the people; and he followed their advice.

[2] *Infra*, i. 559 *sqq.*

Saints prohibit Christians from entering their shrines and, in many cases, even from approaching holy places connected with them. When I expressed my wish to see the stones in the vicinity of Sîdi Mḥǎmměd u Slîmạn's shrine in Ḥáḥa, which were said to hold fast certain persons who pass between them,[1] I was told that it would be very dangerous for me to go there, as the saint had already shown his dislike of me: I had the same day visited the cave Imi n Taqqándut, and on my way back to my camp my horse had an accident. When I, the following day, again passed the cave with my little caravan, heavy rain began to fall, and now the rain was attributed to the ill-temper of the saintly cave-spirits. Lálla Tákěrkust and the saints buried at her place treated me with greater courtesy, although I had been warned against them: when I came there the people advised me to dismount from my horse, remove my boots, and pass the sanctuaries barefooted, but I refused to do it—and nothing happened. I was told that the little town Azîla, on the Atlantic coast in Northern Morocco, had been kept free from Christian residents by its saints: all Christians who had made an attempt to live there had become ill. A Berber belonging to the Aiṯ Sádděn, who escorted to his tribe a Christian in Muhammadan disguise, was soon after killed by its saints.

Jews also are, like Christians, prohibited from entering the sanctuaries of Moorish saints. Yet there are certain shrines that are visited both by Moslems and Jews. At Amzmiz, for example, I heard of two departed saints whom the Jewish as well as the Muhammadan inhabitants claim as theirs and worship under different names. A Berber told me that even in these cases the Jews always remain outside the *ḥauš* of the saint, but this was disputed by a native Jew, and he was probably right. Sîdi Brâhim u 'Ǎli, who is buried at the gate of Demnat, receives offerings from sick Jews, but only when there is no Moslem present who can see the visitor. On the other hand, the shrine of Dáwid d-Drā', to the west of Demnat, who is recognised as a Jewish saint by Muhammadans also, is nevertheless visited

[1] See *supra*, p. 70.

by them ;[1] and another Jewish saint, Rúbbi Dáwid ben 'Amran, in Tetuan, cures Muhammadan children of whooping-cough.[2]

There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sîḍi Bûḥaiyâr among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer ; Sîdi Waggag, Sîdi 'Abdrrâḥman Lḥănbûbi, Sîdi Búnwar, and Sîdi Lůâfi in Aglu ; and the Glawi saint Sîdi 'Ăli Mûsa ̴at Arg. Should a woman see the grave of the last-mentioned saint, who died a bachelor, she would get blind ; hence if the door of the room where he is buried is open, any woman who passes it has to hide her face. In Fez women are allowed to enter Mûläi Idrīs' mosque, although they are restricted to a certain place in it, to the left of the entrance ; but they are not admitted to his *qóbba*. Nor must they be present at the *mûsem* of any Fez saint, with the exception of Sîdi 'Ăli Bů̈ġâleb's, where women, indeed, assemble in larger numbers than men. So also women are, in some cases at least, excluded from the feasts of *mujāḥḍīn*. I was told that once when a woman went to the feast of the Rwâḍi, on the sea-shore between Cape Spartel and Azîla, the big pot which is there for the use of visitors fell over her with its contents, scalding her to death.

It is easy to understand that a Moslem saint is no friend of Christians and Jews, whom he regards as enemies to his religion. But he has also another reason for keeping them at a distance : their presence may be injurious to his holiness. The misogyny of certain saints is probably connected with a similar idea ; and so is the resentment felt by every dead saint against a person who approaches him in a state of uncleanness or otherwise defiles his sanctuary. *Baraka*, as we shall see presently, is extremely sensitive to external pollution.

Whilst the holiness of a saint often shows itself in the miracles he is able to perform at will, it is characteristic of

[1] For legends about this saint, whose shrine I have visited, see Doutté, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu* (Paris, 1914), p. 208 *sqq.*

[2] For other Jewish saints also venerated by Moors see de Chénier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (London, 1788), p. 190 *sq.* ; *The Times of Morocco*, No. 197, 24th August 1889 (Tangier).

all *baraka* that it produces wonderful effects by physical contact. A person derives supernatural benefit from kissing the hand, foot, shoulder, or garments of a saint; this is, at any rate, the general belief, although Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j 'Abdlqâder ben 'Ăjîba, whose grave is in Andjra, is represented to have said that only the hands of saints should be kissed, since there is no blessing in kissing any other part of their bodies. The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). A holy man may make a schoolboy apt to learn his lessons, and an apprentice to learn his trade, by spitting into his mouth; and, as has been said before, the saliva of a holy man is an excellent medicine. If a shereef or a scribe is offered tea or milk to drink, he ought to leave something of it to be drunk by those whose guest he is; and any guest, of whatever rank he be, must leave some food in the dish set before him, so that his host or the host's family may have the benefit of his *baraka* by eating it. When a shereef comes to a place he is generally considered to be a bearer of good luck; and, in some parts of the country at least, he is expected to bring with him some dried fruit or bread for the family whom he visits. When I was travelling in the Great Atlas a man asked my friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam to ride on his horse, in order that it should profit by his *baraka*. In the Ḥiâina some reputed shereef is generally asked to inaugurate a new market-place. He commands the people to make there a *râuḍa*, or ring of stones, and to bring a sheep, which he kills at the entrance of it so that the blood touches the stones; he thus communicates *baraka* to the *râuḍa*, and when thefts are committed at the market oaths are made at it.

Sexual intercourse with a saintly person is considered beneficial. Chénier speaks of a saint in Tetuan who seized a young woman and had commerce with her in the midst of the street; "her companions, who surrounded her, uttered exclamations of joy, felicitated her on her good fortune, and the husband himself received complimentary visits on this occasion".[1] Supernatural benefits are expected even from homosexual intercourse with a person possessed of *baraka*. I know of an instance in which a young man, who was regarded as a saint on account of the miracles he performed, traced his holiness to the fact that he had been the favourite of a shereef; and it is a common belief among the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco that a boy cannot learn the Koran well unless a scribe commits pederasty with him.[2] So also an apprentice is supposed to learn his trade by having intercourse with his master.

The *baraka* of the bride and bridegroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits.[3] When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (*ibid.*); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Aiṭ Wäryâġer); or she throws the dried fruit which she has herself brought with her over the

[1] de Chénier, *op. cit.* i. 187. *Cf.* Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez* (London, 1725), p. 57.

[2] The sodomitic acts committed with the *qedēšīm*, or male prostitutes, attached to the Canaanite temples may likewise have had in view to transfer blessings to the worshippers (*cf.* Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 488).

[3] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 360 *sqq.*

people, who by partaking of it are said to rid themselves of evil on account of the bride's *baraka* (Ait Waráin). When the people come to look at the blood-stained garment of the bride, they sometimes rub their eyes with the stains, which are supposed to contain *baraka* and be wholesome for the eyes (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); and when the young wife for the first time goes to visit her parents, she sprinkles their animals with henna, so that they shall profit by the *baraka* which still remains in her (Ḥiáina). The *baraka* of lying-in women, mothers of twins and triplets, and little children is utilised in various ways, which will be mentioned later on.[1]

On the burial of a dead saint the bier is split up and the pieces are taken by the people, who even fight for them; they are afterwards burned in cases of sickness, and the patient inhales the smoke. There was a fight of this kind at the funeral of Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j 'Abdsslam of Wazzan at Tangier. Some people tear a little piece from the cloth covering the *dárbûz* of a saint and hang it round their neck to profit by its *baraka*; but this practice is disapproved of (Dukkâla). The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable. A person who visits a shrine puts some earth from it into his turban. A small bag containing such earth, which is sometimes called *l-ḥánna dyāl s-sîyĭd*, "the henna of the saint" (Dukkâla), is tied to the head of one who is suffering from headache, or round the neck of a child or a ploughing ox as a protection against the evil eye, or round the neck of a mare or she-ass to make it fertile. Earth taken from Mûlăi 'Abdsslam's shrine is used as a medicine for burns. Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, if the sheep or goats do not produce the usual quantity of milk, the shepherd goes with them to a shrine, takes them seven times round it, leaves there his stick, sprinkles the animals, and especially their udders, with earth from the shrine, and hangs such earth enveloped in a small piece of calico round the neck of one of the rams or he-goats which propagate the flock. In Andjra some earth from Sîdi Ṭálḥa's *ḫálwa* is strewn on a field where rats are eating the crops. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz rub the affected part of

[1] *Infra*, Chapter XIX.

a patient's body with earth, or a small stone, taken from a shrine. When the Aiṭ Wäryâġer are building a house they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

Outside the *qóbba* of Sîdi 'Abdlḥalq bĕn Yâsin, in the tribe l-Ūdáya, there is a cairn on which sick persons who are supposed to be troubled with *jnūn* rest their heads to get rid of their complaint. In Bné Ḥlu in Andjra I saw a large bush growing on the ground where Sîdi l-Ḥósni l-Baqqâli had his house, from which passers-by on Thursdays, when they go to the market, take a small twig to put in their bag in order to succeed in their business; and a twig of the same bush is applied to the stomach or head of a person suffering from stomach-ache or headache. At the spring *aman imûḍan* in Aglu [1] there is a tree the fallen leaves of which are, pounded and mixed with water, applied to boils. When I visited the "grave" of Sîdi Bŭrja, in the district of the Ida Ugŏrḍ in Ḥáḥa, a native brought me a twig from a bush growing inside the enclosure, and assured me that its pounded leaves mixed with olive oil was an excellent remedy for the itch (*ajḍḍüḍ*); and if a child is troubled with the same complaint its clothes are brought there to be purified with the earth, after which they may be used again. In Dukkâla a person who has the headache takes a palmetto leaf from the *ḥorm* of a *sîyĭd* and ties it round the crown, leaving it there for a day or two. In the same province scribes—the only persons who would dare to do it—cut twigs from wild olive trees growing at shrines to make of them small sticks with which schoolboys prick and rub the writing on their writing-boards in order to remember it; and similar sticks are made of twigs cut from cork-oaks growing in the vicinity of Mûläi 'Abdsslam's *ḥauš*. Such a stick is called in Dukkâla *kărrâk* and among the Jbâla *ḥannâša*.

The water of saintly springs is used either internally or externally as a remedy for various illnesses; but also visitors of a shrine who are quite well drink the water of the spring or well or fountain attached to it, in order to get the benefit of the saint's holiness. Among the Ulâd Râfa in Dukkâla,

[1] See *supra*, p. 84 *sq.*

if anybody suffers from fever, a bottle filled with water is about sunset taken to Sîdi Mḥámmĕd š-Šnhâji's sanctuary and left there overnight to get *baraka* from the *sîyĭd*; and in the morning it is carried back to the sick man's tent, where he is washed with the water. In Fez a person who is ill sometimes goes to a shrine and puts his turban on the *dárbūz* of the saint, leaves it there for a day or a night, and then puts it on. By merely visiting a shrine people derive benefits from the *baraka* of the saint; to make a pilgrimage to Mûläi 'Abdsslam's *ḥauš* on the day of 'Arafa —the day preceding the Great Feast—on seven different occasions is equivalent to a pilgrimage to Mecca, and confers on the pilgrim the title *ḥa^{dd}j l-mĕ́skīn*. When a person visits a shrine he should, if possible, return to his home on the same day, while the *baraka* of the saint is still in his clothes, and not spend the night anywhere else.

A saintly place is also supposed to exercise a beneficial influence by indirect contact, that is, by contact with something which has been in contact with the object it is intended to influence. In Andjra a person who has the headache cures himself by having his head shaved and burying the hair in the earth of a saint's grave, or by tying a piece of his turban to a tree at a *sîyĭd*. An extracted tooth is buried or deposited at a shrine, not only in order that nobody may get hold of it, but as a means of preventing the other teeth from decaying and aching. Close to my camp at a place to the west of Demnat there was a dense grove of fig trees with a small space inside, called Sîdi Bukárma, where women had put tufts of hair to make their hair grow better or to prevent its falling out. The custom of tying hair or pieces of clothes to saintly objects as *'ār* upon the saint may, at the same time, be a method of profiting by the *baraka* of the object with which the petitioner thus comes into indirect contact; and in certain instances the idea of disease-transference accomplished by means of such contact is conspicuously present to his mind.[1] When I passed the shrine of Sîdi ṣ-Ṣġēr ben l-Mḗnyār, situated in an olive grove near Demnat, I found many pieces of prickly-pear

[1] *Infra*, i. 555 *sqq*.

leaves on the outside of the wall; I was told that they had been hung there by persons suffering from liver complaints, who had cut them in the shape of their livers, and that when the leaf gets dry the patient will recover. In Andjra, when kids fall sick, the muzzles (*kmâim*, sing. *kmâma*) which are used for preventing them from sucking their mothers are deposited at a shrine. In the same tribe a man who has been robbed of an animal ties its tethers to Sîdi Ṭálḥa's *ḥálwa*, in the hope that the *baraka* of the saint will make the animal come back by itself.

Contact with the *baraka* of a saintly place may also give efficacy to an act of imitative magic. In Andjra a woman who wants a child makes a little cradle (*maṭîša*) of a towel, puts a stone into it, and hangs it on a tree at a *sîyid*, promising to make a sacrifice to the saint if her wish is fulfilled. In the Faḥṣ a person may increase his stock of eatables by the following rite. He goes to Sîdi 'Ăli Bůḫóbza's olive grove on a Friday morning, taking with him some bread, and invites little children to come there to eat with him. After the meal they all make *fâtˢḥa*, and say, *Ălláh irzáqna fę l-ḫóbza bárda a sîdi 'Ăli Bůḫóbza*, "May God bestow on us a cold loaf (meaning bread for nothing), O Sîdi 'Ăli Bůḫóbza ('the master of [the] loaf')." In this case an appeal is made to the saint, but the essence of the rite is undoubtedly the meal partaken of at the holy place. Practices intended to influence the will of a dead saint are very frequently combined with others, by which the petitioner puts himself into physical contact with the saintly place in the hope of deriving benefit from it. Of this we have seen instances above, and other instances will be mentioned below. So highly valued are the remains of a dead saint that a certain Můläi t-Thâmi is said to have been killed by the Beni Ăḥsen because they wanted to have his *baraka* for ever in their tribe; and Můläi 'Abdsslam of Wazzan, before he had made his pilgrimage to Mecca and become Sîdi l-Ḥaᵈᵈj 'Abdsslam, is reported to have narrowly escaped a similar fate among the Aiṯ Mjilḏ.[1]

[1] *Cf.* de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc* (*1899–1901*) (Paris, 1903), p. 82 *sq.*

The *baraka* of a dead saint may exercise a mechanical influence through the medium of his followers. When a band of Ḥmádša have one of their usual performances, wounding their heads with axes, pieces of bread or lumps of sugar are often offered them in order that they shall dip them into the blood and spit on them, thus saturating them with the *baraka* of Sîdi ʻĂli ben Ḥámduš, for the benefit of sick persons or barren women. A married woman may also, with a view to being blessed with a child, go to a band of ambulating ʻEṣáwa and give her girdle and a silver coin to the *mqáddem*, or chief, of the band. Although she does not express her wish in words, they understand what she means and make *fâtˢḥa*, asking God to bless her with a child. The *mqáddem* fumigates her girdle with benzoin and spits on it, and all the other members of the band likewise spit on it, the *baraka* of Sîdi Mḥámmed ben ʻÊṣa being in their spittle. The *mqáddem* also gives to the woman a piece of benzoin to eat at once and some milk to drink, but before he gives her the milk he drinks a little of it himself and blows on it, and all the other members of the band blow on it as well, so as to impart to it the *baraka* of their *šēḫ*. When the woman receives the milk from the *mqáddem* she says, *Sellmû li ya l-fóqra ḏ sîḏi Mḥámmäḏ ben ʻÊ̂ṣa*, "Salute me, O followers of Sîdi Mḥámmed ben ʻÊṣa". The *mqáddem* and his friends clap their hands several times, crying out, *Ăḥna mséllmin sîḏi Mḥámmäḏ ben ʻÊ̂ṣa*, "We are Sîdi Mḥámmed ben ʻÊṣa's believers". After this the woman drinks the milk, puts on her belt, and goes away. The same night she has intercourse with her husband. But it is necessary that on the occasion when the child is named a band of ʻEṣáwa should be called in and be well entertained, since otherwise the *bạs*, or evil, will remain in the house and cause sickness or death to the mother or child and even to domestic animals (Andjra). In other cases, when a band of ʻEṣáwa are presented with a sheep or a goat, which they eat raw, some of the remains, being supposed to participate in Sîdi Mḥámmed ben ʻÊṣa's *baraka*, are taken by the people to be burned and used as medicine, the patient inhaling the smoke.

It is a general belief that offerings made to a dead saint

in some measure partake of his *baraka*. Hence such offerings, especially candles and the meat of animals sacrificed at his anniversary feast, are highly valued presents which the descendants of the saint distribute among their friends, or by which they try to gain the favour of their governor.

The *baraka* of mosques is also used for various purposes. At Fez, if the parents of a girl refuse to give her away in marriage to a man who is very anxious to have her and makes repeated attempts to induce them to yield to his wishes, she is supposed to remain unmarried on account of a curse pronounced by the unsuccessful suitor until the spell is removed from her in the following manner. Her chemise (*tšâmir*) is given to the *múdden* on a Friday to be taken up to the minaret (*ṣóm'a*) at ten o'clock, when the blue flag is to be changed for the white. He hoists the chemise instead of the flag, lets it remain hoisted till the beginning of the mid-day prayer, and then returns it to the girl, who puts it on the same day. If this does not prove effective, some member of her family brings a little earth from seven different places, namely, the entrance of a mill, a public oven, a public hot bath, a mosque, the room where the judge pronounces his sentences (*lĕ-mḥâkma de l-qâḍi*), a public inn (*fĕndaq*), and some place where two streets cross —these places being chosen because they are trodden on by many men. Then water is brought from the sanctuaries of seven saints. Some of it is drunk by the girl, with another portion she washes her face, and what remains is mixed with the earth, which, when dry, is enveloped in a small piece of rag and hung on her dress. It is believed that the holy water will make her look very attractive, and that she will soon marry. In the same town, if a person has been made ill by *jnūn*, his white *farajîya*, which is worn over the *qáftān*, is taken to the great mosque of the Qarwîyin and put underneath one of the fountains—the one which gets its water from a spring, not from the river, as is the case with the two other fountains, which are not used for the purpose in question ; it is put there at a place where people who make their ablutions have to stand on it. All this is done on a Friday morning, and the *farajîya* is then left

there till the *ḫóṭba*, or sermon, has been read; but before then, when the *múdden* makes the *lûli* or "first" cry for mid-day prayers, about twenty minutes after noon, all the women who have taken *farajîyāt*[s] there on that day—there are several of them every Friday—walk seven times round the fountain from right to left. After the sermon the water is wrung out of the *farajîya*, and it is taken back home; and when it has dried, the patient is dressed in it. In the village l-Ḥṣan, in the district of the Bni Ăroṣ, there is an old mosque called *[d]jâma' d-dlem*, "the mosque of the cork trees", in which Mûlăi 'Abdsslam is said to have studied. From this mosque visitors take a little earth, putting in its place a coin as *dérhạm š-šēḫ*;[1] this earth is then mixed with water from the *'ain n-nšōr*, and the mixture is on occasion used externally as a remedy for snake bites. Among the Ait Waráin a sterile woman who is anxious to have offspring goes on seven consecutive Thursdays to a mosque in which the *ḫóṭba* is habitually read on Fridays, burns benzoin in it, and washes its floor, asking Sîdna Jḍbrîl likewise to wash away the evil influence causing her barrenness and to fill her house with children. In this case, however, the mosque is treated as if it were a saint. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer a new lamp (*rqandīr*) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its *baraka*.

The *baraka* of sacred words or passages is used more frequently and for a greater variety of purposes than any other *baraka*. The phrases *bismilláh* (*bismillāh*, *bismillāhi*), "in the name of God", and *bismilláh r-raḥmân r-ráḥīm* (or, in the case of scribes, *bismillâhi r-raḥmâni r-raḥḗmi*; lit. *bismillāhi ar-raḥmāni ar-raḥīmi*), "in the name of God the merciful the compassionate", are the most common of all prophylactics against evil influences. There is a Muhammadan proverb, commonly regarded as a saying of the Prophet, that "every matter of importance which is begun without mention of God is maimed".[2] The *bismillāh* is

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 156.

[2] Goldziher, 'Bismillāh', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 668.

used on all sorts of occasions when people are afraid of being hurt by *jnūn*[1] or as a safeguard against the devil.[2] Pious persons say it when they go to bed in the evening and rise in the morning, when they put on their clothes or even their slippers, when they sit down or get up, when they go out of the house or mount an animal, when they begin to work or write, before they drink or eat even a morsel. It is universally uttered before a meal. It is also said by a person who takes food or money in his hand or puts money into his bag, so that there shall be *baraka* in the food or money and the devil go away if he happens to be present. If a person gives a thing to another both he and the recipient say the *bismillāh*; otherwise there is no *baraka* in the gift, and it may be fraught with danger. At Fez, however, I was told that it will suffice if one of them, either the giver or the recipient, says the *bismillāh*, though in any case it is necessary for the latter to do so just before he partakes of food or drink offered him. The *bismillāh* should be said by a person when he enters or leaves a room in which others are sitting, when he enters or leaves a *sîyŏd* or a mosque, and when he has intercourse with his wife.[3] Animals cannot be used as food unless they have been killed "in the name of God",[4] which no doubt was originally a precautionary measure; and when eggs are broken the same formula is uttered.[5] On the other hand it must not be said by a person when he enters a lavatory or a hot bath.

Other sacred formulas are also used against the *jnūn* and the devil.[6] If a person starts on a journey and his friends see him off, one of the latter must cry behind him the *aḏān*, or call to public prayer; if he does so the traveller *yęmši sâlem u îji ġânem*, "will go in safety and come back prosperous", whereas otherwise he will meet with some misfortune (Tangier, Andjra; I heard of a similar custom among the Iglíwa). Before a man sets out on a journey he recites—if he knows how to do it—certain chapters of the Koran, namely, the 36th (*sūratu yā sīn*), the 56th (*sūratu*

[1] *Infra*, i. 312. [2] *Infra*, i. 410. [3] See *infra*, i. 410.
[4] *Infra*, ii. 361 *sq.* [5] *Infra*, ii. 362 *sq.* [6] *Infra*, i 312, 410.

'l-wāqi'ah), the 67th (*sūratu'l-mulk*), the 97th (*sūratu'l-qadr*), and the 112th (*sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*), the last-mentioned chapter twelve times; he does this facing the East. A person who is travelling performs the same rite in a desert place where he is going to spend the night, and while making the recitation he draws a circle round the spot where he will sleep. The object of these practices is to protect the traveller from attacks of spirits, men, and obnoxious animals. Moreover, it is a widespread belief that there are persons who can make themselves invisible, or at least unrecognisable, by reciting the *yā sīn*. A Berber from Glawi told me the following story. A man who had committed murder and was persecuted by the relatives of his victim escaped to a garden, where he, every night before he went to sleep, read the said *sūrah*, with the result that he became a stone. Once, however, he fell asleep before he had finished the recitation of it, and then only one half of his body became a stone whereas the other half remained unchanged. His persecutors found him in that condition, and they were so frightened by the sight that they let him alone. We have previously noticed the use made of the *sūratu 'š-šams* in magical practices.[1] In Andjra, if a party of travellers have to spend the night in an uninhabited place and there is a scribe among them, the latter walks seven times round the camp, reciting the 129th and 130th verses of the ninth chapter of the Koran (*sūratu 't-taubah*); this will protect the camp from robbers, just as if it were surrounded by a wall. Both there and elsewhere I have heard of scribes who can open a locked door without a key and do many other wonderful things besides, by an *'azîma*, or incantation, from the Koran. The recitation of passages of it, especially of certain portions of it to be mentioned below,[2] is a powerful weapon against the *jnūn* and the evil eye; and it is, generally, an inexhaustible source of blessing for both the living and the dead. The recital of the *kalimah*, or creed, the first part of which ("there is no deity but God") is found in the 21st verse of the 47th chapter (*sūratu Muḥammad*) and the second part ("Muḥammad is the apostle of

[1] *Supra*, p. 121. [2] *Infra* i. 311, 312, 444.

God ") in the 29th verse of the 48th chapter (*sūratu 'l-fatḥ*), is, as already said, one of the pillars of religion.

The *baraka* of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic *ḥerz* (or *ḥörz*; plur. *ḥrūz*) or *ḥejâb* (or *ḥăjâb*; plur. *ḥjâbāt*ˢ). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as *lḥarz* (plur. *laḥrûz*) and *lḥêjäb* (plur. *lḥĕjâbät*) in the Shelḥa of Tazĕrwalt,[1] *räḥăjaḇ* (plur. *räḥăjâbaṭ*) in the Rifian of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, and *rḥāz* (plur. *rḥrūz*) in that of the Ait Temsâmän. There is *baraka* only in such written charms as contain words from the Koran, and they must begin with the phrase *bismillāhi ar-raḥmāni ar-raḥīmi*. The knowledge or art of writing charms containing names of God is called *'ilm l-'ásma* or *'ilm l-'ism*. But besides the *ḥerz rabbâni*, which always contains words from the Koran and is intended to serve some good purpose, there is the *ḥerz šiṭâni*, which contains the names of evil spirits and is written for a wicked end.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called *tˢebrīd* (in Andjra called *tˢebriḍ*, by the Aiṭ Wäryâġer *ttebriḍ*, by the Iglíwa *ttĕbrīd nă rrṣaṣ* or *lḥĕjaḇ nă rrṣaṣ*), which makes a person shot-proof in so far that it prevents bullets from entering his body even though they pass through his clothes.[2] An eye-witness told me of a man from Andjra wearing such a charm, who was fired at by a number of soldiers: the bullets which pierced his clothes fell to the ground without hurting him. The *tˢebrīd* is mostly written by Shlöḥ from the South, but there are also Jews who know how to write it. When I was travelling in

[1] Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilḥischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 199 *sq*.

[2] For charms against bullets *cf*. Marno, *Reisen im Gebiete des blauen und weissen Nil, im egyptischen Sudan und den angrenzenden Negerländern* (Wien, 1874), p. 243; Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness* (London, 1909), p. 188 *sq*. (Bedouins of Palestine); Lady Anne Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, ii. (London, 1879), p. 232 n.

the Great Atlas I heard of a scribe living among the Iġiġain (Ġeġáya) who was famous for his skill in manufacturing charms of this sort—a wonderful man, by the way, who could say how many seeds were in a pomegranate when he only took it in his hand. A *tˢebrīḍ* contains not only passages from the Koran but also names of Muhammadan *jnūn*, and it presupposes astrological knowledge in the person who writes it. It is written with saffron on a piece of paper or, sometimes, on a flattened bullet or on a silver plate, and the writing is done at night, at the beginning or the end of a month when there is no moon and the stars are shining. Before it is accepted it is tried. It is hung on a fowl or a dog or some other animal, which is then fired at; if the bullet, though hitting it, does not enter its body the charm is good, whereas in the opposite case it is useless. A Berber from the Ait Waráin told me that he was present when an experiment of this kind was made by his uncle on a cat: the animal screamed, but the bullet fell to the ground. A scribe from Glawi knew another method of testing a *tˢebrīd*: the man for whom it was made goes with it tied to his arm to a barber and asks him to draw blood from him, and if there is no appearance of blood its efficacy is proved. In some cases the *tˢebrīd* is enveloped in a piece of the caul (*stˢer*) of a new-born child of the person for whom it was made. It is worn in a case of silver, brass, or steel on the right arm near the shoulder or round the neck underneath the shirt, or it is hidden in the leather of the bag worn by the person, or it is, with or without a case, sewn up in an incision made for this purpose in the upper part of his right arm or in the flesh between his shoulders. It is an expensive charm. A scribe from Tangier told me that he knew a person who had paid one thousand dollars for his *tˢebrīd*, and that three hundred dollars was the lowest price for such a charm; and the Berber from the Ait Waráin said that his uncle's *tˢebrīd* had cost him two bullocks. No wonder that a high price has to be paid: there is the danger that the maker of a *tˢebrīd* afterwards writes a counter-charm which deprives it of its efficacy, and to avert this danger the owner of the charm should kill the

man who made it—unless, perhaps, he be a Jew who is his client and therefore may be presumed to be on friendly terms with him. The famous Mûläi Ăḥmed r-Räisûli, for instance, is said to have killed the man from Sūs who had written his *tˢebrīd*; and one of my informants told me that his cousin killed the Jew who had made the silver case for his *tˢebrīd* and put it into his arm. Nevertheless, he was afterwards himself shot dead, being hit by a silver bullet. For whatever precautions the owner of a *tˢebrīd* may take, he is never absolutely shot-proof; his charm does not protect him from bullets made of gold, silver,[1] steel, or (according to some accounts) brass. It is true that all attempts to kill the pretender Bŭḥămâra with bullets of silver and brass were in vain; but the reason for this was not that he wore a *tˢebrīd*, but that he was really a *jẹnn*.

The *tˢebrīd* belongs to a class of magic which is known by the name of *tˢqāf*, "detention", or "prevention". Charms of this class are written for many different objects. A man told me that when he left his tribe, the Aṯ Ubáḥṯi, for Fez, a scribe wrote for him something from the Koran on four little stones, which were left in his dwelling in order that he should travel and return in safety; but he said that the number of stones may also be seven. A similar practice is known at Tangier, where seven stones are used and a word from the Koran is written on each of them. The reason why there are no rats at Bāb Ftˢöḥ, one of the city gates of Fez, is that once a saint belonging to the family of the Fāsîyin stuck a knife into the ground with a charm written on it, the *baraka* of which attracted all the rats of the neighbourhood, with the result that the knife cut off their heads. On the *jāmōr* of the Qarwîyin there are engraved charms against scorpions, rats, and birds.[2] Such charms against obnoxious creatures belong to the kind of charms called *ṭálsem* or *ṭálsạm* (the Greek τέλεσμα, our "talisman"),

[1] *Cf.* Marno, *op. cit.* p. 243 (Sudan); Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness*, p. 189 (Bedouins of Palestine).

[2] *Cf. Raōḍ al-Qarṭās*, French translation by Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 72 *sq.*

which was described to me as a written charm containing a *ǰédwäl* with names of angels and Muhammadan *jnūn* and serving the object of keeping off something. A highly appreciated *ṭálsem*, mostly written by scribes from Sūs, is one intended to prevent *jnūn* from carrying away money which has been buried in the ground; but such a charm is difficult to write. Other kinds of *ṭ'qāf*, written or unwritten, will be spoken of in another connection.[1]

Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a protection against the *jnūn* and the evil eye,[2] and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former [3] or other illnesses. At Fez, when a person is ill, words from the Koran are written in a china bowl of European make, the inside of which must be perfectly white without any design; and as soon as the charm has been written the bowl must be turned upside-down lest the writing should lose its *baraka*. Water is subsequently poured into the bowl and the water, sanctified by the writing, is partly drunk by the patient and partly applied to his head, hands, and body. Or a charm is written on a hard-boiled egg, the shell of which has been removed, after which the egg is eaten by the patient. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn and the Ait Waráin the water with which a charm written on a paper has been washed away or which has been poured over a charm written inside a bowl, is left out-of-doors on a starlight night, and then on three consecutive mornings drunk by the patient on an empty stomach and rubbed on his body.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other. When a child suffers from whooping-cough (*šahhâqa*) a charm written by a scribe is hung round its neck over its clothes (Fez). When

[1] *Infra*, i. 571 *sqq*. [2] *Infra*, i. 311, 312, 444 *sq*.
[3] *Infra*, i. 327 *sqq*.

a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a *ḥerz* is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). When there is a smallpox epidemic among the sheep or goats a scribe writes something from the Koran on a piece of paper and on seven black beans, which are then, together with a little rock-salt, sewn up in a bag and hung round the neck of the propagator of the flock (Aṯ Ubáḫṭi). If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed ; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). So also an egg with a charm written on it is given to a child as a means of weaning it, little children being fond of eggs (Fez). A charm from the Koran, called *kirâha*, *karâha*, or *korh*, " hatred " or " detestation ", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (*kīf*). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or *kīf*—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) ; but the same object may be achieved without the writing of a charm, simply by mixing a little of his urine or excrements into food or drink of which he partakes or *kīf* which he smokes (Tangier). The *kirâha* may also be a *ḥerz šiṭâni*, containing no words from the Koran, which is written for the purpose of making a married man take a dislike to his wife or children.

Besides preventive and curative charms there are others which are written to serve more positive objects. To these belongs the so-called *maḥábba* or *mḥébba*, " love ", which may be either a *ḥerz rabbâni*, containing the names of Muhammadan *jnūn* as well as something from the Koran, or a *ḥerz šiṭâni*, in accordance with the purpose for which it is written ; and the term *maḥábba* is also used for other forms of magic practised with a view to making a person

love or like another.[1] The written *maḥăbba* may be used in various ways.[2] It may be hung up in the open air, for example on the branch of a tree, for such a purpose as to induce an absent wife or relative to come back at once, with the swiftness of the wind in which it flutters (Andjra). But it may also be worn by a person who wants to be attractive. Thus many a minister wears a *maḥăbba*, or also a so-called *'aṭf*, with a view to remaining in favour with the Sultan; I was told that the powerful grand-vizier Bba Ḥmed was so much liked by his master in consequence of a charm written by the great magician of the Iġiġain who was famous for his charms against bullets. The *maḥăbba* is often written with saffron mixed with rose- or orange-water; and so are the *'aṭf*, "inclination" or "favour", which is chiefly used as a means of making its wearer favoured with gifts, and the *jelb*, which is hung up in shops to make business flourish. In the Ḥiáina a man who goes out hunting ties to his gunstock or round his right arm a charm consisting of a flattened bullet with something from the Koran written on it, which has been fumigated with the smoke of the cast-off skin of a snake; the effect of this charm is to attract a large number of wild animals, the hunter simply sitting down at a place where he cannot be seen by them.

In Andjra, when a boy is old enough to begin his studies in the mosque, his father gathers rain-water in a new bowl, which has never been used for household purposes. The bowl must not be put on the ground so as not to come into contact with anything unclean, nor must the sun be allowed to shine on the water; hence it is taken indoors as soon as the rain is over. When the water has been gathered a scribe is asked to write a charm from the Koran on a paper, which is put into the water; and in the evening the bowl with its contents is placed outside the house in the starlight, to be taken in again before sunrise and put in a place where the sun cannot shine on it. This is done for seven nights, after which the bowl is given to the boy to drink from in the morning on an empty stomach, the paper still being in the water. He then goes to the mosque to begin his studies;

[1] *Infra*, i. 577 *sq.* [2] See also *infra*, i. 361.

but he drinks again of the water on the following mornings—seven mornings altogether. This makes him apt to learn, because there is *baraka* in the writing, in the rain-water, and in the starlight. A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). When a schoolmaster cannot otherwise make a boy learn his lessons he writes the *sūratu yā sīn*, the *sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*, or the *āyatu 'l-kursī*, or all of them on the inside of a white bowl or plate or on a writing-board, pours water over the writing, and gives it to the boy to drink on an empty stomach (Tangier).

There are scribes who write charms to make themselves invisible in the presence of others. The scribe plants seven dry black beans in a pot of earth, carefully preventing the sun from shining on them, writes something inside a bowl or plate, pours water over the writing, and waters the beans with it. When the beans are ripe and have been removed from their pods, he takes one of them in his hand, reads something from the Koran seven times, and then, with the bean still in his hand, looks into a looking-glass. If he can see his face in the glass the bean is useless for his purpose, whereas in the opposite case he puts it aside; and when he has thus found seven beans with which in his hand he cannot see his face in the looking-glass, he puts them in a leather cover and hangs it round his head underneath his turban. Then he is invisible to others, although he himself can see anybody present. My informant, a scribe from Glawi, told me that once in Frûga, when some people were sitting together, one of them was flogged by some invisible individual who had a charm of this kind.

The foremost of all charms, with regard to the scope of their efficacy, are the *ḥerz Mûrjâna* (at Fez I heard it called *ḥörz Marjâna*) and the *ḥerz l-Anḏarūn*. The former has its name from a black slave woman, Mûrjâna, belonging to a sultan in Baghdad, who, in spite of her ugliness, loved her so much that he entirely neglected his wives. She fell ill and all the doctors of the city could not save her life.

When she died the Sultan was so grieved that he for three days neither ate nor drank nor made any arrangements for the funeral. When the Grand-Vizier then reminded him of the necessity of burying her, he sent for all the *ġssâlāt*^{s}, or women whose profession it is to wash the bodies of dead persons of their own sex, of Baghdad, and told their mistress that before the shroud was sewn up he wanted to see the face of his darling once more. When the mistress of the *ġssâlāt*^{s} undressed the dead body she found on its head a charm, which she took and put on her own head. After the body had been washed the Sultan was called, but when he looked at its face he could hardly recognise it—so ugly did it now appear to him. He then turned his eyes to the mistress of the *ġssâlāt*^{s} and was charmed by her beauty, although she was already an old woman. He asked her if she was married; and when she answered that she was a widow whose husband had died long ago, the Sultan at once decided to marry her and sent for two *'ădûl*, or notaries, to draw up the marriage contract. It was the charm that made the old woman, as it had previously made Mûrjâna, appear so beautiful to the Sultan. The *ḥerz l-Anḍarūn*, again, was originally worn by an infidel king called l-Anḍarūn. He kept it on his head, sewn to his crown, and it gave him great power and made him a terror to the surrounding peoples. But once when he was attacked by the true believers an angel came down from the sky in the shape of a bird, removed the crown from his head, and threw it into the Muhammadan camp; and the result was that the king was defeated and had to fly.

These charms contain passages from the Koran, divine attributes, the names of angels and Muhammadan *jnūn*, *jădáwel* (plur. of *ḥ́dwäl*), and *da'áwāt*^{s}, or invocations. They are by preference written with saffron,[1] and may be written at any hour on a Friday, Monday, or Thursday. The qualities possessed by these two charms are very similar. They both protect those who wear them against the *jnūn* and the evil eye, as well as against robbers, wild beasts, scorpions, and other obnoxious creatures; they

[1] See, however, *infra*, ii. 308 *sq.*

make them feared by the Government and respected and liked by the people; they make them prosperous; and when hung up in a house they protect it from burglars and fire. Yet they are seldom used in the latter way, because, even though kept in cases of metal, they are extremely sensitive to any kind of defilement. The person who wears such a charm must be clean, must refrain from drinking alcohol, and must remove the charm if he enters an unclean place like a water-closet or a hot bath. Lithographed copies of the *ḥerz Mŭrjâna*, imported from Algeria, are nowadays sold at Tangier for less than an English shilling, but my chief informant, who has himself written many such charms, looks upon them with contempt as being useless.[1] The same scribe has also heard of a third charm producing similar effects, the so-called *ḥerz l-jaušān*,[2] but he has never seen it.

When a charm is written certain rules have to be observed in order that the writing shall possess the *baraka* necessary to produce the desired effect. The name of the person for whom the charm is written is referred to as the son or daughter of this or that woman, the mother's name being given instead of the father's. This practice, which we also meet with when a sacrifice is made on behalf of a certain person, as at the Great Feast and at the ceremony of name-giving, is possibly a survival from a period when the system of tracing descent was matrilineal,[3] although the native explanation is that a child's relation to its mother is more intimate than that to its father, or that nobody can know with certainty who is a person's father. In magic the old and antiquated is preferable to the new and modern. In the formula of *abjad* the letters, with their numerical values, follow the order of the old Phœnician alphabet,[4] and

[1] Translations of this charm, or of parts of it, in different versions, are given by Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 135 *sqq.*; Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes* (Alger, 1897–98), p. 139 *sq.* n. 2; Tuchmann, 'La fascination', in *Mélusine*, x. (Paris, 1900), p. 10.

[2] *Cf.* Doutté, *op. cit.* pp. 150, 152 *sq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.* p. 166 n. 4.

[4] Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache*, i. (Giessen, 1898), p. 4.

in the writing of charms not only the vowel signs, which are very seldom used even in ordinary writing, but the diacritical points, which are much older, are very frequently, at least, left out. In letters with a loop, like *fā* and *qāf*, the loop must never be filled up with ink; the lines must be straight; and when the *ḥerz* contains a *ǰédwäl* with writing round it (such a *ǰédwäl* is called *ǰédwäl mṭáuwaq* or *mdûwar*) this writing must be turned towards the *ǰédwäl*. All this is essential for the efficacy of the charm. There are also charms, especially those containing a *ǰédwäl*, in which all characters are disjointed. Charms for the purpose of producing rain are often written with disjointed characters, which perhaps are meant to imitate raindrops.[1]

Charms are mostly written with Moorish ink (*ṣmaġ* or *ṣmaq*)—never with European ink; but for less ordinary charms, not all of which contain writing from the Koran, some other fluid is often used, such as water, or rose- or orange-water, mixed with saffron, or the white of an egg mixed with the milky juice of an unripe fig as well as saffron, or tar, or the blood of an animal or bird.[2] Charms are written on paper, generally white but sometimes red, which must not be ruled; or on some other material or object, such as a writing-board, a bowl or plate, an egg-shell, a hard-boiled egg with the shell removed, a loaf of bread, a bean, an oleander leaf, the jawbone of a sheep sacrificed at the Great Feast, the skin of an animal, a horse-shoe, the blade of a knife, a bullet, or a stone. Some charms are engraved on metal or on a bit of dry unburned potter's earth (*fḫḫār ḥḍar*) (Fez).

Certain charms are written on certain days or at certain periods.[3] Charms for good purposes may be written with success on a Friday, Monday, or Thursday, those for wicked purposes on a Tuesday, Wednesday, or Saturday, particularly towards the end of the month when the nights are as black as the object aimed at. Some charms should be written before sunrise, others in the daytime at a certain hour or after sunset, or when the moon or the stars, or some particular

[1] *Infra*, ii 260 *sq.*
[2] *Infra*, Chapter XVIII.
[3] See also *supra*, pp. 127, 133, 215; *infra*, ii. 41, 42, 45 *sq.*

star, are shining. Many charms are written at the time when the sun is setting, but none but devilish charms between *'âṣar* and that hour. Charms containing a *jḍwäl* should only be written when the sky is clear, whereas such as merely contain one or more *da'áwāt*^{s}, or invocations, may also be written when it is cloudy. Other rules relating to the writing of particular charms, or of charms in general, have been mentioned before or will be mentioned later.

A charm may generally be written by any person who possesses the necessary insight; but sometimes certain other qualifications are required to give it due efficacy. Thus a charm against the evil eye containing the 112th chapter of the Koran (*sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*) repeated one hundred times has to be written by a boy who has not yet attained the age of puberty, who is his father's and mother's first-born child, and whose name is Můḥámmed or Ḥmed (Andjra, Tangier). The person who writes a charm must be paid for it, like a doctor reciting an incantation: some money must be given him, or, in default of it, something white like salt or an egg, or grain. To write a charm without a fee is of no more use than to hang a stone round the neck:—*L-kt*^{s}*âba blā yḍjra bḥāl li m'állaq l-ḥájra.*

When a charm has been written it has to be fumigated with incense, calculated to purify it and add *baraka* to it, and if *jnūn* are mentioned in it the incense should be in accordance with their taste. If it has been written on a paper the latter is soaked or smeared or, after it has been folded, sealed with wax, and sewn up in a piece of red (not yellow) leather or, in the case of a *ḥerz šiṭâni*, perhaps in some skin of an animal like a jackal, fox, or dog; or it is enclosed in a case of brass or some other metal, or if its owner is a poor man it may simply be enveloped in a piece of calico. It is then worn by the person for whom it was made, or is tied to the object or hung up at the place for which it was intended; but as already said, a *t*^{s}*ebrīd* is sometimes sewn up in an incision in its owner's body. In other instances the charm, whether written on a paper or in a bowl or on some other object, is dissolved in water, and

the water is drunk by the person on whose behalf the charm was made, or applied externally to his body, or used in some other manner in accordance with the purpose for which it was intended. Sometimes a written charm is burned and the smoke inhaled; and charms written on a loaf of bread or on a hard-boiled egg are eaten.

The various ways in which people utilise the *baraka* of certain periods, that of the sacrifice performed at the Great Feast, and certain other forms of *baraka* will be described below or have been mentioned in the preceding chapter. We shall also see that *baraka* is extensively used to give efficacy to oaths. In such instances it may be productive of evil consequences on account of the imprecation contained in the oath. The case is similar when a person who is possessed of *baraka* pronounces a curse or inflicts some other injury: his *baraka* helps to carry out his curse or evil intention. But *baraka* may cause harm even when unconnected with an evil wish. Though generally a source of good, there is nevertheless a seed of evil in it as well.

Certain food is so holy that it must not be eaten at all or be eaten in small portions only. Persons who visit Sîdi Ḥămăd u 'Ḕsa's shrine at the village Tagŭddirt, in the tribe Ida Ggw̆ărsmůgt in Sūs, are entertained there with dates and figs, but they must not eat much of them lest their stomachs should burst; indeed, so strong is the *baraka* of these fruits that when the stones of the eaten dates and the stalks of the figs are mixed with the fruits in the larder, as they always are, they are on the next morning found to have become dates and figs. Of another Berber saint, Sîdi Mḥămměd u Ya'qob, whose grave is in Imintâtelt, I was told that at his annual feast those who take part in it would become ill if they ate more than a spoonful of each dish offered them by the saint's descendants; and for a similar reason their horses are fed with a spoonful of barley only. Generally speaking, it is not good to eat too much of the meat of a sacrificed animal on account of its *baraka* (Tangier). Some people say that if a cat eats food left by scribes, it will become ill because the *baraka* of the food is too strong for it; but I have also heard that the eating of such food will make any animal or

person ill because it contains the *bạs* of the scribes, who have black hearts.

Should anybody eat of the seed before the sowing is finished the effect would be like that of poison on account of the strength of its *baraka* ; nobody must step over or sit on the sacks in which the seed is kept, nor must any part of it be mixed with other grain ; and if a child or unmarried person passes ahead of the sower so that some of the cast seed touches him, he will never marry but the *bạs* will remain in him till his death.[1] When the corn is on the threshing-floor the people try to increase its holiness by various methods, but its *baraka* may also be too strong and thereby become a danger to the farmer and his family—there may be *qazqûza* [2] in the heap. I have found this belief prevalent among various Berber tribes. The Ait Waráin say that it shows itself in the rising of the cloth with which the heap is covered; it is then necessary for the farmer to make a sacrifice at the threshing-floor lest he or his wife or some of his children should die. It is Muhammadan *jnūn*, *imúmnen*, that make the heap grow, owing to the sacrifice performed when the threshing began, but their kindness may go too far—the *baraka* they bestow on it may become excessive. The Aiṭ Yúsi also, if there is *qazqûza* in the heap, make a sacrifice to the *jnūn* in order to induce them, through the blood, to stop its growing ; otherwise, they believe, the children of the farmer will die. At Demnat I was told that a sheep is killed on the threshing-floor if the guard hears the heap of grain growing at night, and that if this sacrifice is omitted, those who eat of the corn will die in consequence. The same custom prevails among the Shlöḥ of the Iglíwa, who also kill an animal when the new-pressed olive oil is increasing, this, too, being a sacrifice to the spirit-owners of the place. That there may be *qazqûza* in oil is believed by the

[1] *Infra*, ii. 220.

[2] Dozy (*Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*, ii. [Leyde, 1881], p. 343) mentions the verb *qazqaz*, which means "to crackle". In the Faḥṣ and among the Jbâla the word *qaiqûza* is used for the *baraka* which makes honey or oil increase by itself, but it is looked upon, not as dangerous, but merely as a blessing.

Aiṭ Yúsi and the Ait Waráin as well, and they resort to the same method to make it harmless. A Berber from the latter tribe told me that when the oil is taken from the reservoir (*tijnt*) in which it is first gathered, it is sometimes found to be perpetually increasing instead of becoming less, owing to excessive *baraka*, and then a sacrifice must be made to prevent the death of the owner or some member of his family. Among the Shlöḥ and the Brâber there is also the belief in *qazqûza* in milk and butter. In the Ḥiáina it is said that if milk and butter which have been produced, wheat which has been sown, and meat of a lamb which has been born in the month of October come together in the same dish in October, the dish will break, owing to their excessive *baraka*.

In the Ḥiáina it is also considered very bad for a person to ride in a saddle belonging to a shereef, owing to its powerful *baraka*; he should not ride in it even though the shereef himself asked him to do so. But even an ordinary saddle, which also contains *baraka*, is a more or less dangerous object. When it is put on the horse the *bismillāh* should be said, so as to remove the *baṣ*; and when it is taken off it must not be placed on the ground, or anywhere else, upside down or sideways, but only in an erect position (Ḥiáina). When a saddle is bought, a sacrifice, even though it be only of a fowl, should be made (*ibid.*), and the same must be done if the saddle of a guest is taken into a house or tent (Aiṭ Sádděn). In the latter case, however, a cut made in the ear of a sheep or goat may be substituted for the sacrifice (Ḥiáina), and if this is done a few drops of the blood may have to be smeared on the saddle (Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi); but instead of this, the host or some other inhabitant of the tent occasionally makes a little cut into his own body, and wipes the blood on the dangerous object (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi). In certain tribes (Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) precautions of this kind are only taken if the guest spends a night in the dwelling of his host; but in one of them (Ait Waráin) they are considered necessary even though the saddle be left outside the house overnight, at least if the guest is a stranger. These ceremonies are observed only if

the saddle is a horse-saddle, and their object is to remove, through the shedding of blood, the *bạs* or evil energy which is seated in it. Frequent riding in a saddle is supposed to be injurious to the sexual power of the rider.

A similar influence is ascribed to the robbing of bee-hives. There is the saying, *Dār ṭ-ṭfäilāṭˢ u n-nḥäilāṭˢ ḥályāṭˢ*, "The houses of daughters and bees are empty"; which means that as a house will become empty if there are only daughters, who leave it when they marry, so also the house of a person who owns many bees will become empty because he loses his sexual capacity by robbing them of their honey (Ḥiáina). In spite of its *baraka*, or rather in consequence of it, honey is looked upon as a somewhat dangerous article.[1] If anybody enters another person's house or tent carrying honey, he must, before it is taken out again, give a trifle of it to the people there to eat, or smear a little on the doorpost or tent-pole, lest some evil should befall the household (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi). There are similar rules relating to butter and oil (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi; among the Aiṭ Sádděn to butter only), as also to henna (Ait Waráin), a little of which must be thrown into the fire before it is carried away.[2] At Fez it is considered a bad omen to spill honey; and if anybody upsets a vessel containing honey, he, or somebody else who is present, says, *Ălláh iḫárrjha slâma*, "May God let it turn out good", in order to avert the death which would otherwise result from the accident, honey being at Fez (but not at Tangier) the symbol of a funeral, because it is regularly served there on such an occasion. In the Ḥiáina, on the other hand, it is said to be a good omen to spill honey on the ground, the spirits of the house rejoicing at it. If a person belonging to the order of the 'Ḍsáwa meets anybody carrying honey or comes to a place where there is honey, he, as soon as he sees it, dips into it the forefinger of his right hand and then licks the finger. This he does even though the person who is carrying the honey refuses to offer him

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 335; *Idem, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 356.

[2] See also *infra*, i. 539 *sq.*

any, since he would otherwise fall ill at once, being suddenly struck by *jnūn* (Fez, Ait Waráin).[1]

Should anybody decline to accept an offer of honey, oil, butter, milk, or wheat, he or some of his animals might easily die in consequence (Ḥiáina, Ṯemsâmän [milk]). But I have also heard that if a person refuses to partake of milk, butter, or oil which is offered him, the offerer will have to suffer for it: he or some member of his family may die (Fez), or, if milk was offered, he will have white spots called *braṣ* on his face (Andjra). Instead of drinking of the milk, however, the person to whom it is offered may only dip a finger into it, putting then the finger into his mouth or touching his forehead with it; and if something which is to be eaten at once is offered to a person who happens to be fasting, the evil consequences of a refusal are avoided if he tells the offerer about it. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn a person who starts on a journey must not eat salt butter immediately before the start, although he may eat fresh butter. In the Ḥiáina it is considered a bad omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to meet outside his door somebody carrying butter, and it is likewise regarded as an evil foreboding to spill butter or oil on the ground; if oil is spilled an animal belonging to the household will die. At Fez, on the other hand, I was told that the spilling of oil is a good omen.[2] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Ġarbîya, Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) or salt (Ġarbîya, Aiṯ Nḏēr, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) out of the house or tent after *'áṣar* or sunset. At Fez it is believed that a person who lends or gives yeast to somebody else will have pustules round his mouth.[3]

There are injurious elements in holy days and holy

[1] The 'Ḥsáwa are known to be extremely fond of honey. Hence, if anybody wants to tease an 'Ḥsáwi, he sings, *Z-zamît'a be l-'ásel â ṣdaq l-'ṣawîya*, "*Z-zamît'a be l-'ásel* (a dish made of parched flour and honey), O the dowry of the 'Ḥsáwi woman".

[2] In Syria the Muhammadans and Christians regard the spilling of oil as a bad omen, whereas the Jews believe that an unengaged bachelor who accidentally spills oil on his clothes will soon be engaged to be married (Eijūb Abēla, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vii. (Leipzig, 1884), p. 98.

[3] See also *infra*, ii. 249

periods.[1] Hence work, or certain kinds of work, should then be avoided, being unsuccessful or in some cases even dangerous to the person who performs it.[2] There is a saying that "work at a feast is like the stab of a dagger"—*L-ḫádma fe l-'īd bḥāl ḍ-ḍarb be l-ḥdīd* (Fez). Nobody likes to start on a journey on a Friday before the mid-day prayer has been said, and some people (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) consider it bad to commence a journey even in the afternoon of that day. Among the Ait Temsâmän a person who wants to start on a Friday goes to spend the night in a neighbour's house, and then he may leave on the following morning. The first time I went to Fez I started on a Friday morning, but was soon told by my servants that I ought not to have done it; for we had hardly left Tangier when several of our mules fell down in the mud. Nor should any work be commenced on a Friday, and it is best to do no work at all on that day. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz maintain that no benefit will come from such work, and that a person who works then will only do useless work on the following day as well; they particularly avoid moving their tents and clearing away ashes from the fire-places on a Friday. The Aiṭ Sádděn likewise refrain from moving their tents and from commencing any work on that day, and their women refrain from manual labour from Thursday afternoon after *'âṣar* till the same hour on Friday afternoon, though they regularly fetch fuel from the wood on a Friday. Among the Ait Temsâmän, on the other hand, the women refrain from wooding on that day. The Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer and the Shlöḥ of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Iglíwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment. The inhabitants of Fez, or at least many of them, avoid scrubbing their houses and washing their clothes on a Friday, lest they should be hurt by *jnūn* in pouring the dirty water into the drain (*qâdūs*); and for fear of these spirits,

[1] *Infra*, ii. 74 *sqq.*, 98, Chapter XIV. *passim*, 195 *sqq.*

[2] *Infra*, ii. 66, 74, 75, 87, 90, 103, 104, 109-111, 131, 196.

who are very active on Fridays, they also take care to avoid quarrels. Builders suspend their labour, and so do blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, weavers, dyers, and in fact all artisans, as nobody would like to buy articles made by them on a Friday; but butchers and bakers are at work, and commerce is going on all day long. On Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays the students are free; it is said they would not remember anything which they read on a Friday. At Fez and elsewhere it is supposed that a person who is ill will die if anybody comes and inquires about his health on a Friday. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz believe that if a girl is born on a Friday there will be no sign of virginity on the consummation of her marriage, but as the cause of it is known she will not be repudiated on that account.

The idea that Friday is in certain respects a dangerous day, however, may also have another source than its holiness. In many parts of Europe it is a *dies mala*, with taboos similar to those found in Morocco; people should refrain from setting out on a journey, changing their abode, washing clothes, contracting marriage, and, generally, undertaking anything of importance.[1] On the other hand, I have not found many such taboos mentioned in the literature on the eastern Muhammadans. The Arabs of Moab avoid commencing a journey on a Friday,[2] and in Syria a woman who has an only child would never allow the washing of clothes in her house on a Friday lest the child should become ill;[3] but no taboo is mentioned in connection with that day by Lane in his description of fortunate and unfortunate days in Egypt.[4] And among the Muhammadans of India, "as Friday is one of their 'fortunate days', works of any importance are commenced on this day; whether it be building a house, planting a garden or field, writing a book, negotiating a marriage, going on a journey, making a garment,

[1] Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1900), § 71, p. 61; Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe* (London, [1898]), p. 258 *sqq.*

[2] Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 374.

[3] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 89.

[4] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 271 *sq.*

or any other business of this life which they wish should prosper ".[1]

Among the Berbers of the Aiṯ Ndēr, the Aiṯ Yúsi, and the Aiṯ Sádděn the women but not the men abstain from work, with the exception of the necessary household occupations, on Fridays and Sundays or, among some of them, on Sundays only—more strictly speaking, from *'âṣar* or sunset time on Saturday till Monday morning.[2] An old woman told me that once when she had worked on a Sunday she was soon afterwards put in prison by the governor of Ṣěfru; this was not meant as a punishment for her work, but was nevertheless a misfortune caused by it. The custom of abstaining from work on Sundays is also observed by Berber women living in Fez, but not by Arab women living in a Berber tribe. I have previously spoken of the probable origin of this custom.[3]

Even so holy an act as prayer may be injurious. I have been told that those who regularly say their prayers are weak, whereas those who never pray are strong as wild-boars (Amzmiz, Tangier). Once when the Prophet and his friends were praying in a mosque on a Friday, Christians came there and wanted to kill him, but his life was saved by people who had remained outside instead of going into the mosque to say their prayers. The Prophet then went out of the mosque and said to them, " May God give you good health as long as you live ! " Hence it is argued that those who do not pray are blessed by the Prophet (Amzmiz). There is also a belief that if a person who has not been in the habit of praying says a prayer, some of his animals will die. I was told at Fez of a camel-driver who never used to pray, and whose camels thrived. One day, however, he prayed, and a camel died on the same day. He prayed again on the next day, and another camel died; but after

[1] Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, i. (London, 1832), p. 157.

[2] The women of the Aiṯ Mjild, according to M. de Segonzac (*op. cit.* p. 150), refrain from weaving and sewing on Sundays.

[3] *Supra*, p. 134. The Tuareg of the Ahaggar consider Sunday an inauspicious day (Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* [Alger, 1908], p. 63).

this he ceased to pray. A country Arab had in his house a guest who not only prayed himself but also induced him to pray, although he was not used to it; and the result was that some of his sheep died and the milk of his cows became scarce. After this he never again said a prayer, as he was convinced that it would make him destitute. One of my informants, a scribe from the Ḥiáina, however, expressed the opinion that the *baraka* of the prayer does not directly kill the animal, but that the sin of its owner, which is removed from him by the prayer, goes into the animal and kills it. I have also heard that if a person who is riding on a horse, mule, donkey, or camel, recites something from the Koran the animal gets slow in walking. It may be dangerous to write a charm, since he who does so without knowing how to do it properly will be struck by *jnūn*. It is said, *'Ilm r-rábūz u 'ilm l-ḥrūz tˢérkhum tˢfūz*, "The art of the bellows (that is, of forging coin) and the art of writing charms you should give up to be successful".

There is also danger in the *baraka* of the pilgrim, to judge by certain rites to which he is subjected on his return from Mecca. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the pilgrim cannot at once go to his own tent, but spends the first three days in the tent of a friend, where he may be visited by his wife but is not allowed to sleep with her; and when, on the evening of the third day, he proceeds to his home he is surrounded by scribes who make recitations from the Koran both on their way there and after their arrival in his tent. In Tangier, again, the returning pilgrims generally spend three days and three nights at the sanctuary of the patron saint of the town, Sîdi Můḥámmed l-Ḥaᵈᵈj, who is the *ḍâmen l-ḥúᵈᵈjāj*, "the security of the pilgrims", before they enter their own houses; but well-to-do persons often stay there only over one night, and female pilgrims go straight to their homes, where they are confined for three days, being allowed to leave the house only for visiting the hot bath on the second day. In other cases a person should avoid spending a night at a *sîyĭd*, unless he be a refugee or a patient, who may stay there until the saint appears to him in a dream and tells him to leave. It is generally only short visits that give

the visitor the benefit of the saint's *baraka*. There is a saying, *Ráḥim álláh mẹn zār ù ḥáffef*, " God's mercy comes from visiting a saint and going away soon ".

The dangerous elements in *baraka* are in many cases personified in the shape of *jnūn*, which, according to Muhammadan orthodoxy, form a special race of beings created before Ādam. There is a general fear of visiting *sâdāt*[s] at night, especially such as are situated in lonely places, because they are supposed to be haunted by *jnūn*; and if a sick person goes to spend a night at a *sîyid* he is usually accompanied by some friends, who remain with him. The relations between saints and *jnūn* are often of a very intimate character.[1] Many saints, as we shall see, rule over *jnūn*, who act as their *ḥúddạm*, or servants, and in the so-called *jẹnn* saints the border-line between saint and *jẹnn* is almost obliterated. On certain holy occasions many *jnūn* are about: on the 27th night of Ramaḍān they are released from the imprisonment in which they have been kept from the beginning of the month; and Friday is called *'īd l-mûmnīn*, " the feast of the faithful *jnūn* " (Fez, Tangier). In all these cases the *jnūn* are Muhammadan *jnūn*; but although they, of course, have a much better character than the Christian, Jewish, and pagan *jnūn*, they are by no means looked upon as harmless beings.

The notion that *baraka* implies not only beneficial energy but also an element of danger will be further illustrated in the next chapter in connection with the idea that *baraka* itself is exposed to many dangers.

[1] See also *infra*, i. 389.

CHAPTER III

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OF BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS SENSITIVENESS

Baraka is considered to be extremely sensitive to external influences and to be easily spoiled by them.

It is polluted by contact with infidels. One reason why the Sultan Mûlăi 'Abdl'ăzîz lost his *baraka* was the presence of Christians at court. The barbers of Andjra say that there is no *baraka* in the razors used by their colleagues in Tangier, because they are sharpened by Christians. A prayer said in a Christian's house or in the house or garden of a Jew is of no avail. If a Jew enters the house of a Moor, the angels will desert it for forty days. A scribe from the Rîf told me that if a *ḥajj*, or person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, wants to retain his *baraka*, he must never go to the market and expose himself to the looks of the Jews who are gathered there. Nor are the latter allowed to come near the place at the market where the Moslems sell their grain, so as not to spoil its *baraka*. A Jew must not tread on a threshing-floor nor enter a granary. He must not ride a horse which has on it a Moorish riding-saddle. Nor is a Jew allowed to approach the hives of the bees; nay, I was told by a Berber from Aglu that if a man robs the hives of his bees while he has a Jew as his guest, he will find them empty the next time he goes to them. A Jew once went to Lálla Tákĕrkust at night, sacrificed an animal at the spring, and had his legs bitten by the holy tortoises so that they got cured; but after this the tortoises disappeared, and many sacrifices, including five bullocks sent by the Sultan, were

required to induce them to come back. If the holy spring Iġzer, which is frequented by the saints of Demnat, runs dry, it is a certain sign that some Jew has taken water from it.

Women are dangerous to holiness. No woman is allowed to tread on the threshing-floor when the corn is there, lest she should spoil its *baraka*.[1] Women are commonly, though not everywhere, forbidden to go into granaries;[2] and in some tribes they also have to keep away from the vegetable garden.[3] They are supposed to be injurious to the bees. Should a woman approach their hives they would die (Ait Waráin), or the bees and the *baraka* would leave the place (Ṯemsâmän); and everywhere the robbing is done by men. In the Ḥiáina no woman, except the farmer's wife and anybody she takes with her to help her in her work, must go among the sheep in the afternoon. Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr there are people who do not allow a woman to ride on their horses, mules, or donkeys, for fear lest the animal should suffer by it. In some places, at least, a woman is prohibited from entering a shop, even though she be the wife of the shopkeeper; should she do so, the *baraka* would go away from the shop and there would be no sales. A woman is considered particularly dangerous to holiness when she has her monthly courses and for some time after childbirth; she is then prohibited from visiting all shrines and mosques, praying, and fasting in the month of Ramaḍān.

Sexual uncleanness, however, is not only injurious to *baraka* with which it comes into contact, but may also injure holy persons or objects in a more positive manner; and at the same time the unclean individual himself may be hurt by the contact, not only on account of the resentment which the holy person naturally feels against the defiler, but because *baraka* reacts quite mechanically against pollution, to the destruction or discomfort of the polluted individual. Many facts may be quoted as evidence of these various effects resulting from the contact of sexual uncleanness with *baraka* and of the taboos to which they have given rise.

Thus no sexual act must be committed in a holy place,

[1] *Infra*, ii. 228. [2] *Infra*, ii. 243. [3] *Infra*, ii. 251 *sq.*

a mosque or a shrine, nor is a person who has been polluted by any discharge of sexual matter allowed to enter such a place before he has washed himself. Should he do so he would suffer some misfortune; he would grow blind, or lame, or mad, or he or some member of his family would become ill or die, or he would lose some of his animals, or his corn-crop would be bad. If he enters a mosque, his guardian angels will leave him. I was told that if a person who is not sexually clean visits the tomb of the Aglu saint Sîdi Daud, which is situated on an island, he will find that the water in the sea has suddenly risen to such a height that he cannot go back to the mainland, but has to wait till it has gone down. Nor is a person who is sexually unclean allowed to pray; once when I was staying in Ḥáḥa and the water supply had become extremely scarce, my Berber teacher, who had always before most regularly said his daily prayers, refrained from doing so for a couple of days because his clothes had been defiled by a pollution. While wearing his garb the pilgrim must abstain from sexual intercourse. Owing to its injurious effect upon holiness, an act generally looked upon as sacred would, if performed by an unclean individual, lack that magic efficacy which is otherwise ascribed to it. The Moors say that a scribe is only afraid of evil spirits when he is sexually unclean, because then his reciting of passages of the Koran—the most powerful weapon against such spirits—would be of no avail.

Sexual cleanness is required of those who have anything to do with the corn; for such persons are otherwise supposed to pollute its holiness, and also, in many cases, to do injury to themselves. In most parts of Morocco it is considered necessary for the ploughman to be sexually clean; otherwise there will be no *baraka* in the seed, or there will grow mostly grass and weeds in the field.[1] So also the reapers[2] and anybody who comes to the threshing-floor[3] when the corn is there must be clean; and the same is the case with the women who clear the crops of weeds in the spring, lest their work should be without result and they should become ill

[1] *Infra*, ii. 218 *sq.*

[2] *Infra*, ii. 224.

[3] *Infra*, ii. 229.

themselves.[1] If an unclean person goes into a granary it is believed not only that the grain will lose its *baraka*, but that he himself will fall ill.[2] Nor must an unclean individual enter the vegetable garden, as such a visit would do harm both to the garden and to the person who went there.[3] When a woman is grinding corn she must be clean, lest the flour should be bad.[4] The Jbâla of the tribe of lá-Ḥmaṣ believe that if an unclean person goes into the larder, rats will come and eat the corn, butter, eggs, and other things which are kept there.

In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the cows, sheep, or goats ; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, again, maintain that in similar circumstances the person himself will suffer some misfortune ; and in the Ḥiáina an unclean individual who comes to the place where the sheep are sheared is supposed to get diseased on account of their *baraka*. A person must be clean when he goes to the place where the bees are living ; otherwise they will leave the place or become diseased or produce only a small amount of honey, or there will be worms in the honey, or the bees may even die. But in Andjra I was told that the unclean individual also will have to suffer, being stung by the bees.

The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him : he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina believe that such a rider will never

[1] *Infra*, ii. 223.
[2] *Infra*, ii. 243.
[3] *Infra*, ii. 251.
[4] *Infra*, ii. 244.

come back to his home alive, except on one condition: if a man who is sexually polluted while travelling and has no opportunity to wash himself promises his horse, by speaking in its ear, that he will make an ablution as soon as they come to a place where there is water, then no evil will result from his uncleanness. A scribe from Dukkâla, whom I always found very sincere, was positive that the unclean rider alone, and not the horse, will have to suffer; but all my informants from other parts of the country were of a different opinion: the horse will also be hurt, being particularly liable to get sores on its back. Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean, since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he gives it he should say the *bismillāh*; I was told that these rules owe their origin to the *baraka* of the barley (Ḥiáina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (*ibid.*).

A person who writes a *ḥerz rabbâni* must be sexually clean; and sexual intercourse destroys the magic efficacy of a charm if it is not removed before the act, though some people maintain that a metal case protects a charm from defilement of any kind. Moreover, sexual intercourse is said not only to affect the charm, but also to make the person who wears it ill; and if the charm used by hunters to attract animals is worn by an unclean person he will be haunted by *jnūn* (Ḥiáina). If a person goes out hunting he must be clean anyhow; otherwise the animals and birds will run away from him, and if he fires a shot the gun will burst. Even one unclean individual among a party of hunters will give bad luck to the whole party (Andjra). An unclean person must not even touch a gun; if loaded, it will easily explode in his hand. Sexual intercourse on the sea may wreck the boat; the Moors are consequently much concerned for their own steamers. In Andjra I was told that if an unclean person bathes in the sea *l-mleik ḏe l-bḥar*, "the

angels of the sea ", will run away ; but elsewhere I heard the opinion that a bath in the sea removes sexual uncleanness, even if the defilement has been sevenfold. The Aiṭ Sádděn and the Ait Waráin believe that the wound of a circumcised boy gets inflamed if an unclean person looks at it.

Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious to *baraka*. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca ; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a *jenn* (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn) or urinate blood after his death (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

Baraka may even be polluted by a full stomach. This is the reason why many magical or curative practices, in order to be efficacious, have to be performed before breakfast. In the Ḥiáina fruit and vegetables are, on Midsummer morning, fetched from the orchards and gardens and eaten as breakfast, because there is *baraka* in them ; and the honey which is on the same day obtained from the bee-hives is then or afterwards taken as medicine on an empty stomach. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz maintain that he who has been fasting on the day preceding the Great Feast—the so-called " day of 'Arafa "—as also the following morning, and breaks his fast by eating part of the liver of a sacrificed animal, and in addition to this says a hundred *rek'āt* (forms of prayer), is thereby enabled to pronounce curses of very great efficacy. Generally it is the liver of the sacrificed

animal that is to be eaten first, either roasted or boiled with salt, and in many cases it is partaken of alone without bread.[1] Everywhere in Morocco it is considered meritorious to fast on the day of 'Arafa till sunset; and in many parts of the country it is also held proper that the sacrificial animal should fast on that day, or at least the following morning, till some food is put into its mouth immediately before it is killed. The food most commonly given to it on this occasion is corn or flour, which has a purifying or sanctifying effect, and salt, which drives away evil spirits.[2] The voluntary fasts on other holy days are also held to confer merit on those who keep them; but at least in the case of some of them there is obviously an idea that they make people better able to benefit by the *baraka* of the days on which they are observed.

All sorts of bodily impurity are detrimental to *baraka*. The ablution which is a necessary preparation for prayer is described by the Prophet as "the half of faith and the key of prayer".[3] The performer of it washes his hands, rinses his mouth, snuffs up water from the right hand and then blows the nose with the left, passes both hands filled with water over the face, washes the hands and arms to the elbow, passes the wet hands from the forehead to the nape and twists the forefingers in the ears, and, lastly, washes the feet as high as the ankles. Most of these acts are performed three times successively; and in addition to them the private parts of the body are purified if necessary. When water cannot be procured, the ablution may be accomplished with sand, or by merely placing the hands on some clean stone on the ground and performing the ordinary motions of washing; but in such cases it is not necessary to go through the ceremony in full. Before a religious feast and on Fridays it is appropriate to wash the whole body, and for men and boys to have their heads shaved; in Fez the barbers' shops and the hot baths are kept open throughout the night preceding the Great Feast. There is a saying to the effect that he who has no alms to give on a Friday should give

[1] *Infra*, ii. 120.
[2] *Infra*, ii. 116 *sq.*
[3] Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 3.

water in charity to his back:—*Lli mā jbar mā iṣĕddaq iṣĕddaq l-mā ʿăla ṭáhrŭ.* Ablutions on Fridays are, in fact, according to the Muhammadan traditions, obligatory on all persons who have attained the age of puberty.[1] On the morning of the first day of a religious feast the people dress themselves in clean clothes, and those who can afford it put on new shoes. In some parts of the country it is the custom at the Great Feast to purify the clothes with rose- or orange-water, or to fumigate them with agal-wood (*ʿūd qmâri*) or other incense commonly used for the purpose of keeping off *jnūn*.[2] People should also be dressed in clean clothes on Fridays. It is good to pare the nails on Thursday afternoon or Friday, and nobody is allowed to have long nails when he says his prayer; but if a person leaves the nail parings on the cloth on which he prays, his prayer is of no avail. In this connection should also be mentioned the notion that white is the most suitable colour for holy persons and places. The Sultan is always dressed in white clothes, and the same is generally the case with scribes. So also it is in most places the custom for a bridegroom to wear a white cloak, partly because it is considered to make his life bright, but partly also, I believe, for the sake of purity;[3] and in Andjra it is besides held necessary that the men who surround him should be dressed in white clothes. We have noticed above that saintly places are often whitewashed. A person must keep his gun clean, otherwise he will himself be unclean and miss the mark (Andjra); and Friday is the best day for cleaning a gun.

Among the impurities of the body which may have an injurious effect on *baraka* are also reckoned the breath and, in certain cases, blood. Both among Arabs and Berbers it is forbidden to blow on milk; if it is boiled you should let it cool before you drink, and if there is a fly or a straw in the

[1] Al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, xi. 1. 3, xi. 12. 2 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. i. [Paris, 1903], pp. 290, 294).

[2] *Infra*, ii. 107.

[3] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), pp. 99, 106, 111, 124, 253, 357. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâger, however, he wears a black cloak, presumably because the black colour is regarded as a protection against the evil eye.

milk you may remove it with the finger but must not blow it aside. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz say, *Lí nfaḥ á'la l-lběn išdâgů*, "He who blows upon sour milk will long for it", that is, will not have enough of it. At Tangier and elsewhere there is a similar saying about fresh milk; while the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi maintain that by blowing upon your milk you will cause the death of some of your animals. A scribe from the Ḥiáina told me that rain-water of the *nîsān* loses its *baraka* if it is breathed upon by anybody. For a similar reason a person who is writing a charm must guard it against his breath.

Certain charms have to be removed from those who are going to be bled. The reason I have heard for this is that they prevent the blood from coming out; the most precious of all written charms, the *t'ebrīd*, is tested in this manner. But if a charm prevents the drawing of blood from him who wears it, it may also be a kind of self-protection on the part of *baraka* against pollution. Blood-letting should not take place on a Friday; this is a rule which has the support of the Muhammadan traditions.[1] At Fez and elsewhere (*e.g.*, Dukkâla and Iglíwa) circumcision must not be performed on a Friday, presumably on account of the spilling of blood, but this prohibition is not universal. A manslayer, who is polluted by the blood he has shed, is not allowed to go into a vegetable garden or an orchard, nor to tread on a threshing-floor or enter a granary, nor to go among the sheep, nor to visit a mosque (Ḥiáina). It is a common, although not universal, rule that he must not perform the sacrifice at the Great Feast with his own hands; and in some tribes there is a similar prohibition with reference to a person who has killed a dog, which is an unclean animal.[2] All blood which has left the veins is unclean and haunted by *jnūn*; yet the uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the blood pollution, but also to his sin. The taboos to which he is subject do not refer to those who have shed blood in war. On the other hand, wrongdoing is by itself polluting.[3]

[1] *Mishkāt*, xxi. 1. 3 (English translation by Matthews, vol. ii. [Calcutta, 1810], p. 380).

[2] *Infra*, ii. 118 *sq.*

[3] *Infra*, ii. 12 *sq.*

There are no doubt saints and shereefs who have been habitually and notoriously guilty of great crimes without losing their reputation for sanctity.[1] But it is also said that the *baraka* of a shereef does not remain unimpaired if he robs his neighbour of his property or tells lies or commits other sins. By drinking alcohol a Muhammadan loses the *baraka* of the *īmān*, or "faith", and a scribe loses the memory of the Koran; and it was partly through drink that Mûlăi 'Abdl'ăzîz lost his throne. If milk is offered to a man who is smoking tobacco or Indian hemp (*kīf*) he must throw away the cigarette or lay aside the pipe before he drinks, so as not to defile the milk. It is said that if a scribe refrained from illegitimate sexual intercourse he would be so holy that he could fly. Even other people's sins may be detrimental to holiness. At Fez a person who has *baraka* carefully avoids passing the place where the judge and notaries (*'ădûl*) are sitting, because there is much sin in it—both the sin of the criminals who have been taken there, and the sin of notaries who have written false accusations, and the sin of judges who have passed unjust sentences.

From the time the pilgrim has assumed the *iḥrām*, or pilgrim's garb, until he takes it off, he is not allowed to kill any living creature except the game of the sea[2]—not even the vermin troubling him;[3] a louse which he finds on his body or his dress may be removed by him to another part of it, but must not be thrown away. Nay, even his relatives at home are obliged to refrain from killing lice during the three days preceding the Great Feast and until the sacrifice has been performed, as otherwise some misfortune would befall the pilgrim. In some parts of the country at least, a person must in no circumstances kill a louse either on the day of 'Arafa or on the following morning until the sacrifice has been made. Many holy men avoid killing lice altogether; and persons who are in the habit of praying only kill them

[1] See Doutté, *Notes sur l'Islâm maghribin—Les Marabouts* (Paris, 1900), p. 108; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 378 *sqq.*; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), p. 278 *sqq.*

[2] *Koran*, v. 96 *sq.*

[3] *Cf.* Sell, *The Faith of Islám* (London, 1896), p. 290 *sq.*

after they have removed them from their clothes, or at any rate remove those they have killed before they begin their prayer. Contact with carcasses is polluting. Even meat may have to be kept away from *baraka*. A scribe from the Ḥiáina told me that if meat were brought to the field at ploughing- or reaping-time, the crops would suffer by it; that the shepherd must take no meat with him when he goes out with the animals; and that neither raw meat nor grease must be carried on a horse which has on it a riding-saddle. No European candles, only wax candles or oil, should be used for the illumination of mosques and shrines.

Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean; hence a Moor of the better class often carries under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A *t'ebrīd* loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its *baraka* is irremediably lost (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). Nobody would throw on the ground a paper containing Arabic writing, and should anybody find such a paper on the ground he would pick it up and put it into a hole in a wall to prevent its being walked over. Bread must never be trod upon nor exposed to the uncleanness of the ground. When it is given to a dog it should be put on some clean thing, as a plate or a mat, or be given by the hand, and it should not be offered in large pieces, which the dog might drop on the ground and tread upon. If a person finds a piece of bread on the road

he should pick it up, kiss it, and eat it, or take it home with him or put it in some place where nobody can walk over it; it will "kiss him" in return, that is, he will have much bread, whereas if he leaves it on the ground he will suffer want.[1] Milk must not be poured out on a road, though it may be poured at a place where nobody walks. In order to preserve its magic efficacy the rain-water of the *nîsān* must not touch the ground.[2] The water with which a shereef of the family of the Ûlạd Măṣbaḥ cures a person who has been bitten by a mad dog must, in order to be effective, be kept in a vessel which does not touch the ground.[3] So also the water which is brought from Bâba S'ăid u Ḥsạin's spring in the tribe Ůnzůṭṭ for a similar purpose loses its healing power if the vessel in which it is kept is put on the ground; and the same is the case with the water of Sîdi l-Ḥaum's spring in Jbel Ḥbīb, which is likewise used as a remedy for rabies.[4] We have seen that a bowl containing rain-water in which a written charm is to be soaked must not be placed on the ground.[5] So also the so-called "sultan of the oleanders", which in Andjra is brought to the house shortly before Midsummer day, is not allowed to touch the ground, lest it should be polluted by any impurity.[6] A similar precaution must be taken with the oleander branches which, in the same tribe, are planted as charms in fields or vegetable gardens molested by vermin.[7] An excellent method of securing good luck in hunting is to fumigate oneself with the smoke of dry cow-dung which has been found on leaves or twigs and not on the ground (Andjra).

At a Moorish wedding the bridegroom avoids sitting on the ground, and various measures, described in my book on *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, are taken to prevent the bride from stepping on it.[8] In Andjra a boy who is going to be circumcised is taken to a *sîyĭd* mounted on a mule, and

[1] *Cf.* Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. 127 *sq.* n. 1.
[2] *Infra*, ii. 178 *sq.*
[3] *Supra*, p. 157.
[4] *Supra*, p. 167.
[5] *Supra*, p. 213.
[6] *Supra*, p. 109; *infra*, ii. 191.
[7] *Supra*, p. 109.
[8] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Ground.

on his arrival there he is lifted down and carried into the sanctuary; and I was expressly told that he is not allowed to walk on account of his *baraka*, even though old enough to do so. The Sultan of Morocco walks about in his gardens, but he is not seen walking in public, except when he visits a shrine; then he dismounts at the entrance of the *ḥorm*, and it would evidently be dangerous for him not to do so. When a late sultan, Sîdi Mûḥámmed XVIII., rode to the Qaṣbah of Tangier, his horse fell down in the vicinity of a place where the saint Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Báqqal was sitting; and the cause of the accident is said to have been that he did not dismount although his attention was drawn to the presence of the saint. But I have also been told that his son and successor, Mûlăi l-Ḥaṣaṇ, died because he had attended the funeral of his old nurse on foot a few days before he started on the expedition from which he never returned. In country places, as we have seen, it is the custom for a returning pilgrim to ride, and this may also have something to do with the fear of contact with the ground; at Tangier he is carried by his friends over the threshold of his house and put down on his bed, and in explanation of this it was said that a pilgrim, with the dust of the holy places in his clothes, is still holier than a bride, who is also carried across the threshold. Of Mûlăi Ismā'îl's holy horses which had been to Mecca, Busnot wrote: "The Slaves that attend them are to take special Care to observe when they have occasion to empty themselves, that they may be ready with a Vessel, so as nothing may fall to the Ground".[1] Owing to the impurities of the ground, slippers which have been used in walking are unclean, and must therefore be removed when the person who wears them is going to pray or before he enters a mosque, a shrine, or, in many cases, even its *ḥorm*,[2] a *záwia*, a threshing-floor, a granary, the place where the sheep are being sheared (Ḥiáina), or the place where the

[1] Busnot, *The History of the Reign of Muley Ismael* (London, 1715), p. 55 *sq.* *Cf.* St. Olon, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1695), p. 57.

[2] The descendants of the saint may keep on their slippers until they enter the shrine in cases where ordinary visitors have to remove theirs when they enter the *ḥorm*.

bees have their hives (Aiṭ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). If he enters a mosque with the slippers on, it is said that the devil enters with them. They should also be removed before eating; if a person sits down and eats with his slippers on, his father or mother will soon die. Those who are shooting at targets must not only be clean but must have removed their slippers; and the onlookers as well must all be barefooted.

There are many other dangers to which *baraka* or persons, animals, and objects possessed of it, are exposed. They are in many cases particularly susceptible to magical tricks, the attacks of *jnūn*, and the evil eye. Of this I have elsewhere given numerous instances referring to bride and bridegroom.[1] It is said that religious people are much haunted by *jnūn*.[2] The faithful is remembered by God—*L-mûmĕn hûwa li t'fĕkkrû rábbi*; therefore he is visited with disease or misfortune, which removes sin—*L-mûmĕn mûṣāb*. Irreligious people, on the other hand, are like pigs, which are never struck by *jnūn*. Infants and boys when they are circumcised have to be carefully guarded, by charms and otherwise, against the evil eye and *jnūn*.[3] At Tangier, schoolboys are prohibited from going to the sea-shore, the slaughtering-place, and the market in the early morning, lest they should be hurt by angry spirits. A scribe from the Rīf told me that if schoolboys go to the men's market before they have learned the whole of the Koran, their *baraka* will leave them. Horses and greyhounds are much exposed to the evil eye,[4] while sheep are sometimes haunted by *jnūn*.[5] Precautions are taken to protect the sacrificial animal at the Great Feast from those spirits.[6] Corn has to be safeguarded from *jnūn*, the evil eye, and witchcraft.[7] A pinch of salt or rue or harmel is sometimes used to prevent the *jnūn* from spoiling the *baraka* of a written charm; and for the same reason a

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Bride, Bridegroom.

[2] *Cf.* Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. (Leiden, 1896), p. 199.

[3] *Infra*, ii. 418 *sqq.* [4] *Infra*, i. 421. [5] *Infra*, i. 277.

[6] *Infra*, ii. 117. [7] *Infra*, Chapter XVI. *passim*.

person must remove the charms he wears before he enters a hot bath, which is always held to be haunted by *jnūn*. In the relations between *baraka* and the *jnūn*, however, there are many inconsistencies; for in very many cases *baraka*, especially the *baraka* of holy words, is itself used as a charm against them.[1]

Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions. It is bad to carry milk from one house to another—the animals may be affected by it (Andjra); or to do so is, at least in certain circumstances, attended with danger. A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from *jnūn* (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Ṯemsâmän), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). If milk is given to a neighbour he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Waráin, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi, Ṯemsâmän). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are

[1] *Infra*, i. 311–313. 327 *sqq*.

carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Aiṯ Nḏēr), or not between enemies (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain circumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden (Ṯemsâmän): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Waráin). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marráksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his *ḏmīn*, who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the *bismillāh*. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Nḏēr), three (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Tsūl), or even seven (Aiṯ Wäryâġer) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Ḥiáina, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Nḏēr) or the third (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Tsūl) as well. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called *aḏḥas*) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the *aḏḥas*, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow. The Tsūl believe that if a visitor is asked to eat of the boiled biestings, some member of the household will die in consequence, whereas there is no such danger if he comes and eats of them uninvited. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi the

mistress of the tent is the first to partake of the boiled biestings (*aḍǧăṣ*, a name given to the biestings whether boiled or not). Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr the women should eat first, because then the cow will in the future give birth to heifers only, and a small portion of the boiled milk should also be given to the dog of the tent. The Ait Waráin let the children of the household eat of it before anybody else. In Andjra the calf is not allowed to have any of the first milk of the cow, because it is supposed that it would kill it. From the second to the seventh day inclusive the people of Andjra let the milk turn sour, and on the eighth day butter is made of it; this butter, which is called *ᵃjum'ḍia*, is given to the *fqī* of the village. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz butter is made of the biestings from the fourth to the seventh day; this butter must not be taken outside the tent but is eaten inside, mixed with bread which has been crumbled and steamed. On the seventh day the neighbours come to the tent to partake of this dish, which is called *lĕ-mḥaijibāṯ*, in company with the inhabitants of the tent—a meal which corresponds to the feast after the birth of a child. In the Ḥiáina, if a sheep has lambed or a goat has kidded, its milk is boiled, and must not be taken out of the house on that day, lest the animal should be hurt by the evil eye; but on the following day the milk is not boiled and may be carried out of the house, contrary to the rules observed when a cow has calved.

Certain rules are observed when the first butter of the year is made. In the Ḥiáina, when the people have a sufficient quantity of milk, generally in January, but sometimes even as early as October, they commence their churning on a Wednesday and continue it on the two following days. During this time neither the butter nor the buttermilk must be taken out of the house for fear of the evil eye. On the evening of the third day (Friday) the people of the house have a feast, with the *fqī* of the village as guest, the meal consisting of *ṣáikūk*, that is, *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksû*) mixed with buttermilk; this is called *'örs l-lben*, "the wedding of the buttermilk". On the evening of the following day (Saturday) the people, with the *fqī*, eat *ṭă'âm* made with butter, no buttermilk being mixed with it, though it may be drunk

separately; the dish is called *le-mḥejibîyāt*^{s}, but only on this occasion, which is, as it were, the wedding of the butter. All the butter must now be consumed. After the meals on both evenings the people say as a blessing, *Ălláh iqáuwi ûmmât*^{s}*u*, "May God strengthen the mother of it" (that is, on the former occasion the buttermilk, and on the latter occasion the butter).

The Aiṯ Yúsi make first for three days cheese and then for three other days butter, commencing the churning by preference on a Friday, because they think that it thereby becomes safe from witchcraft. For the same reason they, during these days, neither remove the butter from the churn (*ṯägʸnärṯ*) nor take the buttermilk (*aġġû anddu*) out of the tent or house. This butter is called *ṯimḥjubîyin*, and the same name is given to the feast they make after kneading pieces of thin cakes, still hot, with the butter, a dish called *ṯärffisṯ*. A portion of it is sent to the *fqī* of the mosque, if there is a mosque in the village, and the rest is eaten in the tent or house with invited friends, the mistress of the place being the first to partake of it. After the meal the people make *fâṭḥa*, calling down blessings on the milk and on themselves. The woman who removes the butter from the churn smears a little of it on her cheeks, a custom for which no reason was given. The Aiṯ Sádděn make butter for seven days, without making any cheese previously. During this time neither the fresh milk (*aġġû ákffa*) nor the buttermilk (*aġġû anddu*) nor the butter must be taken out of the tent or house. The buttermilk is drunk at any time, but the butter, which is every day removed from the churn (*ṯäḫššulṯ*), is preserved till the seventh day, when they make a feast, called *lemḥejîbät*—a term also used for the butter. *Ṯärffisṯ* is made, the whole lot of it must be eaten, and the meal is followed by a *fâṭḥa*; but, contrary to the practice of the Aiṯ Yúsi, nothing of the *ṯärffisṯ* must be taken out of the place, and the *fqī* of the village, instead of being served in the mosque, partakes of the food together with the people of the household and the other guests—relatives of both sexes and the big men of the village. Among the Aiṯ Nḍēr, the owner of the tent in which butter is made treats all the men

and youths of the village to *sĕksŭ* and buttermilk on the day when the churning commences. They do not eat all together—the tent would not be large enough for such a feast—but partake of the food as they happen to come. After finishing the meal, each one cleans the spoon with which he has eaten by rubbing it upon the shepherd's clothes, instead of licking it as usual. They make *fâṭḥa*, calling down blessings on the host and his animals, so that there shall be much milk and butter. For seven days no butter or buttermilk must be taken out of the tent; a transgression of this rule would cause the death of animals or people. Nor must any portion of the butter be eaten during these days. But on the evening of the seventh day the inhabitants of the tent eat all the butter which has been made, unless it is too much for them. In the latter case they may eat what is left on the following morning or afterwards, but nothing of it must be mixed with other butter or taken out of the tent.

The Aṯ Ubáḫṯi first make cheese (*ddjben*) for seven days, and eat it in the evening, so that nothing is left when the week has passed. On the day when the churning commences all the neighbours are invited to the tent to partake of a meal consisting of *sĕksŭ* and buttermilk (*aġi áseммaṃ*) —the men and boys of the village first and the women afterwards; and *fâṭḥa* is made with blessings called down on the animals. This feast is called *lḥauḍ ńnbi*. On the evening of the seventh day the people of the tent have a meal, called *ṯijm'ĕiyin*, of which nobody else partakes, except perhaps some casual guest or one or two invited friends. If any portion of butter is left after this meal, it must in no case be mixed with butter made subsequently. During the week when cheese is made no cheese must be taken out of the tent, and during the first week of churning no butter, lest the animals should suffer; and on the first day the same rule applies to the buttermilk. The churning commences on a Thursday, or also on a Friday, though Thursday is the better day.

Certain precautions are also taken subsequently when butter is made. A man must not touch the churn; as he

has no milk himself, the churn would become dry if he touched it (Ḥiáina). The Aiṯ Yúsi keep in the churn a piece of sulphur for the whole period during which butter is made as a charm against witchcraft. For the same purpose, or in order to increase the quantity of butter, the woman who pours the milk into the churn or churns stirs it with the tip of the tongue of a slaughtered cow or ox, which she has cut off and dried and salted; and she repeats this ceremony whenever she pours milk into a churn, but she must do it secretly. Or she mixes together some *tof ṭṭărba* (*Lavandula stœchas* or *Teucrium Chamœpitys*), tartar (*ṭṭărḍār*), alum (*azarif*), and ashes (*iġḏ*) from the fire burned on New Year's eve (*ḥagûza*), and puts the mixture into a piece of bamboo, which she seals and hangs on the handle of the churn and leaves there for the whole churning season. The Ait Temsâmän fumigate the churn (*aqšror*) with *Atractylis gummifera* (*addäḏ*) as a protection from witchcraft and in order that there shall be much butter. The people of Andjra protect their milk and butter from witchcraft by fumigating the vessels with the smoke of lavender (*ḥálḥal*), *Teucrium Chamœpitys* (*šengdûra*), and a burned hoopoe (*hắḏhäḏ*; *Upupa epops*). The Ait Waráin hang the right wing of a bat on the churn to counteract any spell cast on the milk. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, if the people of a village do not get the ordinary quantity of butter from their milk and consequently suspect that it has been bewitched, all the households in the village are compelled to mix together their milk on a Friday; this milk is divided between the various households, and each of them has to mingle its portion with its own milk; should anybody refuse to mix his milk with that of the others, he would be accused of having bewitched the milk and be punished for it. There are similar customs in Berber tribes. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi the various households mix together a small portion of their milk, and this mixture is then divided between them and mingled with the milk of which butter is made. This is supposed to counteract the spell; if it does not do so the churn and the vessel in which the milk is kept are smoked with excrements of a dog, and if this also proves ineffective some excrements of

a hyena, enveloped in a piece of skin or a rag, are hung on the churn. Besides practices intended to protect the butter from witchcraft [1] there are others intended to increase its quantity, which will be mentioned in a subsequent chapter; [2] but in certain cases it is difficult or impossible to distinguish between the two objects.

The *baraka* which produces butter is very liable to be stolen. Among the Tsūl a woman goes to seven houses and takes a splinter from the threshold of each house; she buys seven different spices, the names of which must all be masculine; and she hangs the splinters and the spices enveloped in a piece of calico on her churn. The result will be that she will have much butter, whereas those from whose thresholds she took the splinters will have none. The same thing will happen if she goes on a Wednesday night when the moon is at full to another person's house and takes from there some ashes and bran of barley, which she then puts underneath her own milk-jar. But she will have to remove the spell if the woman who has been thus robbed of her butter compels all the households in the village to mix together some of their milk and pour a portion of the mixture in their milk-jar; since otherwise her own milk also would be bewitched. In the Faḥṣ an old woman goes at night to the *amraḥ*, or place in the village where the cattle, sheep, and goats are gathered in the morning before they go to the pastures and on their return in the evening. She takes with her a sickle and walks over the *amraḥ* reaping in the air, thus reaping the *baraka* which produces the butter. She picks up some small pieces of wood or twigs which she finds in the *amraḥ* and burns them underneath her milk-jar (*l-qádra de l-ḥlīb*) so as to fumigate it with their smoke. Then the butter-producing *baraka* of the *amraḥ* will go into her milk-jar, because the animals have walked over the rubbish she is burning, and the other households in the village will have no butter at all. In Andjra women commit the same sort of robbery, though their methods differ.[3] Among the Aiṯ Nḏēr, if a woman wants to rob her neighbours' sheep of their milk, she gathers in the morning some dry grass or

[1] See also *infra*, ii. 169. [2] *Infra*, ii. 297 *sqq*. [3] *Infra*, ii. 170.

herbs or sticks from the roads along which the flocks have just walked after being milked, or she does the same in the evening from places over which they are going to walk when they come back from the pastures to be milked. She hangs a little of the rubbish she has gathered, enveloped in a small piece of calico, on her own churn and burns the rest of it at the mouth of the churn so that the smoke enters through it, with the result that she will have much butter and her neighbours hardly any. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz believe that a person's cattle will absorb the milk of another person's cattle if they pass between the latter and the tent of their owner; hence the people of the tent will object to it by saying, *Bagrâtkum yiddíů ḳlīb bagrâtna*, "Your cows will take the milk of our cows". The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi have a similar belief: if a person's sheep in the afternoon when they return to the village pass between the sheep and the tent of another person, even though the distance between them be considerable, the milk of the latter person's flock is supposed to be absorbed by the passing sheep, unless they are taken back the same way as they came. Among the same tribe, if a donkey, with its forelegs tied to prevent its running away, comes jumping among the sheep and goats while being milked, some hairs are pulled out from its skin and buried at the place, and if a donkey on the same occasion passes through the flock it must, besides, be taken back through it.

In these rules relating to milk and butter we have fresh evidence of the fact that *baraka* is not only particularly susceptible to influences which are generally injurious, but that it is affected or influenced by various acts or omissions which are otherwise perfectly harmless. Many other instances of this might be added. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr a woman is not allowed to pass a flock of sheep with an empty waterskin, because it would cause death among the sheep; but in other tribes she must not pass them with such a skin whether it be empty or full (Ait Waráin, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or in the latter case she must at all events avoid showing them its rope, which would suggest the idea of taking a sheep to the market for sale (Ḥiáina). I was told that the reason why a waterskin must not be seen by the sheep is that it is made

of black goatskin (Ait Waráin); but among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi it must not be seen by them even if it is white. In the Ḥiáina and various Berber tribes in Central Morocco (Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḏēr), a sieve must not be seen by the sheep, but anybody who has to pass them with it must hide it underneath his clothes.[1] In some tribes the shepherd must even refrain from handling a sieve, as also from touching the ladle which is used for stirring the food in the earthenware pot of the household, lest he should break the legs of the sheep and goats when he throws stones at them to keep them in order (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi). When he goes out with the flock he is not allowed to take with him *ṭûrifṭ* (in Arabic *gḕlya*), consisting of roasted wheat with the addition of salt and water (Ait Nḏēr)—a kind of food which is also considered to be injurious to the future crop if made in the season when the wheat is sown; it is said that in such a case the grain resulting from the sown wheat would likewise have the appearance of having been roasted (*ibid.*, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin). When a woollen *jĕlḷáḅ* is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

When a person is on a pilgrimage to Mecca the members of his family at home are not allowed to throw water out of the house on the day of 'Arafa; if they did, they would have the sad news that their friend had died on his pilgrimage. Nor must they weep on that day, nor beat the children so as to make them weep. They must also refrain from washing their clothes, painting themselves with henna, and having their heads shaved. While the pilgrim is wearing his garb no razor must touch his skin, nor must he cut his nails, and the garb itself is seamless, since no needle must have come into contact with it. There are other instances in which *baraka* has to be guarded against contact with steel. A horse with a bridle in its mouth must not be taken to the place where the sheep are being sheared; if a person comes there riding he must remove the bridle (Ḥiáina). When a written charm is sewn up in a leather case it must

[1] See *infra*, ii. 250.

on no account be pierced by the needle, lest the *baraka* of the writing should be spoiled. The corn which remains on the patch of the field which is left untouched by the reapers must not be cut with the sickle but must be picked with the hand.[1] It is commonly held sinful to cut bread with a knife; though I have also been told that it is only forbidden to do so with a knife which has been stained with human blood (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). Even to break bread for a meal is bad: he who does so will age soon, unless his name is Můḥámmed (Tangier). Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâger a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Brâber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread. It is true that among these Berbers, for example the Aiṯ Sádděn, bread is bought and sold at their markets, but this is done by Arabs only. It is a widespread belief that a hunter will lose his luck in hunting if he sells an animal he has shot or caught, although he may give it away as a present (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aiṯ Nḏēr, Iglíwa, Aglu).

A written charm must be handled with care so as not to lose its *baraka*. The wax applied to it and the cover with which it is provided are intended to protect it from injurious influences, and the stronger the cover the better it protects the charm. If a person travels with a charm which has not yet been enclosed in a case, he puts it inside a piece of bread to preserve its *baraka*; and this precaution is considered particularly necessary if he should cross a river or water-course, since the *baraka* of a charm is very sensitive to water or dampness (Ḥiáina). Should the writing be in the slightest degree affected by water it would lose its efficacy (Tangier, Andjra, Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). The importance of covering up the charm is expressed in the saying, *L-ḥăjáb ḥájbů iḥájbäk*, "Hide the charm [and] it will hide you" (Tangier). But the cover is not in all circumstances sufficient to preserve its efficacy. The charm becomes useless if it is stepped over

[1] *Infra*, ii. 225 *sq.*

by a man, a dog, a fowl, a horse, a mule, or a donkey; and the same is the case if it is worn by a person who drinks alcohol, or has sexual intercourse, or enters a hot bath, or also by one who visits an unclean place like a brothel or a place where wine is sold or a Jewish cemetery. I am told, however, that in such cases the charm may retain its *baraka* if its owner has forgotten to remove it and as soon as he remembers his omission leaves the place; and some people maintain that a metal case, in most cases, protects a charm from defilement of any kind, as well as from any effects of water and sunshine. But a *t*ebrīd*, though kept in a silver case, not only loses its magic power if the individual who wears it is not clean, but does not always protect a man who is himself shooting. A *t*qāf* may lose its efficacy if it is seen or found by the person against whom it is directed, or if a counter-charm is written with a view to making it ineffective. And the *baraka* of any charm is lost if it be opened and read; indeed, it must never be read by anybody but the person who writes it.

The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramaḍān; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). While writing the charm he is not allowed to say a word; for *baraka* is affected by speaking, especially speaking aloud, whereas there is magic power in silence:—*Ṣ-ṣûmt*s ḥékma u mḛ́nnû t*fårrqat*s l-ḥkeim*. An incantation over a sick person must be recited in an inaudible voice. Bride and bridegroom must be silent or only speak in a whisper.[1] The man who measures the corn after it has been threshed and winnowed must not count aloud, and nobody else who is present is permitted to speak at all.[2] In the Ḥiáina the person who goes to the place of the bees

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 129, 203, 207, 212, 221, 234, 244, 253, 323. The Ait Temsâmän believe that if the bride speaks while being taken to her new home on the back of an animal the crops will be bad.

[2] *Infra*, ii. 238.

(*d-dwîra mtʿā' n-nḥäl*) to rob them of their honey must not speak to anybody, nor must anybody speak to him, lest the *baraka* should disappear; and silence must, for the same reason, be observed while the butter is being churned. Should anybody say a word on the occasion when butter, oil, corn, or honey is seen to increase by itself owing to its abundant *baraka*, this process would stop at once. The Ait Waráin, again, believe that if a person speaks at the threshing-floor when the heap of grain is swelling because there is *qazqûza* in it, he will die or be paralysed, being struck by *jnūn*. Once a woman who was alone in her house saw a gold thread in the window. She began to wind it up, but it never came to an end. Thus she went on winding it until somebody knocked at the door and she asked who it was. Then the thread suddenly finished, because the *qazqûza* which was in it left it on account of her speaking.

Baraka is easily affected even by other *baraka*. The Moors say that holiness must not meet holiness—*L-baraka ma ttʿlâqa mʿa l-baraka*. In certain tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez butter (Ḥiáina), oil (*ibid.*, Ait Waráin), or tar (Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Sádděn) must not be carried on a saddled horse. Two saddles kept at the same place must not be facing each other (Ḥiáina). If anybody rides on a saddled horse among a flock of sheep, some of the sheep will die (Ait Waráin). If two flocks of sheep belonging to different persons meet or pass each other in the yard (*mraḥ*), a silver bracelet (*démlīj*) must be put between them, lest some of the animals should die; and if two persons' sheep have been tended by the same shepherd they must, when they come back to the village in the evening, be separated from each other so as not to spend the night together (Ḥiáina). I was told that sheep are excluded from the threshing-floor because *baraka* must not come into contact with other *baraka* (*ibid.*). For the same reason it is bad to brush your bed with your clothes (*ibid.*). The Ulâd Bůʿăzîz refrain from washing wool and weaving from the 1st to the 12th of the month of the ʿÂšūr, between the 1st and the 18th of the month of the Mûlūd, from the 27th of Ramaḍān till the end of the Little Feast, and during the week of the Great Feast and the

preceding ten days, with the exception that the wool of the sacrificed sheep is washed on the third day of the feast. In the same tribe I was told that if a greyhound eats camel's flesh it will become ill and die; there is *baraka* in both.

In the Ġarbîya no grinding must be done on a Friday. In Fez and elsewhere [1] no wedding is celebrated on that day; among the Ait Waráin this is the only day of the week on which a bride must not be brought to her new home. The butter which is made on a Friday is often subject to special rules. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz do not put it into their butter jars but give it to the schoolmaster of the village three times in the spring, to the shepherd (*sårăḥ*), or to poor people; otherwise there would be no *baraka* in their butter. I was told that it is a general custom among the Shlöḥ to give the butter churned on three Fridays to the schoolmaster, and in Masst and Aglu the churnings of three consecutive Fridays in spring are also given to the descendants of Lålla Råḥma Yusf, whose tomb is in Masst. The Aiṭ Nḍēr likewise give away butter churned on Fridays to the schoolmaster, to poor people, to some shereef, or to scribes,—but it may also be eaten by people of the household, though it must not be mixed with the other butter. It was said to be like the alms which are set aside when the corn is measured, to be given away to the poor, widows, scribes, or shereefs, as there otherwise would be no *baraka* in the grain; but with this difference, that the owner of it is not allowed to eat of the portion thus set aside. Each household, however, must give to the schoolmaster the butter made on three Fridays. Among the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi all the butter made on Fridays in the various tents of the village is given to the schoolmaster, if there is one; otherwise it is given to visiting shereefs, scribes, or poor people, or it is eaten fresh by the inhabitants of the tent, who only have to take care that it is not mixed with their other butter. It was said to be alms on behalf of the dead. The Aiṭ Yúsi keep the butter made on a Friday for the entertainment of guests, and must likewise refrain from mixing it with other butter. The idea underlying these rules is, undoubtedly, that the holiness of Friday should not come

[1] See also Addison, *West Barbary* (Oxford, 1671), p. 183.

into contact with butter made on other days of the week, because it would be injurious to the latter in accordance with the saying that *baraka* must not meet other *baraka*. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

In Andjra it is believed that a schoolboy who sits down in a *mudd* — a wooden measure used for measuring grain and therefore participating in its holiness—will not learn anything more by heart, or that a child by doing so shortens its life. Schoolboys and students who have not yet completed their study of the Koran must keep away from a *măṭmūr*, or subterranean granary, lest they should become unable to learn anything more, or cease to grow. And if a schoolboy spits on his writing-board he will likewise become indocible or he will have a sore mouth. At Fez a schoolboy who is carrying in the street his writing-board with his lesson written on it hides it underneath his clothes, since otherwise he would not be able to learn the lesson in case he met a horse ; but the same would also happen if he met a mule or a donkey, neither of which is a holy animal. If two bridal processions meet, one of the brides may die in consequence.[1] If a young mother meets another young mother before the children are forty days old, it is bad both for the mother and the child, and may result in the death of one of them.[2] It is well known that holy men are much inclined to quarrel when they meet.[3]

In this connection it may also be worth while to remember the reaction of the sea against the recitation of sacred passages and its antipathy to the Sultan ;[4] for in spite of its somewhat rebellious character the sea is all the same a saint, so that in these cases also holiness should not meet holiness. I was expressly told that should the Sultan of Morocco travel on sea he would lose his *baraka* and at the same time his throne. Again, the custom which requires the Sultan to be shaded by the shereefian umbrella is associated with the idea that sunshine is injurious to holi-

[1] *Infra*, ii. 8.
[2] *Infra*, ii. 399.
[3] *Cf.* H. Basset, *op. cit.* p. 283 *sqq.*
[4] *Supra*, p. 92.

ness, and has most probably been so from the beginning. The umbrella or parasol, as an emblem of royalty, was carried over the Assyrian kings, and it is never represented on the bas-reliefs as borne over any other persons.[1] It was subsequently adopted by the Persian kings and the Caliphs of Baghdad,[2] and passed as an heritage to the Shereef of Mecca [3] and the Sultan of Morocco. Sunshine is, in various cases, held to be destructive to holiness. The rain-water of the *nîsān* loses its *baraka* if the sun is allowed to shine on it.[4] The vessel containing water from Sîdi l-Ḥaum's spring, which is to be used as a cure for rabies,[5] must not be exposed to the rays of the sun. The same is the case with the water in which a written charm is soaked.[6] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its *baraka* if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), and the reason given for it was that *baraka* must not meet *baraka* (Ḥiáina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled by sunlight (*ibid.*). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.[7]

In many instances fire is considered injurious to *baraka*. A written charm must not be held over the fire to dry. The laurel and the myrtle must not be burned on account of their holiness; although laurel leaves are sometimes boiled in water, which is then given to a sick person or animal to drink as medicine (Andjra). Among the Iglíwa and at Aglu a woman carrying fire must not pass through a flock of sheep,

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. (London, 1849), p. 326 *sq.*; Tallqvist, *Konungen med Guds näde* (Helsingfors, 1920), p. 64 *sq.*

[2] Hahn, 'Der Sonnenschirm als Königssymbol und die Einführung des Rosenkranzes in Westeuropa', in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (Leiden, 1903), pp. 31, 34; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. (Wien, 1877), p. 218 n. 2.

[3] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London, 1829), p. 226 *sq.*

[4] *Infra*, ii. 178.

[5] *Supra*, p. 167.

[6] *Supra*, p. 213. See also *supra*, pp. 211, 214; *infra*, ii. 585.

[7] See 'Index', *s.v.* Sunrise, and also *s.v.* Sunshine.

lest they should get the itch. In the Ḥiáina fire must not be taken at night to the place where the sheep are kept, lest the jackal should come and eat the lambs; this prohibition also applies to lamps and candles, but not to lanterns. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz believe that if fire is made amidst a flock of sheep the wool will be bad. To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Ḥiáina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shāwîa, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). A scribe from the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the *ḏaqnušṯ*, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the *aqăšrōr*, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi). Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter. A piece of burning wood must not be thrown out of the house when it is raining; it would blind the angels accompanying the raindrops (Ḥiáina). Nobody should throw a louse into the fire.[1]

On the other hand there are also many cases in which fire, instead of being destructive to *baraka*, has no power

[1] *Infra*, ii. 360.

over a holy person or object.[1] Thus a descendant of Sîdi Ráḥḥal puts a burning candle into his mouth or touches his arm with fire without hurting himself; and if he fills his mouth with boiling water it is, when he spits it out, either hot or cold, just as he likes. I saw the latter of these miracles performed in my own house by a guest who asked me to say myself whether I wanted the water to be hot or cold; and another descendant of Sîdi Ráḥḥal, who was my servant, showed me how he could with impunity touch his skin with burning wool. The followers of Sîdi Ḥmed ben 'Abdṣṣâdaq of Tafilelt take a bundle of wax-candles into the mouth without burning themselves, and after removing them blow off a big flame. The followers of Sîdi 'Abdúllah d-Dâds, the Ûlâd Ḫlîfa, whose ancestor was a *ḫdîm* of Sîdi Mḥámmed ben 'Êsa, and the descendants of Sîdi Ḥmed ben Yíffû lick red-hot iron without burning the tongue. Some time ago, when the reputed saint Sîdi Mâ'u l-'Ain from Shĕngiṭ in the Sahara visited Mogador, it happened that a man who had just before bought a piece of meat at the market and put it into his bag, met the saint in the street and went with him to his house to pray together with him. When he afterwards wanted to boil the meat he found that it would not cook even though it was kept over the fire the whole night; and when he told the saint about it the latter said:—"Fire has no power over meat which people have with them while they are praying in my company. Take the meat and bury it in the graveyard". Persons who have caught pigeons at the shrine of Mûlăi 'Abdúllah ben Ḥsáyĭn at Tamṣloḥt, in the neighbourhood of Marráksh, have found it impossible to cook them even by keeping them over the fire for hours. Dry branches which have fallen down from Sîdi Bûmhădi's argan tree at Bûzărz in the Ait Ba'ămran in Sûs do not burn. In Dukkâla I heard that the same is the case with sticks cut from the wood round Mûlăi 'Abdsslam's grave in

[1] For instances of this among eastern Muhammadans see von Mülinen, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxx. (Leipzig, 1907), p. 186; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, ii. (London, 1832), p. 315.

the Bni 'Ăroṣ, as also with anything else brought from there ; if the tent in which such a stick is kept burns down, the stick remains. He who has made a pilgrimage to Mûläi 'Abdsslam's shrine is even said to have thereby insured his bones against hell-fire (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Tangier). I was told that although the wood on l-'Aqba l-ḥámra, south of Tangier, has many times been on fire, the trees growing on the graves of the *mujāḥédīn* buried there have never been touched by the fire.[1] In this connection I cannot help mentioning a little episode which occurred in a village in Andjra where I had shortly before spent some months. When the Government sent a company of soldiers to burn the village as a punishment for the rebelliousness of its inhabitants, and especially of my host, the cottage in which I had been living was the only one which was not damaged by the fire ; and this gave rise to a rumour regarding myself which my modesty forbids me to repeat.

The idea that *baraka* or individuals or objects possessed of it are very susceptible to harmful influences, especially those of a supernatural kind, is undoubtedly closely connected with the idea that *baraka* itself contains a seed of evil, which may be dangerous not only to other persons or things but to its own possessor. These ideas are due to that feeling of uncanniness in which the conception of the supernatural itself has its root, and from which it can never be wholly disassociated. In this respect there is a resemblance between *baraka* and uncleanness, which likewise belongs to the sphere of the mysterious or supernatural. But there is also another point of resemblance between them. As *baraka*, though chiefly of a beneficial nature, may in certain circumstances be a cause of evil, so uncleanness, though chiefly of an injurious nature, may in certain circumstances be a cause of good ; it is like a poison which sometimes, taken in small doses, acts as a remedy. To take a few examples. An unclean individual like a Jew may make the plants in a vegetable garden grow by touching them

[1] The so-called "trees of the forty [saints]" at Carmel in Palestine cannot be set on fire, but anybody who tried to burn them would himself be destroyed by the fire (von Mülinen, *loc. cit.* p. 186).

with a stick or flicking their leaves with his fingers.[1] A homicide is supposed to be able to cure certain illnesses,[2] and there is likewise curative power in a place where a person has been murdered.[3] Curative or other beneficial effects are in certain cases ascribed to unclean substances, such as excrements of animals which are forbidden to be used as food, or even to those of man.[4]

The idea of uncleanness has brought us to the region of *l-bạs* (*l-bạ̄s*, *l-bās*), or evil influences. The chief attitude of the Moors in their relations to the world of mystery may be thus summed up: they endeavour to benefit by the *baraka* and to escape the *bạs*. I shall now proceed to a discussion of various kinds of evil influences, beginning with the spirit representatives of the *bạs*, the *jnūn*.

[1] *Infra*, ii. 252.
[2] *Infra*, i. 326, ii. 11, 404 n. 1.
[3] *Infra*, i. 326, ii. 558 *sq*.
[4] *Infra*, ii. 23 *sq*

CHAPTER IV

THE *JNŪN* (*JINN*): THEIR NATURE AND DOINGS

THE Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called *jinn* or *jānn*, in Morocco generally *jnūn* or *ᵈjnūn*, the singulars of which are *jẹnn* and *ᵈjẹnn*. A female spirit of this class is called *jẹnnîya* or *ᵈjẹnnîya*. When the definite article precedes these words it is in ordinary speech assimilated with the initial consonant, *l-jẹnn* and *l-jnūn* becoming *j-jẹnn* and *j-jnūn*, or *ᵈ-ᵈjẹnn* and *ᵈ-ᵈjnūn*; but scribes speak of *l-jänn* or *l-ᵈjänn* and *l-jūnûn* or *l-ᵈjūnûn*. In Shelḥa, where the article preceding a noun borrowed from Arabic has lost its significance and become part of the noun itself, the corresponding name for a *jẹnn* is *ljẹ̈nn*, and for *jnūn ljnūn*. The Rifians of the Aiṭ Wäryâġer and Ṯemsâmän use the words *jjẹ̈nn* and *jjnūn*, the Aṯ Ubáḫṭi *ᵈᵈjẹ̈nn* and *ᵈᵈjnūn*. A *jẹnnîya* is in the last-mentioned tribe called *ṯajẹnniḫṯ*, among the Aiṭ Yúsi *ṯajẹ̈nnīṯ*, among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer *ḏäjenniṯ*.

Various other names are given to these spirits. A common name is *roḥānîyin* (*roḥ̣ānîyin*; in Shelḥa *rroḥanîyin*) or *rwáḥ̣an*, sing. *roḥâni* (*roḥ̣âni*). I have heard it said that this is the name of those *jnūn* only who live between the earth and the sky, but generally it is applied to all *jnūn* indiscriminately. A general term for the *jnūn* is also *lĕ-mlūk* (*l-mlūk*), "the owners", which is used particularly, though not exclusively, by persons who have direct communication with them. They are invariably called so by the Gnáwa, who also have special names for the children of the *jnūn*—

dḥôša, sing. *daḥš*, for the boys, and *dáḥšāt*ˢ, sing. *dáḥša*, for the girls, meaning "the foals of donkeys". Other names given to the *jnūn* are *sādátna* or *siḏádna*, "our lords"; *rijāl l-ḫafîya* or *rjāl l-maḫfîya*, "the men of the hidden"; *lé-jwäd* (*l-jwaḍ*), "the bountiful"; *l-msélmīn*, "the Moslemin"; *mwâlīn l-arḍ*, "the masters of the ground"; *duk n-nās di tˢaḥtˢ l-arḍ*, "those people who are below the ground" (Fez). Many Berbers regularly call them *ínsělměn*, *insélměn* (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn) or *ímselmen* (Aṭ Ubáḥṭi), "Moslemin". The Aiṭ Yúsi also call them *aiṭ rábbi*, "the people of God". The Shlöḥ make use of such circumlocutions as *wīd-iáḍnīn*, "the others"; *wīd-tńtl-tisnt* or *willi-tńtl-tisnt*, "those who shun salt"; *wīd-ur-ḍhěrnīn*, "those unseen". This great variety of names is explained by the fear of mentioning the *jnūn* by their proper name, especially after the *'âṣar* prayer in the afternoon, when they come to the surface of the earth from their subterranean haunts. To pronounce their name would be to summon them; and I was also told that they do not like being called *jnūn*, which they take for a curse, and therefore come to punish the offender. As I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] the uncanny feeling experienced when a supernatural being is mentioned, or the notion of impending danger, readily leads to the belief that he feels offended if his name is pronounced.

Special names are further given to certain kinds of *jnūn*. Evil ones are often called *šayâṭīn* or *šiâṭan*, "devils", plur. of *šíṭan*; or *ibâlęs*, plur. of *íblis*.[2] As disease spirits the *jnūn* are called *lé-ryäḥ* or *lâ-ryäḥ* (in Shelḥa *láryäḥ*), plur. of *rēḥ*, "wind". If a person is troubled by only one of them it is said of him *fīh rēḥ*, and if he falls down struck by such a spirit it is said of him *ṭaḥ be r-rēḥ* or *ḍárbû rēḥ*. A special class of *jnūn* are the *'afârětˢ* (the form *'afârītˢ* is only used by scribes), sing. *'afrītˢ*; a *jennîya* of this class is called *'afrîtˢa*, plur. *'afrîtˢātˢ*. These spirits form the aristocracy of the *jnūn*. They are remarkable for great strength, and are said to have seven heads. When a person

[1] *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), p. 640 *sqq*.

[2] See *infra*, i. 406 *sq*.

gets possessed with an *'afrīt*^{s} he becomes a maniac, strong and brave. It was *'afârĕt*^{s} that brought to Mequinez those marble blocks which are too heavy for men or animals to move. It is *'afârĕt*^{s} that help persons who possess that wonderful ring called *ḥât*^{s}*em l-ḥékma* to perform miracles.

The *jnūn* resemble human beings in various respects. Scribes tell us that they have no bodies, that they are like light, that they may enter a room even though the door be closed. According to others, they have a head but neither trunk nor extremities. Nevertheless, many corporeal functions are ascribed to them. They eat and drink, though not quite the same things as men do: they eat no salt food nor do they drink water, and they are very fond of blood. They propagate their species, though not exactly in human fashion: the male only rubs his thigh against the thigh of the female, and the latter afterwards brings forth many young ones at the same time, which explains why there are so many more *jnūn* than there are men. They speak, though their language differs from that of men: when a *jĕnn* speaks through the mouth of a human being he calls money *qšōr* instead of *flūs*, and excrements he calls *jâṭŭ*; and his voice is very thin. The *jnūn* have villages and towns, and live in tribes or nations, each with its own sultan. They have different religions as men have: there are Muhammadan *jnūn*, called *mûminīn* or *mûmnīn* (sing. *mûmen*, fem. *mûmna*), "believers", and sometimes *rijâl ălláh*, "the men of God", or *ḍhlŭ lláh*, "the people of God"; Jewish *jnūn*, called *jnūn sebt*^{s}*îyin* (sing. *jĕnn sébt*^{s}*i*), "Saturday *jnūn*"; Christian *jnūn*, called *jnūn kofâra* (sing. *jĕnn kâfer*), "infidel *jnūn*"; and pagan *jnūn*. The different tribes of *jnūn*, like the different nations of men, have their special colours. Thus the colour of the most wicked of all *jnūn*, the Ulâd bel lă-Ḥmár, is red, the colour of the Jewish and Christian *jnūn* is black, and the colours of the Muhammadan *jnūn* are white, green, and yellow.

The native country of the *jnūn* is, properly speaking, under the ground, although some of them are said to live in the air, between the earth and the sky, or at least to rise there from their subterranean dwellings. They are not tied down

to any special place; sometimes they travel great distances and travel very fast. They are particularly fond of visiting the surface of the earth, and there they constantly come into contact with mankind.

They have no fixed forms, but show themselves to mankind in various shapes. They often look like men. Among the people at a market, for instance, there are many *jnūn* disguised as human beings. There are also *jẹnn* scribes associating with human scribes and reciting the Koran with them. In a village in the tribe Bni Mṣáuwar a *jẹnn* was studying in the mosque without arousing the slightest suspicion about his real nature. At last he told one of the lads, with whom he was living, that he was a *jẹnn*. The astonished lad got frightened and said, " You have now been studying with me for twelve years, and never before did you tell me that ". The *jẹnn* answered, " No, I wanted first to finish my study of the Koran; but now I am going away, and you must come with me to my parents, who will give you a fine present ". The lad made objections, but when the *jẹnn* gave a sacred promise to take him to his place and back in safety he agreed to go with him. They first went to a certain spring, where they made ablutions and prayed. Then the *jẹnn* told his friend to close his eyes, which he did. When he again opened them, he found himself in a district where he had never been before. The *jẹnn* took him to his house, and introduced him to his parents and brothers and sisters as a friend and schoolfellow. They received him kindly and entertained him hospitably for three days; and on the fourth, before he left, they gave him gold and silver and fine clothes. The *jẹnn* then asked him to close his eyes, and when he opened them he again found himself at the spring, and he had all the presents with him. He told the other scribes of his adventure, but said nothing about the gold and silver for fear of being killed by them.

A scribe from the Rīf told me that he once saw a *jẹnn* in the shape of a black man, who, when he passed him, only laughed showing his white teeth; the *jẹnn* did not attack him, because he was carrying a gun and the *jnūn* are afraid of powder. This happened on a moonlight night on the

bank of a river, and the scribe was certain that the individual he met was a *jẹnn* as there are no black people in his tribe. Another man informed me that once in his youth he met a little baby who suddenly changed into a giant. The monster gave him a blow which made him lame for three years ; it was of course a *jẹnn*.

There are numerous instances of marriage or sexual intercourse between a man and a *jẹnnîya* in the disguise of a woman. During my stay in Mazagan I heard of a man who was said to be married to a *jẹnnîya*, in consequence of which his human wife refused to sleep with him. In the village Bné Ḥlu, in Andjra, I was told of a similar marriage, which resulted in the birth of two sons, one of whom became a scribe, who was still alive. In a village near Tetuan there was a man who lived with a *jẹnn* wife in a mill. When they were alone she had the appearance of a woman, but as soon as anybody else entered the place she assumed the shape of a frog. The people knew of her from her doings. One morning her husband was found in his bed with his legs tied up ; he had quarrelled with his wife, and she had revenged herself in this way while he was asleep. But as a rule she was kind to him ; he had always money, was well dressed, and possessed many guns—which could only be accounted for by his having a *jẹnnîya* for wife. This, however, was an unusually happy case ; the spirit wife, who is generally seen by nobody else but her husband, may supply him with money, but sooner or later she is likely to kill him or to drive him mad.

In Dukkâla I heard the following story. A lad met a girl whom he had seen before, just when he came out from the mosque where he had been studying the Koran. He suggested that they should have intercourse together, and she consented ; and they then agreed to meet again. Once she asked him to go with her to the town where she lived. When they had been walking for a while she told him to close his eyes, and so he did ; but when he opened them he found to his surprise that he was at a certain place called *j-jûrf lĕ-ṣfar*, " the yellow rock ", on the Atlantic shore. He was once more told to shut his eyes ; and when he again

opened them he was in a large town. The girl took him to her father's house, and there they lived together for eleven years. But she was all the time treating him very badly, tyrannising over him and flogging him; and he gradually discovered that she was no ordinary woman but a *ǧennîya*. By advice of her own mother and brother, who took pity on the poor man, he complained of her to the judge, who ordered her to take him back to his native place. While she accompanied him she was maltreating him all the way; and in a mosque in Dukkâla, where he was entertained by the scribes, she attacked him so furiously that he fell down and his mouth got wry. A saint appeared to him in a dream and advised him to visit the shrine of Sîdi Bbŭârak mûla l-kárma to get cured. Although the *ǧennîya* did her best to keep him back, he at last reached the shrine, and told the saint about his sufferings. The end of the story was that the saint shot the *ǧennîya* dead in the night, and that the man in the morning woke up relieved of all his ailments. He went back to his village, where he was still living during my stay in Dukkâla and used to entertain people by relating to them his strange adventures. Among the Shlöḥ, also, instances are reported of men being married to spirits.[1] A scribe from Glawi told me that a man once got rid of such a wife on a journey, when they were sleeping out-of-doors, and a jackal came and ate her. Jackals are fond of eating *jnūn*.

Sometimes the *jnūn* appear as monsters with the body of a man and the legs of a donkey. Very frequently they show themselves in the disguise of an animal—a goat, sheep, bullock, donkey, horse, camel, cat, dog, jackal, tortoise, frog, snake, black cock or hen, and so forth. At Fez I was told that whilst *mûmnīn* often walk about in the daytime in the shape of men, *šayáṭīn* appear as dogs, cats, snakes, or other animals. Among the Iglíwa a man who went at night to water his garden found there a sheep, which he caught and tried to carry to his house. As he walked along, the sheep began to grow and became finally so heavy that he had to throw it on the ground; but at the same moment the man

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu* (Paris, 1914), p. 88.

himself fell down dead. In a house which I inhabited at Marráksh my sleep was disturbed by the noise of a cat. When I told my servants to drive the creature away, they answered me that no Moor would ever dare to hit a cat in the dark, since it is very doubtful what sort of being it really is. Nor do people like to have a cat in the room in which they sleep. Black cats, in particular, are suspected of being *jnūn* (Ḥiáina).

For a similar reason it is also considered dangerous to beat or throw a stone at a dog in the dark or at a market, especially before sunrise, when many *jnūn* are known to be there in the shape of dogs. One evening a servant of mine, by name l-'Arbi, saw a *jẹnn* in the offices attached to a mosque. It was white, had long hair, and was scratching its head. L-'Arbi, who was frightened, called the night-watch, and the *jẹnn* then ran away in the shape of a red dog. But l-'Arbi was out of his mind for a month afterwards, till a magician cured him by writing a charm. The people of Aglu were once infested with a multitude of big rats, some black and others red, which were eating their crops. One night the scribes tried to expel them from the fields by recitations from the Koran, and then hundreds of black dogs were seen in the neighbouring mountains; and the general belief was that both the rats and the dogs were *jnūn*. It is a common belief that a black dog the ears of which are not cut is a *jẹnn*.

In Andjra and the Rīf any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a *jẹnn*. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, *Ana bĕ lláh u bĕ š-šra' m'ak*, "I am protected against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a *jẹnn* or a saint, or to prevent the *jẹnn* from hurting him if he shoots the animal and it is a *jẹnn* (Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a *jẹnn* (Ṯemsâmän).[1]

Frogs and toads are commonly taken for *jnūn*. Hence

[1] *Cf. infra*, ii. 333.

it is believed that anybody who hurts or kills one of these creatures will become ill or die in consequence; and if a frog is found in a house or tent it is politely asked to go away or is gently removed.[1] Water tortoises, too, are frequently regarded as *jnūn* and are, I believe, never killed.[2] A snake may be a *jenn* or a saint, and there are many stories of evils resulting from the killing of snakes. If found in a house or tent, a snake is addressed with the phrase, *Ana bĕ lláh u š-šra' m'ak*. If it appears at the place where people are pitching a tent it may be "the master of the place" (*mūl lĕ-mkân*), and the same is the case with a snake found in a granary.[3] At Fez a certain yellow fish, which I have been unable to identify, is called *roḥâni*, or *jenn*.

In many cases a *jenn* can be seen by certain individuals only. Persons who are ill may see *jnūn* that are not visible to others, and animals sometimes see *jnūn* that are not seen by men. There are also methods of making *jnūn* visible. A scribe from Glawi told me that if a person wants to see *jnūn* he simply goes to a slaughtering place, dips his finger in the blood of the animal which is first killed, and smears the blood on his forehead above the nose. I heard of the same practice at Tangier, but was told there that the animal in question must be a black bullock. In Andjra the person who wants to see *jnūn* goes to the market early in the morning, collects some blood of the animal which is first slaughtered there in a new bowl (*zlâfa*), buys a fish from those which are first brought to the market, dips the fish into the blood in the bowl, and eats it whole. He will then see the *jnūn* who are at the market and will have a conversation with them, and they will not hurt him but, on the contrary, they will be very pleased with him. But it is necessary that the blood which he collects in the bowl should not have previously touched the ground, and the fish must not be salt.

In various instances the *jnūn* can be heard though they cannot be seen, or their presence is indicated by something strange, unusual, uncanny. The columns of sand or dust which often travel across the plains of Morocco are said to

[1] *Infra*, ii. 344. [2] *Infra*, ii. 342. [3] *Infra*, ii. 348 *sq.*

be caused by *jnūn*. In some places such a miniature cyclone is called *l-'ammāṛîya dĕ d-djnūn*, "the bridal box of the *jnūn*"; in other places it is called *'áirûḍ*, which is the name of an *'afrīt*^{s}, according to some statements even the sultan of the *'afârĕt*^{s}. When the bellows make the fire sparkle, it is said to be *l-'örs dĕ d-djnūn*, "the wedding of the *jnūn*". *Ignis fatuus* is sometimes believed to be fire kindled by *jnūn*, sometimes to be the shine of a saint. A falling star is a dart thrown by angels at a *jęnn* who is trying to get up to heaven or at *šayâṭīn* who are listening to their conversation and thereby "rob them of what they hear", so as to be able to help wicked people in practising witchcraft. Some people say that when there is much talk and humming at a market many *jnūn* are present, whereas others maintain that it prognosticates a good year. It is a common belief that when victuals are dear many *jnūn* are in the market buying provisions; in Andjra I heard that Šĕmhârůš, the sultan of the *jnūn*, is then there with his army, but that this happens only on hot days and when there is a large assembly of people.

If a person stumbles in the dark, the reason for it may be that he has trod on a *jęnn*; hence he wards off the danger by the usual phrase, *Bismilláh r-raḥmân r-ráḥīm*, "In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate". If a vessel containing milk falls on the ground it is *jnūn* who are the cause of it, because they are fond of milk (Fez). When a person yawns it is *jnūn* and the devil that make him do so, or the devil blows into his ear. Whistling is the talk of the *jnūn* (Aglu, Iglíwa) or the devil (Andjra).[1] A person who grinds his teeth during sleep is haunted by *jnūn* (Andjra). Bad dreams are sent by evil spirits. When dogs howl in the night they see Death or *jnūn*, or, according to another statement, angels in the sky, and somebody in the village will soon die; and if a donkey brays at night some people say that *jnūn* are riding its tail. It is a common belief that if a person eats much without getting satisfied, there are *jnūn* in his body sharing the food with him; and the *jnūn* are said to be there because he has been cursed by his

[1] *Cf. infra*, ii. 34.

parents. Irregular appearance of blood in women is attributed to the same spirits, and so are frequently infertility in women and animals and miscarriage.

The most usual way in which the *jnūn* make their presence felt is by causing disturbances of the health, especially sudden ones like convulsions, epileptic and paralytic fits, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, and fits of madness, or epidemics like cholera and measles, the latter of which, called *bûḥámrun*, is caused by *jnūn* belonging to the Ulâd bel lă-Ḥmár. In these cases the *jenn* works its will by striking its victim or by entering his body or sometimes, in cases of epidemics, by shooting an arrow at him. When the cholera was in Morocco in 1895, the people believed that an army of *jnūn* had overrun the country. Where the epidemic was very violent, they were supposed to have pitched their tents inside the town wall; whereas the occurrence of a few cases only indicated that they were camping outside the town, and now and then made a hit with their poisoned arrows. I was told at Tetuan that those who died were followed to the grave by an unusually large number of people because, when a dead man was buried, the enemy at once looked out for another victim and let his arrow fly among the crowd at the grave—hence the bigger the crowd, the less the individual risk. Jackson, in his account of the plague which raged in Morocco in 1799, also states that those who were attacked by the plague were supposed to have been shot by "genii" armed with arrows.[1] Sciatica (*būzĕllum*) is described as a *jenn*, and whooping-cough (*ṣarrâḥa* or *šahhâqa*), small-pox (*jĕdri*), and fever (*ḥómma*) as *jennîyāt*[s]. The religious view is that all illnesses are sent by God as punishments for sins, and that the *jnūn* attack men only by his command. A grave illness, it is said, relieves a person from his sins.

Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of *jnūn*, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits saying the *bismillāh* before eating, *jnūn* or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks

[1] Jackson, *An Account of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1814), p. 176 *sq.* note.

standing (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or eats with his left hand (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), *jnūn* are eating or drinking with him. If anybody, in eating meat or fowl or fish, for the second time puts into his mouth and gnaws at a bone which he has previously laid aside, he will be struck by *jnūn*, who consider the bone and anything left on it to be theirs (Tangier, Andjra). If a person eats greasy food at night and goes to bed without washing his hand, evil spirits will deprive the food of its *baraka* and make water on the hand while he is sleeping ; and if he omits to rinse his mouth they will also urinate in it (Andjra). A person who drinks alcohol, a boy who prostitutes himself, and a grown-up man who practises passive pederasty, will always, both in this world and the next, wash his face with the urine of Jewish *jnūn* (Andjra). If anybody keeps his slippers underneath his head while sleeping, *jnūn* will come to him, because the slippers are unclean (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). If anybody omits folding his clothes when he takes them off in the evening, *jnūn* will dress themselves in them during the night. If a person puts out a hand through one of the arm-holes slit in the upper corners of his *ᵈjĕllą́b* (cloak) or through the small opening in its front, evil spirits will enter through the hole (Andjra). If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between ; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, *jnūn* or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). In Andjra, when the bridegroom enters the room where the bride is waiting for him, he must take care not to turn his head back, as otherwise evil spirits may enter with him. It is considered bad for a person to look at himself in a looking-glass at night ; some people say that if he does so a *jẹnn* will go into his eyes and make them sore, or that he will become squint-eyed or wry-mouthed or foolish. Little children are not allowed to look at themselves in a looking-glass even by day, nor should this be done by anybody whose eyes are not strong. But I was told that women are not afraid of looking-glasses, being themselves haunted by *jnūn*.

A person who gets angry or frightened is particularly liable to be struck by *jnūn*, or, as it is called, to become *meš'ôṭ*. A Moorish friend of mine told me that if a certain woman of his family quarrels with anybody, a *jẹnn* enters into her and makes her fall into convulsions, during which she for half an hour or more recites portions of the Koran, although she never studied it; the *jẹnn*, who is a scribe, is speaking through her. If a person during a meal gets angry with those with whom he is eating, he will become *meš'ôṭ*. To get angry while carrying raw meat is dangerous to an extreme. A person who is travelling at night and is frightened by some strange object becomes *meš'ôṭ* in consequence. If anybody falls ill after he has been frightened by a cat or a dog in a dark place, the animal is held to have been a *jẹnn* who hurt him. Again, suppose a boy who is eating with his father misbehaves and is punished by him; when he begins to weep, *jnūn*, who are always near people while they are eating, easily seize him and make him *meš'ôṭ*. It is bad to wake a sleeping person too suddenly; it should be done slowly and gently, by touching his little finger or touching him with the palm of one's hand, and with the phrase *subḥân ălláh*, "God be praised", since otherwise he may be frightened and become *meš'ôṭ*. If a woman who is with child is awakened, the child will become blind or deaf or lame. It is Jewish *jnūn* that attack people who are afraid.

There are certain classes of people who are particularly exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*. This, as has been noticed above, is the case with religious persons.[1] Little children are more liable than grown-up people to be hurt by these spirits; in their presence the word *jnūn* must never be mentioned. New-born infants, in particular, as also women in child-bed, are in great danger; there are *jnūn* wherever there is blood. For forty days after its birth a child must not be left alone, especially in the dark, lest some *jẹnn* should come and exchange it for its own or somebody else's child.[2] Boys have to be carefully guarded against *jnūn* when they

[1] *Supra*, p. 242.

[2] *Infra*, ii. 398 *sq*.

are circumcised ; [1] and certain taboos are imposed on schoolboys with a similar object in view.[2]

Brides and bridegrooms are in constant danger of being attacked by *jnūn*, and many of the ceremonies at a wedding are intended to protect them against this danger.[3] Brides may even be carried away by a special *jenn*, called *ḥăṭṭaf lă-'ráis* (or *l-'ăráyiṣ*).[4] The following is said to have happened among the Bni 'Ăroṣ. A bride had been brought to the bridegroom's house and put down on his bed. When he, shortly after, entered the room he found nobody there. He mentioned it to the bride's father, who consulted a scribe from Sūs on the matter. The *fqī* comforted him, and asked him to come back in a week. So he did. In the evening the *fqī* wrote something on a paper, which he kept for himself, and also wrote some words on the man's forehead and on the palms of his hands, and told him to go to a certain river and sit down on its bank, without being afraid. At midnight he would see an army of *jnūn* dressed in black, and shortly afterwards another army of *jnūn* dressed in yellow ; but he should not say anything to either of them. Then there would come a third army of *jnūn* dressed in white, and when they were close to him he should get up and say to their sultan, *L-'ār 'ăla lláh u 'ălik*, "'*Ār* upon God and upon you", and accuse him of having carried away his daughter. The man did what the *fqī* told him to do, and saw everything which had been predicted. The *jenn* sultan told his vizier of the accusation, and asked him if he knew who was the guilty one. The vizier answered that nobody else but a *jenn* belonging to the Ulâd bel lă-Ḥmár could have committed such an outrage. He called for these *jnūn*, who were then in the sultan's army, and one of them confessed that the kidnapped girl was riding behind him on his horse. The vizier commanded him to give her back to her father, and the sultan told the vizier to punish the

[1] *Infra*, ii. 426. [2] *Supra*, p. 242.

[3] See my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), *passim*.

[4] For a similar belief in Algeria see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les cérémonies du mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie* (Paris, 1901), p. 49 ; *Idem*, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xxii. (Paris, 1907), p. 54.

jẹnn. In the morning the father returned home with his daughter, who was still unconscious. The *fqī* wrote a charm for her and told the father to take her to Mûläi 'Abdsslam's shrine to get cured. This story was told me by a scribe who had heard it from the *fqī* himself, so there can be no doubt about its accuracy.

Dead people have to be protected against *jnūn* before they are buried.[1] Many people maintain that cemeteries, especially old ones, are haunted by *jnūn*.[2] But at Fez I was expressly told that the fear which most persons have of visiting a cemetery at night is not due to any belief that there are *jnūn* in it.

In ordinary circumstances the *jnūn* only attack persons who hurt them or their children, by touching, beating, or treading upon them. The *mûminīn*, or Muhammadan *jnūn*, are of course the least dangerous. I heard at Fez that they are to be feared only by those who tread upon them or who pour hot water or throw fire into the *qâdūs*, or water-drain, where the *mûminīn* perform their ablutions, or who make water in it. They may, moreover, act as ministers of justice by punishing persons who transgress the religious law. But they can easily be induced to leave their victims by some passages from the Koran written by a *fqī*, or by a visit to a saintly shrine. There are, however, many rascals among the *jnūn*, who give trouble without provocation. These are found among the *šayâṭīn*, the worst of whom are the Ulâd bel lă-Ḥmár (Uläd bél l-Ḥămar, Ulâd bĕn l-Ḥămár), especially the young ones.

Each tribe of the *jnūn* has a special day of the week when they attack human beings. The Ulâd bel lă-Ḥmár attack them on Tuesdays, the Muhammadan *jnūn* especially on Fridays, the Jewish ones on Saturdays, and the Christian ones on Sundays. The different tribes also attack men under different conditions. According to a manuscript which was given me by a scribe belonging to the Bni 'Ăroṣ, the Sunday *jnūn* hurt those who wash themselves while perspiring, the Monday *jnūn* those who walk on ashes at night, the Tuesday *jnūn* those who walk on blood, the Wednesday

[1] *Infra*, ii. 436, 444, 445, 449-451, 526. [2] *Infra*, ii. 547.

jnūn those who walk in a watery place, the Thursday *jnūn* those who tread upon them in the dark, the Friday *jnūn* those who walk in dirt, the Saturday *jnūn* those who go out at night in a state of perspiration. In another manuscript, which I saw at Fez, however, the circumstances in which the *jnūn* attack men on different days of the week were stated quite differently.

A *jenn* attacks a person by entering into him. He who is suddenly attacked by a *jenn* or by *jnūn* is said to be *meš'ôṭ* or *maḥlô'*, or to get *š-šá'ṭa* or *l-ḥál'a*. But *jnūn* may also take up their abode in a person for a longer period, in which case they of course are a danger to him, though not necessarily causing harm, and also make him dangerous to others. A person who is thus haunted or possessed by *jnūn* is said to be *mejnûn*, *meskûn*, *märyâḥ* (*meryôḥ*), or *memlûk*. The same terms are also applied to haunted animals, and the two first ones to places and objects as well. This, at all events, is the case in Tangier and its neighbourhood, whereas at Fez I was told that *mejnûn* is used of persons only and *meskûn* of places and animals, and that *memlûk* means "slave" and nothing else.

Certain classes of people are frequently or regularly haunted by *jnūn*. This is the case with homicides.[1] So also a butcher is *meskûn*, especially at the moment when he is slaughtering an animal. There is a close connection between *jnūn* and negroes; they are "like brothers". At Salli a scribe told me that his sister had a black slave girl, whose presence in the house led to all sorts of uncanny events: stones fell down there, furniture and clothes caught fire, plates were broken, mattresses were moved from one place to another, and all this happened without any apparent cause. The house was haunted by *jnūn* on account of the black girl; this was proved by the fact that when she was sold, those strange things ceased to occur. Witches are haunted. I was told in Dukkâla that a *sâḥḥâra*, or witch, does not give birth to children, and that blood oozes out of her face, just as if she were a homicide.[2] It is also said that women in general are possessed with *jnūn*, who help them to practise witchcraft.

[1] *Infra*, i. 326, ii. 10 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, i. 579.

Animals may, like men, be attacked or possessed by *jnūn*. A man from the Ḥiáina told me that this is sometimes the case with sheep; the affected animal then moves its head and shows obvious signs of giddiness, and it is slaughtered so that the other sheep shall not become *mejnûnīn* too.[1] There are, moreover, whole species that are haunted by *jnūn*; some people even say that this is the case with all wild animals. The Ait Waráin and the Aiṭ Sádděn maintain that the domestic animals of the *jnūn*, the so-called *lmäl l ljnūn*, consist of the gazelle, mufflon, porcupine, hedgehog, hare, cat, and partridge, the gazelles being their goats, the mufflons their cattle, the cats their horses, and the partridges their fowls. All of them are *meskûnīn*.

Nothing is more haunted by *jnūn* than blood. A person who comes into contact with blood is liable to be attacked by the ferocious Ulâd bel lă-Ḥmár, whose favourite colour is red; they live in a red place under the ground, rise to the red sky, and are extremely fond of blood. It is the blood shed by homicides and butchers that makes these persons haunted by *jnūn*, and it also makes the places where it is shed *meskûnīn*. As to the spot on which a person has been killed there are, however, in this respect differences of opinion,[2] whereas all agree that the regular killing of animals at a slaughtering-place attracts to it a large number of *jnūn*. When a person is approaching such a place he should walk slowly and carefully, so as not to tread on a *jẹnn*, and repeat the formula, *Ana bẹ̌ lláh u š-šra' ḥáiḍû uläḍkum*, "I am under the protection of God and the religious law, take away your children" (Andjra). It is also on account of the presence of great quantities of blood and meat that market-places are favourite haunts of the *jnūn*. No Muhammadan is allowed to eat the blood of any animal. When the throat of an animal has been cut and all the blood has poured out, the wound is carefully washed with water or, if no water is

[1] In Algeria, says Villot (*Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* [Alger, 1888], p. 209), "il y a des démons qui ne s'attaquent qu'aux animaux; mais ils s'en acquittent en maîtres. Parfois un troupeau tout entier devient leur victime".

[2] See *infra*, ii. 548 *sqq*.

available, rubbed with seven stones. The knife with which it has been slaughtered must not be cleaned on its skin, lest the meat should be tough (Ḥiáina, Aiṯ Sádděn).

Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by *jnūn*. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aiṯ Wäryâġer); if a boy touches raw unsalted meat while somebody is cutting it up and is chastised with a blow, the hand which receives it will never grow but wither away (Andjra). No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shāwîa, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). If meat, whether raw or boiled, has been taken out of a tent it would be very dangerous to the inhabitants of the tent if it were brought in again (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi). A person should not enter another person's house or tent carrying raw meat (Aiṯ Sádděn); or if he does so, he must necessarily, before leaving, let the people there cut off a little piece, lest somebody in the house should die. The explanation given of this custom was that meat must be given for meat, *(l-)lḥam bě (l-)lḥam*; he who takes with him all the flesh also takes away flesh of the people (Fez). A person who is carrying raw meat must not converse with anybody on the road, because, if he says anything more than the usual greeting, the person spoken to will be hurt by *jnūn* (Ḥiáina). If a person who sets out on a journey in the morning meets outside his house anybody carrying raw meat he should turn back, lest some evil should befall him (*ibid.*). If a person buys a domestic animal he must not take meat with him when he brings it home (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). We have previously noticed cases in which *baraka* has to be kept away from meat.[1]

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), since otherwise they will be hurt by *jnūn* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aiṯ Sádděn). If women or little children come to

[1] *Supra*, p. 239.

a place where a person who has slaughtered an animal is cutting up its meat, he must for the same reason give a little of it to each woman or child (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn). If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she asks, because otherwise the fetus (Aiṭ Wäryâġer) or the woman as well (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (*ibid.*). If a person comes home with meat which he has bought and a strange woman spends the night in his house, he must give her some of it for supper; and on the following morning before she leaves he must give her a small piece of raw meat (Ḥiáina). If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Aiṭ Sádděn; for *l-lḥam 'ăuwâj l-ḥănâk*, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by *jnūn* (Dukkâla)). In explanation of these practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the *jnūn* haunting the meat, and also that the *jnūn* haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Andjra, Aiṭ Sádděn). But I have also heard that the *bạs*, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Ḥiáina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). If you commission somebody to buy meat for you at the market you must accept it, however bad it may be; should you refuse to do so the other person or some of his children or animals would die (Aiṭ Sádděn).

Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for food are extremely haunted. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer say that there are Jewish *jnūn* in the dung-heap (*ḏäzubäiṭ*, in Arabic *zebbâla*) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of *jnūn*. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before.[1] When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his *ḥâyĕḳ* or the hood (*ḳobb*) of his *jellâba*, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be *ḳóra'*, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); the Aiṭ Wäryâġer say that he must be a bastard (*mmis raḥram*). If a person makes water on the road, the *bas* enters underneath his nails and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hang-nails (Aiṭ Wäryâġer) or he will be forgetful (Fez). Of a person who makes water standing, like a dog or a Jew, it is said that "his witness [before the judge] will not be accepted" (*š-šhâḍa ḏyâlû ma t'gūz ši*; Andjra),[2] or that the devil passes between his legs, or that the angels weep and the devil laughs. A person who urinates in the shade of a fig tree (Ḥiáina), in ashes (Aiṭ Sádděn), in water (*supra*, p. 234), or in a dried-up pond or water-course (Ḥiáina) will be struck by a *jenn*. If a person makes water in the hot bath, thereby acquiring the shameful epithet *bûwâl fĕ l-ḥámmām*, he will not finish the work or undertakings he begins (Fez). If the mule which is going to carry a bride to her new home makes water at the moment when she is lifted on to it, the Ait Temsâmän say that she is not a virgin, but *ṭnnôqăb* (the Arabic *mt'qôba*).

The belief in evil spirits has undoubtedly something to do with the extraordinary indecency attached to breaking wind, however involuntarily.[3] We have seen what will happen if

[1] *Supra*, p. 234.

[2] *Cf.* St. Olon, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1695), p. 52:—"They except against the Testimony of those among themselves, whom they can prove addicted to make water standing".

[3] *Cf.* Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle* (Paris et Alger, 1884), p. 183:—"Toutes les mauvaises odeurs, les gaz infects, sont pour les Arabes des diables mâles et femelles".

it is done in a mosque.[1] I have heard, however, that it may cause blindness not only to angels but also to a person himself who is in the habit of doing it (Tangier); and once when my dog misbehaved my Berber secretary from Glawi immediately closed not only his nostrils but his ears, as though he wanted to shut out evil influences. In many cases a small cairn, called *kárkōr l-ḥazzáq* (or, among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, *akerkūr n buizeṭṭûḍĕn*), is made on the spot where the accident happened, and passers-by throw a stone on the cairn or spit on it three times; or a stick with a small flag is thrust into the ground as an announcement of the offence. Even a little boy is disgraced if guilty of such a violation of decorum; in a village in Andjra I witnessed an occasion when a boy about five years old was for this reason hunted by the other boys of the village, who were making a terrific noise, jumping up and down and crying out time after time the opprobrious epithet *l-ḥazzáq*, three of them holding a stick with a rag attached to it. A grown-up man may have to leave his tribe for ever; I was told of a Shāwîa man who on account of an involuntary offence of this kind went to Algeria, and of a man from Aglu who for the same reason settled down in a neighbouring tribe and on his return after fifteen years' absence was still looked upon as a disreputable person. In Berber tribes I have even heard of cases of suicide committed in consequence of such an act. But the general horror in which it is held in Morocco, as well as among the Arabs of the East,[2] is not shared by the inhabitants of Fez, who do not consider it shameful to break wind even in the company of women. If a person does so, those who are present say to him, *B ṣáḥtˁaḳ á ssi* (instead of *a sîdi*), "Your health, O my lord"; or, if he has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, *B ṣáḥtˁaḳ a 'ámmi l-ḥajj*, "Your health, O my uncle the *ḥajj*"; and the person thus

[1] *Supra*, p. 234.

[2] d'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desart* (London, 1718), p. 147; Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 252; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London, 1830), p. 108. Among them, too, the involuntary offender may have to leave his home for ever.

addressed replies with a pleased look, *Allâââh*. They argue that it is unwholesome to struggle against nature.

Certain trees are haunted by *jnūn*. In the tribes of the Imsfíwan (Mesfíwa) and Iurīkẹ̄n (Urîka), in the Great Atlas range, there are two trees the leaves of which have a most wonderful quality: if they are dried and pulverised and then thrown on red-hot iron the latter becomes silver, and if an animal eats of the leaves its teeth are transformed into the same metal. The trees are haunted by *'afârĕtˢ*, or powerful *jnūn*, and are considered so dangerous that only scribes possessed of special knowledge dare to approach them. The one in the Iurīkẹ̄n is particularly well known; it grows on the top of a hill and shines like a lantern at night. A person who cuts down a fruit-bearing tree is liable to become ill or even die, being hurt by the tree, which is said to be *meskûn*; indeed, the cutting down of any large tree is attended with danger. A Berber from the Great Atlas told me that he once saw a man cutting down a cork tree; just before it fell blood spurted from its trunk, it then gave a terrific shriek, and at the same moment the man dropped down dead. There is a saying, *Fălláq š-šĕjár u ḥarráq l-ḥjar 'ómrû bẹ̣ d-dérhäm lá ḍfar*, "A hewer of trees and a burner of stones (that is, earth for making lime, bricks, tiles, or earthenware) are never successful in making money". Fruit-bearing date-palms and olive trees, however, have *baraka*; and some people maintain that the same is the case with fig trees. But this is denied by others who say that the fig tree is *mejnûn*.[1] You will get ill if you sleep underneath it, unless you first knock its trunk with a stone or, better still, make some cuts in its bark, saying, *Jráḥtˢăk qbel ma tˢăjráḥni*, "I wounded you before you wound me", or, *Jraḥ š-šéjra qbel lā tˢĕjárḥăk*, "Wound the tree before it wounds you". If you burn the wood of a fig tree, the smoke will easily make you blind (Iglíwa); and, as already said, if you make water in the shade of a fig tree, *jnūn* will strike you (Ḥiáina). Corn is much exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*; hence granaries and mills are haunted by these spirits.

At Amzmiz I was told that *'afârĕtˢ* are living among the

[1] *Supra*, p. 107.

snow of the Great Atlas,[1] and that in the district of the Ait Mîzan, belonging to the tribe Iġiġain, there is a cave which is the shrine of Sîdi Šĕmhârûš, the sultan of the *jnūn*.[2] Every year the tribes of the neighbourhood make there sacrifices of black cattle, which induce the '*afârĕt*' to come out of the cave and drink the blood and dance and predict what is going to happen during the year; and the people listen to what they are saying. At the foot of the highest mountain in the district of the Ait Waráin, Búiblän, there is a cave called Wíġzĕn, which is also the name of a *l'afrīt*, who is the master of the cave. The place is visited by men and women who suffer from *ttábă't*,[3] causing childlessness, or the death of their children shortly after birth. If the visitor is a man he leaves there his sword or his gun, if a woman she leaves there her belt. The thing which is left there is carried away by the *l'afrīt*; nobody else would dare to take it, for fear of catching the *ttábă't*. But the visitor must not look behind when he or she goes away, since otherwise the visit would be of no avail; and anybody who shows another person the way to the cave will die in consequence. From this cave three narrow openings in the rock, only wide enough to allow a person to pass through, lead to a country in the interior of the mountain where a river is flowing and there are vines and fig trees and bees and honey. So vast is this place that if anybody tried to penetrate it, he would have to burn hundreds of candles to see his way through. But people are afraid of going there; only a band of huntsmen would venture on such an expedition.

Many caves are well-known abodes of *jnūn*. At Fez there is, close to the slaughtering-place outside Bāb l-Ḥămîs, a place called l-Máqṭa' with a large cave which contains cairns and springs dedicated to the *jenn* saints Sîdi Mûsa, Sîdi Ḥámmů, Mûläi Brâhim, and Lälla Mîra l-'Arbîya (Figs. 40, 41). These, as well as other *jenn* saints, assemble in

[1] *Cf.* Hooker and Ball, *Journal of a Tour in Marocco and the Great Atlas* (London, 1878), p. 223.

[2] *Cf.* Doutté, *Missions au Maroc—En tribu*, p. 90.

[3] See *infra*, i. 403.

this cave, which is haunted only by *mûmnīn*, that is, Muhammadan *jnūn*. Šĕmhârûš had his government there

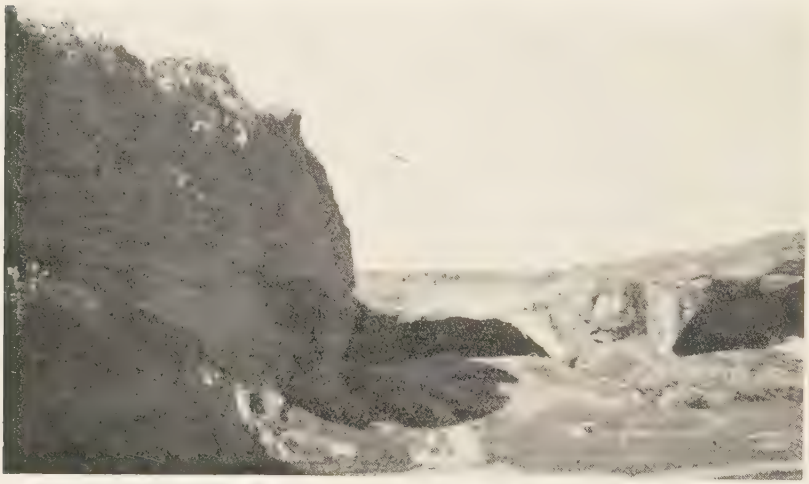


FIG. 40.—L-Máqṭa' outside Fez.

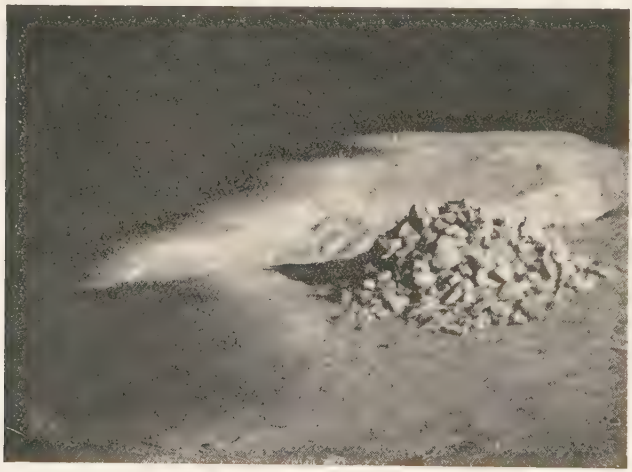


FIG. 41.—Cairn at l-Máqṭa'.

while alive, but now that he is dead a *jennîya*, by name Néjma, rules over the spirits in the cave. The place is visited by persons who are troubled with *jnūn*. The visitor

kisses the wall of the cave or one of the cairns, then adding a stone to it as *'ār*, burns white and black benzoin, lights an oil-lamp (*mnâra*) on a cairn or at the margin of one of the springs, and gives to the *mqáddem*, or care-taker, of the place some wax-candles and a black he-goat or a cock having the colour of the *jẹnn* or *jnūn* troubling the patient, or a *farrūj sĕb'á lwān*, "a cock of seven colours". It is killed by the *mqáddem* "in the name of God", and eaten by him, although it is *'ār* on the *jnūn*. He is there every Monday and Thursday, the market-days of Fez, from the early morning till *ḏhor* (about 1.20 P.M.) to receive visitors. I once went to the Máqṭa' on a Friday morning, but was told that it was dangerous to go there then, as there were many *jnūn*; only black people, who need not be afraid of them, would dare to spend the night between Thursday and Friday at this place. I found in the cave one spring only, the others being dried up, four cairns, and some small bowls which had served as lamps.

On my journey to the mountains of the Iníknâfĕn, in Ḥáḥa, I visited the interesting Imi n Taqqándut, "the mouth of Taqqándut" (Fig. 42). It consists of two huge caves in the rock on the western side of the valley which leads up to Timsurîyin The caves are separated from each other by a thin partition-wall of rock, but there is communication between them through an opening in the wall. The place is a famous abode of Muhammadan *jnūn*, and is especially visited by people troubled with *lăryāḥ*. Both outside and inside the caves there are innumerable small piles of stones, made by visitors, who rub the stones against the affected part of the body before they pile them up; should anybody happen to overthrow one of these piles, he would catch the disease of the maker. In the cave to the right I found several twigs of oleander with which patients had been beaten for curative purposes. In the cave to the left fowls and sometimes sheep are sacrificed to the spirits, who are supposed to drink the blood, but not to eat the rest of the victim, unless it be a black cock. Here also Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman, their spokesman, gives his prescriptions—in the *jẹnn* language of course—which are interpreted into Shelḥa or

Arabic by their *mqáddem*, who thus acts the part of a spiritualistic medium. When a man of my party declared his intention of offering up a sacrifice, the *mqáddem* turned his face towards one of the narrow passages which lead from the spacious cave to the interior of the mountain, and called for Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman. A whistling sound was heard at once, and the *mqáddem* informed the spirit of the proposed sacrifice. Another whistling followed, indicating the spot in

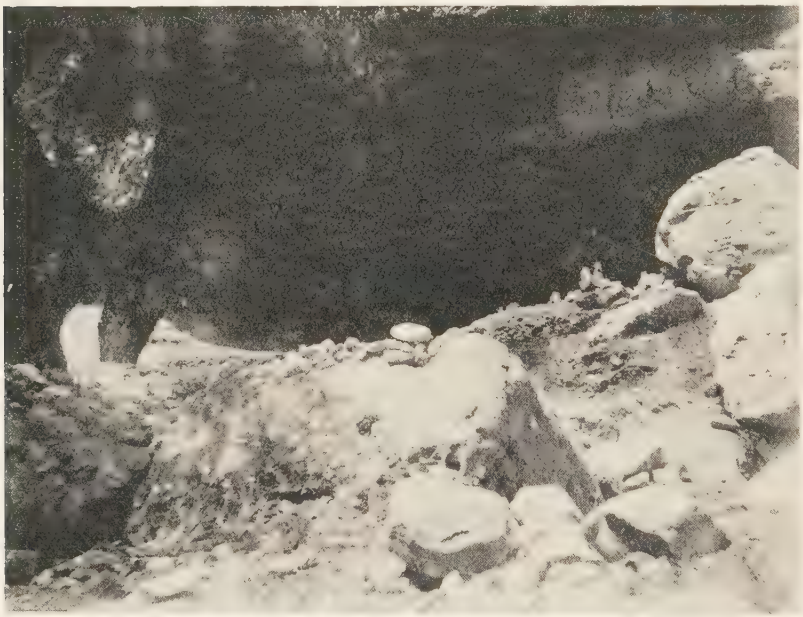


FIG. 42.—Imi n Taqqándut. *Photograph by Mr. R. L. N. Johnston.*

the cave where the fowl was to be killed. Then Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman spoke for the third time, telling the *mqáddem* that the wish of the petitioner was going to be fulfilled, but that he was unwilling to say anything more because there were Christians [1] in the neighbourhood. That the whistling

[1] I was accompanied on my excursion by Mr. R. L. N. Johnston, of Mogador, who has also, in a brochure entitled *Morocco* (London, 1902), given a description of our visit to Imi n Taqqándut (p. 98 *sqq.*). This place has further been visited and described by M. Doutté (*Missions au Maroc—En tribu*, p. 273 *sqq.*).

was not merely imaginary is certain — it was heard by Shereef 'Abdsslam, on whose accuracy I can perfectly rely; the *mqáddem* might have been a ventriloquist, or there might have been some communication between the cave and his house, which was situated on the top of the rock. Afterwards both the Shereef and myśelf had interviews with him. The interior of the mountain, he said, contains a large country with towns inhabited by *jnūn* more numerous than the stars in the sky, who at night are heard working in the mountain. In former days, when the human beings were better than they are now, the *jnūn* often used to come out to eat with their children and animals, but at present they leave their towns only at night. They are on friendly terms both with saints and men. Their spokesman, Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman, often sends the patients who consult him to complete their cure at the shrine of some reputed saint, or commands them to pass, at Sîdi Mḥámměd u Slîmạn's sanctuary near by, between two stones which are supposed to shut in persons who have been cursed by their parents. To this saint the *jnūn* of Imi n Taqqándut stand in a particularly close relationship. He is their *fqī*, who teaches them the Koran, and the meat of the sacrifices offered to them is mostly given to the scribes of his *lĕmdärst*, or college. Their governor, however, is l-Ḥajj Knūz, who lives somewhere else, and their sovereign is Sîdi Ḥámåd u Mḥámměd ben Nâṣăr, whose grave is in the valley of the W̃åd Drā in the extreme south of Morocco; to the latter the *jnūn* bring food, barley, straw, wood, and so forth. The *mqáddem* told us that a patient who has been struck down by *lâryäḥ* has to be rubbed for two months and twenty days with oil mixed with various medicines, and to be beaten with oleander twigs on either side of the body. He must give presents to the *mqáddem*, including eggs; and while sleeping he must keep one egg underneath his head and another egg underneath his feet. Every Wednesday for four weeks successively the *mqáddem* fills one of the egg-shells with oil, which he sprinkles in the passages leading to the interior of the mountain. The *mqáddem* must be at the place on Mondays, Tuesdays, and particularly on Wednesdays; if he fails to be there then,

the *jnūn* will punish him by making his neck wry and one of his feet dead. But the *jnūn* not only help to cure sick persons troubled with *lăryäḥ*: like the patron saint of a tribe they also take an active part in the battles of the people in whose midst they reside. By their aid the governor of the Inĭknâfĕn once, when attacked by a neighbouring tribe, repulsed with fifty men many hundreds of the enemy, but then he had, wisely enough, first sacrificed to them a black bullock.

In the district of the tribe Ait Ba'ămran in Sūs there is a certain cave, haunted by *jnūn*, which is visited by persons who desire to become good singers or farmers, or who want money or wheat, or have any other unfulfilled wish. At the entrance of the cave they kill a black animal, saying, *Ingbiun n răbbi ay áit lmäkän*, "[We are] guests of God, O folk of the place"; but they must not mention their wish. The petitioner should stay at the cave till the *'ăša*, or evening, prayer is over. Then he will hear much noise, and he will see stones falling down and snakes and horses and other animals coming out from the cave. But he must not be frightened by what he sees and hears, lest the *jnūn* should strike him. They take him into the cave and treat him hospitably and offer him various things—gold, silver, and so forth. But he should not accept anything else but that which he wished for, since otherwise he will at last find that he has got nothing at all. I was told all this by a man from Aglu, who had not been to the cave himself but only knew it by hearsay.

At the river Asif Ůdûdu in Aglu there is a cave called Agŭlzi, which is likewise haunted by *jnūn*. It also contains a large number of pigeons. Once when a lad went there and caught some of the young birds, he found that he could not open his hand again, and at the same time he lost his power of speech. His father called in scribes to read over him, and also sacrificed a sheep at the cave; but all his efforts to cure the lad were in vain, until he made a sacrifice of a bullock. Every year a feast is held at this cave, when a bullock or two are killed outside it by the people of the neighbouring village, and the meat, together with *sĕksů*, is

eaten on the spot. When I asked if the pigeons in the cave were saints or *jnūn*, the answer was, "Who can tell?" Close by there is buried a holy man who, while alive, used to sit at the cave without saying a word. Nobody knew from where he had come, and when he died there was much lightning all day long; but my informant, who had himself seen him, said that the cave had been haunted long before his arrival there.

At Ḍār l-Ḥjar in Andjra there is a cave, called Ġer Fāṭṭa, where sick people burn benzoin and spend the night, but as to the ultimate cause of their recovery the natives disagree: some of them say that the patients are cured by the *jnūn* haunting the cave, whereas others maintain that it has *baraka* because a saint, whose name is not known, has been inside it. The cave called *l-käf dyāl 'ain Daud* in the Ġarbîya is haunted by *jnūn*, who make a light and sing there at night. On the Atlantic shore near Cape Spartel there is a cave from which millstones are taken; when the person who has ordered a stone comes to fetch it, he kills a sheep or a goat inside the cave as a sacrifice to the *mûminīn* haunting the place. A cave above the beach of Rmelqâla, at the mouth of the Wād l-ihûd near Tangier, is frequented by the *jennîya* 'Aiša Qandîša.[1]

In the neighbourhood of the shrine of the Dukkâla saint Mûlāi 'Abdllah, on the Atlantic shore, there is a rock, already mentioned, called *j-jūrf lḥ-ṣfar*, with two deep holes, which nobody dares to enter for fear of the *jnūn* haunting the place. And under the ground there are great treasures, which are so carefully guarded by the spirits that all attempts made by scribes to get hold of them have been in vain. Buried treasures are always haunted by *jnūn*. At Amzmiz a Berber told me that he, together with another Berber from Sūs and an Arab from Dukkâla, once went to dig for treasure at the ruins of Gerrando, near the caravan road which leads from Dukkâla to Marráksh. The two Berbers were reading incantations while the Arab was digging. A big snake came out of the ground and opened its mouth, but, without taking any notice of it, the Arab continued his

[1] *Infra*, i. 392 *sq.*

work, and the snake went away. After further digging he found two boxes, which were fastened together with rings. A black girl came out and put her foot on the boxes and said to the digger, "You are not ashamed of taking our money; if you do not go away I shall throw you from here". The digger answered, "O sister, I am going away". Then the two Berbers were flung, one—my informant—not very far, but the other one to the shrine of Mûlăi 'Abdllah, and he died in consequence. The digger himself was left intact, but the hole he had dug was closed up.

In Dukkâla and the north of Morocco I heard very similar stories. A magician from Sūs who had come to the Bni 'Ăroṣ found there, by means of a charm, a place where money was buried. He asked two men to come and dig for it, promising them one-half of the treasure, and told them not to get frightened by anything they saw, nor to say a word. When they had digged a little, a camel came out of the ground and opened its mouth, as though it wanted to bite them; but they were not afraid and the camel disappeared. Subsequently a pig came out, wishing to bite them; but once more they showed no signs of fear. They found a box containing money, and a snake came out; but they took no notice of it, and the snake went away. Then the *jnūn* turned night into day, and people from the neighbouring village came to the place with their animals. When the diggers saw them, they said to the magician, "Now it is day, let us go home". But the *jnūn* turned the day into night again, pushed away the men who had spoken to the people, and hurled the magician to so distant a place that he was never found again. It is a universal rule that anybody who is digging for treasure should refrain from speaking, so as not to be hurt by the *jnūn* that are guarding them. That buried money is supposed to be haunted by *jnūn* is of course connected with the idea that these spirits live under the ground. But copper-coins are also otherwise haunted; and I have heard the same about gold.

Water and places containing water are haunted by *jnūn*. People are afraid of sleeping near water, and it is bad to pass water over a person who is asleep. So also water must

not be sprinkled on a person when he is unaware of it; he may get a fright, and therefore be struck by *jnūn*. Before drinking water from a vessel or before filling a bottle with water, many persons pour out a little of it on the ground. People avoid shooting over a river or pond; if they do, they will miss their aim or may be hurt by *jnūn*. In Fez, when the bride is taken to her new home, the crossing of any open bridge from which water can be seen is carefully avoided. In some places little children are not allowed to drink water lest they should be hurt by *jnūn*. And it is no doubt for the same reason that no water is allowed to touch a new-born infant; among the Aiṭ Sádděn a child is never washed until it begins to walk or even much later.[1]

Many springs or other places containing water are particularly reputed to be haunted. Almost in the heart of the Great Atlas, in the tribe Igdmiūn, I visited the miracle-working spring Imi n Tâla, which is haunted by *jnūn*. To wash one's feet or face with its water prevents their getting diseased. When the mountaineers have a quarrel with the people of the plain, they raise up a storm by throwing a stone into the spring, and the wind does not abate until they offer at its margin a dish of porridge prepared without salt, as the *jnūn* like to have it; I was told that on the following morning nothing of the porridge is left. When a heavy gale has been blowing for days, a black bullock is sacrificed there. A great falling-off in the amount of the water indicates that some misfortune has happened to the Sultan, and a sacrifice is again necessary to restore it to its usual abundance. The spring is situated in a very wild and gloomy gorge between high perpendicular rocks, from one of which the water issues with great force. When we approached it, one of my men exclaimed, "Where would the *jnūn* live if not here?"

In the village Aiṭ Nâṣăr in the tribe Aiṭ Sádděn, not far from Fez, there is a haunted spring, called *ṭaġbâlut l ljnūn*, "the spring of the *jnūn*", where women on Thursday nights burn benzoin as a cure for illness or barrenness. At Ḍār Fĕllaq, in the tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb, there was formerly a

[1] *Infra*, ii. 385 *sq.*

haunted spring the water of which used to change its colour —sometimes it was red, sometimes green, and so forth. The people never drank of it, and at last they filled up the spring ; in this condition it was when I saw it.[1] At Tangier there are several haunted springs—*'ain l-Qṭíwût*, *'ain bĕn š-Šâmi*, and a spring at Ḥasnûna. At Laraiche a certain spring is associated with the *jenn* saint Sîdi Boqnâdel ; people possessed with *jnūn* throw loaves of saltless bread into it, some tortoises —*jnūn* in disguise—will probably appear and eat the bread, and the person who threw it there, after he has in addition sprinkled his body with water from the spring, thinks he has got rid of his complaint. Some one who had tried the cure told me that he threw into the water two loaves, one cold and the other hot, because his body was shivering with cold and burning with heat. Healing springs are very frequently connected with shrines ; and in many of these cases the curative effect of the water is partly attributed to the activity of friendly *jnūn* inhabiting the spring and not to the *baraka* of the saint alone. Instances of such springs have been given in another connection.[2]

In Dukkâla I was told that certain wells are haunted by evil spirits, whereas others contain Muhammadan *jnūn* who give *baraka* to them. If anybody falls into a well of the latter description he will not die, provided that there are people who help him up ; but if he falls into a well which is haunted by evil spirits, he will die at once. If the water in such a well is scarce, it suddenly becomes plentiful when a person or an animal falls into it ; and it will remain so for a couple of days. If the water in a well is turning red, it is a sign that the well " wants to kill ", and the water does not get back its natural colour until some living creature falls into it. Then nobody dares to go near the well ; but if no person falls into it, some animal must do so if the *jnūn* are craving for a victim. My informant mentioned cases of persons of his family who had died in wells with red water which afterwards increased in quantity.

The sea is haunted by *jnūn*, although it is also said to

[1] For another haunted spring in the same tribe see *supra*, p. 88 ; for a haunted pond at Aglu see *infra*, ii. 342.

[2] *Supra*, p. 85 *sqq*.

contain forty saints or is itself personified as a saint.[1] I have even been told that there are more *jnūn* in the sea than on land, in spite of its water being salt.[2] In the sea or on the sea-shore at Tangier there are big stones, with or without cairns, which are associated with the *jenn* saints Sîdi Ḥámmu, Sîdi Máimūn, Sîdi Faṭṭ Máimūn (of the same family as the previous one), Sîdi Mûsa, Lálla Rqîya, Lálla Mîra, Lálla Jmîla, and Lálla 'Aiša; and Sîdi Boqnâdel has there even a *ḥauš*. In Dukkâla I was informed that Sîdi Mûsa rules over the *jnūn* in the sea.

Every public bath (*ḥámmām*) is haunted by *šayâṭīn*. Hence a person who visits such a place must, before he enters the hot room, remove any charm he is wearing, lest it should lose its *baraka*. For the same reason sexual intercourse is strictly prohibited there. Ali Bey, who travelled in Morocco in 1803, tells us that the first time he went to a public bath in Fez, he "observed that pails full of hot water were placed with symmetry in the corners of every room and cabinet. I asked the reason of this?" he adds. "'Do not touch them, sir', answered all the people belonging to the bath: 'do not touch them!' Why not? 'These pails are for the people below'. Who are they? 'The demons who come here to bathe themselves at night'".[3]

Jnūn also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic *l-kânūn*; in Berber *täkät* or *täkkät* [Shelḥa], *almssi* [Aiṯ Sádděn], *táḥfurt n tmssi* [Ait Waráin], *ḏagändörṯ* [Aiṯ Wäryâġer]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fire-place, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams. Nor must anybody sleep with a stone from the fire-place (Arab. *mâṇṣba*, plur. *mnâṣěb*; Berb. *inki*, plur. *inkan* or *ankan* [Shelḥa], *iniy*, plur. *inyän* [Aiṯ Sádděn]) underneath his head, nor wash his hands or feet over such

[1] *Supra*, p. 50.

[2] *Cf.* Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé* (Paris, 1921), p. 16 *sqq.*

[3] Ali Bey, *Travels in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, between the Years 1803 and 1807*, i. (London, 1816), p. 73 *sq.*

a stone so that water falls on it (Ḥiáina,[1] Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); and it is particularly dangerous for a woman who washes after she has had connection with another man than her husband, and for a man who does so after he has had connection with another woman than his wife, to let any drop of the water touch the fire-place (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). *Lāzĕmna nġĕslu rĕjlĕk á'la l-mą̈nṣba*, "We must wash your foot over the stone of the fire-place", is jokingly said to a visiting friend as a mild reproach for not having come before (*ibid.*). Many a woman has been struck by *jnūn* because she has spilt water into the fire when cooking; and purposely to throw water on fire is very dangerous. The people of Fez say that he who extinguishes the fire with water extinguishes thereby his own prosperity. To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining makes the angels blind (Ḥiáina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are *jnūn* at the door (Aiṯ Wäryâġer).

If a woman has given birth to a child, no fire must be given away from her dwelling for seven days, lest the child should die (Ait Waráin) or its eyes become diseased (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi). So also the eyes of a new-born calf would get diseased if fire were taken out of the tent of its owner before it is seven days old (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi); and if a mare has foaled, no fire must be given out from the house or tent of its owner for three days (Aiṯ Sáddĕn). When a cow has calved, any fire given from the tent of its owner to another tent must be taken from the side of the fire-place, and not from its centre; this rule should be observed as long as the cow gives milk, and if it is transgressed the cow will have a diseased udder (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). Among various Berber tribes (Aiṯ Nḏēr, Ait Waráin, Aṯ Ubáḫṯi), on the first day when the tents of a village have been pitched at a new place, a big fire is made in the centre of the village, and from this each household takes its fire; but no fire must be given from one tent to another on that day. Among the Ait Waráin, if a person

[1] In the Ḥiáina, however, an unmarried woman, in order to get a husband, washes her right foot three times with hot water over the *mnâṣĕb*, each time putting the foot into the slipper after washing it.

asks another to lend him fire from his tent, he does not use the ordinary word for fire, *timssi*, but calls it *l'áfĕšt*—a berberised form of the Arabic *'áfia*, which is a euphemism.[1]

When a person strikes a light on entering a dark room in which there are no people, he says, *Msa l-ḫäir 'ålikum a mwâlīn lĕ-mkân*, "Good evening to you, O ye masters of the place". A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shāwîa, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). In a previous chapter I have pointed out that fire is in many cases held to be destructive to *baraka*.[2] There are very many *jnūn* in ashes, ready to strike those who step or walk over them or pour water or make water on them. He who pours hot water on the ground is liable to be struck by the *mwâlīn l-arḍ* (Fez, Tangier, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); and it is likewise dangerous to pour hot water into a water-closet (Tangier).

Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give *ḥas* to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Ḥiáina, Amzmiz, Iglíwa). A bride is carried across it; Chénier says that when the bride enters the bridegroom's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door".[3] The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its *jenn*-owners: *kull mäḥåll bĕ mwâlih*. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic *mwâlīn lĕ-mkân* (*mwâlīn l-mkān*), in Berber *áyiṭḥab umḥan* (Aiṭ Wäryâġer) or *iḍbäb w wánsa* (Aiṭ Sádděn); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic *rijâl lĕ-mkân*, in Berber *ait lmäkän* (Shelḥa) or *ait uḍġâr* (Iglíwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic *mwâlīn d-dār*, in Berber

[1] *Infra*, ii. 28. [2] *Supra*, p. 257 *sq.*

[3] de Chénier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (London, 1788), p. 276 *sq.*

lĕmluk n tgĭmmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These *jnūn* are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

Certain houses are haunted to such a degree that nobody dares to live in them. At Fez large numbers of *jnūn* assemble in an old fort. These spirits are generally very fond of ruins.[1] Outside Tangier there is a Portuguese ruin called Ḍār l-ḥámra, which is haunted by Muhammadan *jnūn*. It is said to participate in the *baraka* of Sîdi l-Mĕṣmûdi, whose sanctuary is close by, and women even make the ruin itself a saint by calling it Lálla Ḍār l-ḥamra. I once saw a mother taking her little child to this place and leaving it there alone for a while, till the child began to cry; this was meant as a cure for some illness caused by *jnūn*. Saintly shrines, *záwiạ̄t*^{s}, and mosques—particularly their minarets—are much haunted by Muhammadan *jnūn*, who strike those who enter the place in a state of uncleanness or drunkenness. But in mosques where no reading is done, and at shrines by night, there are also said to be *šayâṭīn*, who are less scrupulous in their doings. People are therefore afraid of visiting *sâdāt*^{s} at night, especially such as are situated in lonely places.[2]

On the surface of the earth the *jnūn* are most plentiful and active after the *'âṣar*, or mid-afternoon, prayer; this time of the day is their morning, when they get up. After sunset they are not so bad, but during the middle part of the night they are again very numerous and dangerous. Some people maintain that they are so also between daybreak and sunrise, whereas others are of opinion that they run away at daybreak. There are, however, also said to be *jnūn* —Jewish ones—that are in the habit of doing mischief when the sun is shining and the heat is very great.

A variety of actions must be refrained from or require special precautions after *'âṣar*, or when it is dark. I was repeatedly obliged to interrupt my conversation about the *jnūn* at *'âṣar*. Once when I went on discussing the subject

[1] For a haunted ruin in the South see Harris, *Tafilet* (Edinburgh & London, 1895), p. 176.

[2] *Supra*, p. 228.

a little too late with a scribe from Dukkâla, he became very uneasy and remained so until my servant happened to break his empty tea-glass, which, as he said, removed his *baṣ*, or misfortune. We have already noticed that people are afraid of mentioning the *jnūn* by their proper name after *'âṣar*. They abstain from sleeping between *'âṣar* and sunset, and should anybody happen to be asleep at *'âṣar* he is immediately awakened. People refrain from sweeping the floors of their houses or tents in the evening or after *'âṣar*. A person who is ill will get worse if anybody comes and inquires about his health after *'âṣar* (Fez) or between *'âṣar* and sunset (Tangier). Once a scribe from the Ḥiâina refused to call after *'âṣar* upon one of my servants who was ill, saying that it would be bad for the patient if he did so; but there is no harm in calling on a sick person after sunset. Some people say that it is bad to die between *'âṣar* and sunset (Andjra).

At Marráksh I heard of a man who moved out from his house regularly every night for fear of *jnūn*. Very many Moors are afraid of sleeping alone in a room, especially if the door is left open; and to sleep on a staircase is regarded as particularly dangerous. If anybody knocks at your door when it is dark, you should not open it for him but tell him to come back the next day; for otherwise *šayâṭīn* would enter with him, or the individual who knocked may himself be a *jenn* even though he mentioned his name (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person knocks at your door at night and cries out, "O So-and-so", you should not answer, *N'ām*, "Yes", since the *jenn* who is knocking would in such a case say to you, *T'amráḍ 'ām*, "You will be ill for a year" (Ḥiâina). Indeed, if anybody calls you at night, you ought not to answer at all until he has called you three times, as it otherwise may be a *jenn*. In Andjra I was told that it is dangerous to go out at night and make water unless some salt is strewn on the ground as a precaution—but everybody is not so cautious as that. In the Ḥiâina it is said that if a person gets up naked in the night, *jnūn* will strike him.

Substances and places which are reputed to be haunted are particularly so after *'âṣar* or in the dark. Blood-letting

must not take place after *'âṣar*, and in Fez it is not practised after *ḍhor*. People must not tread on blood or visit the slaughtering-place at the market between *'âṣar* and sunrise. Nor do they go to a place where there is a carcass at night. And at old cemeteries the *mwâlīn l-arḍ*, "the masters of the ground", are ready to strike the nightly intruder. Yet there are persons who go to cemeteries at night and disinter dead bodies which have been buried the same day, in order to steal the grave-clothes; they are themselves haunted by *jnūn*, and have therefore nothing to fear.[1] Dung of horses, mules, or donkeys must not be removed after *'âṣar*; and if anybody happens to tread on such dung after *'âṣar*, he should ward off the *jnūn* with the usual phrase *bismilláh r-raḥmân r-ráḥīm*.

In Andjra it is considered bad to accept copper coins in the evening; if anybody then comes back from the market with change, the acceptance of it is deferred to the following morning. And if a person lends or changes money at night, it is believed that something bad will happen to him. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after *'âṣar*.

Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbour, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after *'âṣar* or between *'âṣar* and sunset.[2] People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, *jnūn* may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent *jnūn* from eating of it (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). In Andjra I was told that you should not leave till the next morning food of which you have partaken, but what you do not eat you should put away in a clean place or give to some poor person or to dogs, because *jnūn* will eat of such food during the night; but there is no danger in eating food prepared on the day before, if nobody then partook of it. A man from Aglu, on the other hand, said that if you want to leave a loaf of bread for the following

[1] *Infra*, ii. 547. [2] *Infra*, ii. 244–246, 249 *sq.*

morning, you should first eat a little piece of it, with the usual *bismillāh*. Otherwise a *ǧennîya* will in the night send for it, give birth to a baby on it, and then return it; and the person who eats it will be struck by a *ǧenn*.

Among the Ait Waráin children are not allowed to drink water in the dark; if they are complaining of thirst, some older person makes a light and pours out water from the skin bottle in which it is kept, saying the *bismillāh*, and the same phrase is repeated by the child who drinks it. The custom of pouring out water from a vessel before drinking from it is particularly observed at night and in the morning also, as *jnūn* may have drunk from it during the night; a man from the Aiṯ Sádděn told me that two of his relatives had got a wry mouth because they had drunk from a *ṯaběrrätt*, or water-bottle, in the evening without taking the said precaution. In the Ḥiáina neither the large earthenware vessel with two ears, called *l-bûš*, in which water is kept, nor the *berrâda*, or water-bottle from which the people drink, must be left without water over night, lest *jnūn* should enter into it and dirty it by making water in it and thus cause sickness to those who afterwards drink from it; and in Andjra the mouth of the water-bottle is, besides, stopped or covered up in the evening, or somebody puts his hand over the opening and says the *bismillāh*, which also restrains *jnūn* from entering. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent *jnūn* from drinking of it.

People refrain from washing themselves with such water, since there may be *jnūn* in it or *jnūn* may have made water in it (Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Andjra); and bathing after *'áṣar* is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, *Mḕn ḥǎjáma ba'd l-'áṣri au 'âma au nâma qalîl s-salâma*, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after *'áṣar* comes little health". A Rîfian told me that if a person washes his body after *ḍhor*, *jnūn* will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (*būtällis* or

būḏäddis) ; and if he has his head shaved after *'âṣar*, he will have a headache. Shaving after *'âṣar*, or at least between *'âṣar* and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (*sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*) before crossing. In Dukkâla I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after *'âṣar*, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the *bismillāh*.

To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most dangerous after *'âṣar*. To carry ashes after *'âṣar* is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Iglíwa, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) the carrying of fire from one house to another. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz do not extinguish the fire at night for fear of *jnūn*, but cover it up with the three *mnâṣĕb*. It is universally considered bad to play with fire at night ; the common belief is that he who does so, especially if it is a child, will make water in the bed. But the Ait Waráin maintain that if boys play with fire in the evening, there will be fighting.

In Tangier and the Shiáḍma I was informed that an animal on which the saddle is left over night will be ridden by *jnūn*. But I have also been assured that a horse can never be exposed to such a danger, owing to its *baràka*.

At Fez I heard that the *jnūn* are particularly numerous on Thursday night and Friday forenoon till the mid-day prayer is over, as also on Sunday night. On these nights the people, before going to bed, light a wick in a little bowl filled with oil—a so-called *mnâra*—close to the water of the house and leave it there to burn ; and when this is done they must go to bed at once, because *jnūn* would strike them if they stayed up any longer. On Fridays the inhabitants of Fez forbear to scrub their houses and to wash their clothes, lest they should be hurt by *jnūn* when pouring the dirty water into the drain (*qâdūs*) ; and for fear of these spirits they also take care to avoid all quarrels on a Friday. This day is called *'īd l-mûmnīn*, "the feast of the faithful *jnūn*". On a Tuesday—the day when people are attacked by the most dangerous of all evil spirits, the Ulâd bel lă-

Ḥmár—the *jnūn* are said to be quite unmanageable: if they are imprisoned they escape, and nothing keeps them off, not even the Koran (Andjra). To sleep in the afternoon after *'áṣar* is particularly bad on a Wednesday (Tangier); and in Andjra I was told that on that day the *jnūn* are very dangerous even some half an hour before *'áṣar*. They are unusually active on the first ten days of the month of the 'Âšūr (Muḥarram), the first month of the Muhammadan year (Tangier).

During the month of Ramaḍān, on the other hand, they are confined in prison so as to become incapable of attacking the people, who then move about and take their meals at night; but I have also been told that this is the case with the *šayâṭīn* only. For the Muhammadan *jnūn*, at any rate, the imprisonment only lasts till the twenty-seventh night of the month, when they are set free to be able to celebrate that holy night in their own regions; and many people believe that all *jnūn* are then released. The *jnūn* are said to stay at home, in their subterranean dwellings, when an easterly wind is blowing, because this wind would make them blind (Ḥiáina, Andjra).

CHAPTER V

THE *JNŪN*: PROPHYLACTIC MEASURES AGAINST THEM AND REMEDIES FOR TROUBLES CAUSED BY THEM—THE *JNŪN* IN THE SERVICE OF MEN AND SAINTS

It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the *jnūn* generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The *jnūn* are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants,[1] from brides and bridegrooms,[2] and from dead persons before they are buried.[3]

The *jnūn* abhor salt, especially rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by *jnūn*, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of Ramaḍān, when the *jnūn* are released from their imprison-

[1] *Infra*, ii. 385.

[2] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), 'General Index', *s.v.* Candles.

[3] *Infra*, ii. 436, 445, 451, 526. Various other charms against the *jnūn* are mentioned in Chapters XX. and XXI. among rites connected with death (see particularly *infra*, ii. 525 *sq.*).

ment. Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent *jnūn* from spoiling their efficacy.

The Aiṭ Wäryâġer strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after *'âṣar*, though not otherwise. The same is done by the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz even when a fowl is killed, and it is considered necessary that the blood should actually come in contact with the salt on the ground. The Aiṭ Sádděn throw salt on the blood on the ground after an animal or fowl has been killed. At Fez, when an animal is killed at home, not at the public slaughtering place, salt is put into the gaping wound as soon as the throat has been cut; and the same was said to be done in Andjra by those who know the proper method of slaughtering animals, the salt preventing *jnūn* from drinking the blood and, by doing so, making the meat bad. At the Great Feast salt is thrown on the spot where the sacrificial animal is going to be slaughtered, or pushed into its mouth just before it is killed, or put into the gaping wound and thrown on the blood which has flowed on the ground.[1] When a piece of raw meat is brought into the house or tent, some salt is put on it in order to keep away the *jnūn* (Ḥiáina, Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). At Fez, when a person has been bitten by a scorpion, he ties up the part of the body which has been bitten, so as to prevent the poison from spreading, and then an 'Ḍsáwi sucks the blood from the wound and spits it out. But the 'Ḍsáwi first puts salt into his mouth—not as a protection against the poison, which he is proof against, but on account of the blood.

Salt is used at childbirth to protect both the mother and the child from the *jnūn*,[2] at the circumcision of boys,[3] at weddings,[4] and sometimes in ceremonies following upon weddings.[5] The farmer hangs a piece of salt on the animal

[1] *Infra*, ii. 116 *sq.*

[2] *Infra*, ii. 379 *sqq.*

[3] *Infra*, ii. 426. Various other charms against the *jnūn* are mentioned in Chapter XIX. among rites connected with childbirth and early childhood.

[4] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 89, 90, 103-105, 123, 147, 150, 162, 166, 187, 251, 256, 258, 306, 322.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 296, 306.

with which he is ploughing.[1] He uses salt to keep away the *jnūn* from the corn on the threshing-floor[2] and in the granary.[3] And some salt is put in the hole of the hand-mill to prevent their coming to steal flour.[4] In the Ḥiáina food which is kept inside the house over night is not only covered up, but a small piece of salt is besides put into it in the evening, at least in the case of *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksû*) and meat.

When people bury money in the ground, they put some salt with it to prevent *jnūn* from stealing it (Fez, Ḥiáina, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi). When they are digging a well, they place a large piece of rock-salt in the pit, after which they continue the digging (Ḥiáina). In Andjra, when water is for the first time fetched from a spring which has just been made ready for use, or from a new well, some salt is not infrequently thrown into it to drive away the *jnūn* which have "their bed" in the water. At Mazagan the builder who makes the floor of a public bath puts salt all over the place where he is going to make it. In the Ḥiáina it is the custom to keep some salt covered with earth in the small room which is used for bathing (*mûḍa' l-ûḍû*). Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer a person who goes to wash himself at the *ḍämättíharṭ* in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground. So also in Andjra a person strews salt at the place in the house where he is going to wash himself with hot water in the evening, and he says to the *jnūn* haunting it, *Ḥáiḍû ulḍḍkum*, "Take away your children". The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz put salt into the water if they take a bath after *'âṣar*.

In Andjra a water-bucket and a pipkin are three times rinsed with salt before they are used, because both water and the fire-place are haunted by *jnūn*. In the Ḥiáina a new pipkin has to be subjected to a certain ceremony calculated to prevent *jnūn* from entering it: some salt, flour, and water are put into it and allowed to boil, after which both its inside and outside are scrubbed with the mixture. In Andjra, before a new lamp is used, some salt is put into

[1] *Infra*, ii. 218.
[2] *Infra*, ii. 232.
[3] *Infra*, ii. 243
[4] *Infra*, ii. 244.

it and a little boy has to make water in it, and both the salt and the urine are kept there for three days to prevent its becoming *meskûn*; the urine serves as a charm on account of the *baraka* attributed to the little boy. For the same purpose the Aiṭ Wäryâġer keep ṣalt on their lamps; and in some tribes, when a candle is lighted at night, salt is put by the side of the wick in order to prevent *jnūn* from entering the room (Andjra, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). In Andjra, before a person extinguishes the fire with water in the evening, he throws some salt in it, lest the smoke rising from the fire-place when he pours the water should make him ill. When he throws the salt and pours the water he says, *Ana bḕ lláh u š-šra'*, *ḥáiḍû uláḍkum*.

On the other hand, salt is avoided on certain occasions when the presence of *jnūn* is held desirable. In many places the bread which is sold in the market contains no salt, or very little of it, because among the customers there are many *jnūn* in human disguise, and they, of course, would not care for bread made with salt (Dukkâla, Marráksh, Glawi, and other parts of Southern Morocco). For a similar reason meat sold in the market is never salted, unless the person who buys it expressly asks the seller to strew some salt on it. And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no *jnūn* would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

The *jnūn* are afraid of iron, and still more of steel; *l-ḥdīd hûwa ḫará ḥend*, "iron is the dung of steel". Many people in Fez wear a steel ring made in the month of the 'Âšûr round the little finger of the right hand as a protection against *jnūn*. For the same purpose the Aiṭ Nḍēr hang on themselves a horse-nail. A very effective method of driving away the *jnūn* from a desert place at night is to strike a piece of steel against a flint (Ḥiáina). An article of steel is sometimes put with money which is buried in the ground (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). So also an object of steel, such as a sickle, plough-point, or dagger, is often used to keep away the *jnūn* from the corn on the threshing-floor.[1] There are persons

[1] *Infra*, ii. 232 *sq.*

who put a dagger or a knife close to their pillow before they go to bed. A boy who was left alone in a house was attacked by *jnūn*; they shut the door and blew out the light, but by rubbing a knife against the wall the boy succeeded in driving them out. Daggers,[1] swords,[2] and needles [3] are in frequent use at weddings as safeguards against *jnūn*. If the body of a dead person remains in the house over night, an article of steel or iron is often put on the abdomen, partly at least as a protection against evil spirits.[4] Once when I began to talk about the *jnūn* with a scribe from the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, he took hold of my penknife, and he kept it in his hand during the conversation.

The *jnūn* are also afraid of silver. Among the Iglíwa and the Shlöḥ of Aglu a person who takes a bath after *'âṣar* protects himself from the *jnūn* by putting into the water a silver coin or a silver ring. In the Ḥiáina a perforated silver coin sent by the bridegroom is tied round the wrist of the bride's right hand as a charm against these spirits,[5] and for the same purpose a silver ring is commonly worn there by men round the little finger of their left hand; indeed I knew a Ḥiáina man who had two such rings on the said finger, one against *mûminīn* and the other against *šayâṭīn*. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz a ring of silver or copper is likewise worn round the same finger with a view to keeping off the *jnūn*, but 'Ḍsáwa and female singers and prostitutes also wear such a ring round the ring-finger of the left hand. In Andjra a silver ring is worn round the little finger of the left hand or in the left ear as a protection against the *jnūn*, who by preference strike the left side of a person's body, because it is weaker than the right. I have heard it said that a ring is a charm against the *jnūn*, whether it be made of one metal or another (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); but on the other hand I have also been told that a ring of gold or brass is useless in this respect (Andjra).

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 89, 123, 152, 163, 197, 211, 221, 250, 256, 322, 356.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 97 n., 99, 102, 104, 106-109, 111, 112, 123, 149, 155, 162, 235, 237, 239, 242, 244, 251, 255, 256, 282, 290, 322, 356.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 150, 162, 237, 256, 290, 322.

[4] *Infra*, ii. 451, 526.

[5] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 147, 162 *sq.*

The *jnūn* shun the smell of tar. Among the Iglíwa there are persons who smear some part of their body with it to keep away these spirits. In Andjra people put tar into their nostrils to prevent *jnūn* from entering, and they also put tar at the entrance of the house and in its four corners. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against *jnūn* and snakes; and for the same purpose the Arabs of the Ḥiáina make some spots of tar on the walls of their rooms. Tar is used as a charm for a mother and her new-born child,[1] and to protect the corn on the threshing-floor and in the granary [2] from *jnūn*. It is a widespread custom to smear the mouth of a new water-bottle with tar to make it safe for people to drink from. Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent *jnūn* from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). Contrary to the general belief, however, I was told in Fez that the *jnūn* are not afraid of tar, but that a certain *jenn* called *j-jémmäl* is actually fond of it.

The Aiṯ Yúsi bury a piece of charcoal with their money if they have no tar, and the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi regularly put a small piece of charcoal with the money they bury in the ground to protect it from *jnūn*. The latter also, for a similar reason, throw a piece of charcoal as well as salt on the spot where the sacrificial animal is going to be slaughtered at the Great Feast, and put a piece of charcoal and salt into its mouth immediately before it is killed. Charcoal is used as a charm at child-birth (Aiṯ Yúsi); [3] and some soot from an earthenware pot is daubed between the eyes of a little child when there is a thunderstorm, to prevent *jnūn* from injuring it in case it gets a fright (*ibid.*, Ḥiáina).

The *jnūn* are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted. The *jnūn's* fear of powder largely explains the profuse powder play which forms such a conspicuous feature of a Moorish country

[1] *Infra*, ii. 381. [2] *Infra*, ii. 232, 243. [3] *Infra*, ii. 382.

wedding.[1] Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi the bridegroom carries a pistol, which he puts underneath the pillow before he has intercourse with the bride.

The *jnūn* are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.[2] At Tangier the *jnūn* are put to flight by the smoke of alum. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, for forty days after the birth of a child, when it is in great danger of being hurt by *jnūn*, alum, harmel, and coriander seed are in the afternoon or evening burned in the tent, and the child is held over the smoke; and the same is also done after the end of this period, when the child is crying. In Fez people protect themselves against *jnūn* and the evil eye by wearing alum and harmel wrapped up in silk underneath their *bed'ăia* (waistcoat) or *qáftān*. The *jnūn's* dislike of harmel is proverbial, the enmity of persons towards one another being compared with a *jenn's* love of harmel:—*Kaṭ'ḥébbni mḥébbet*$^{s\ d\text{-}d}$*jenn fĕ l-ḥármel* (Tangier), or, *Mḥábbĕt j-jenn m'a l-ḥármel* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). Harmel is used as a charm against *jnūn* on threshing-floors and in granaries.[3] It is for a similar purpose attached to written charms (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi) or to money which is buried in the ground (Ḥiáina). Pounded and mixed with water, it is taken by persons who are afraid of being struck by evil spirits. Sometimes it is, together with gum-ammoniac and other charms against *jnūn*, carried by the bridegroom throughout the wedding week.[4] In other cases it is burned to drive away the *jnūn* with the smoke (Tangier, Ḥiáina).[5] The Aṭ Ubáḫṭi fumigate their tents with harmel and benzoin, and the Aiṭ Sádděn with benzoin, gum-lemon, and other incense, on the twenty-seventh night of Ramaḍān. In Aglu, after the usual sacrifice has been performed on the day when a child is named, some harmel, gum-ammoniac, and benzoin are burned on the threshold of the room in which the mother is with the

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 112, 122 *sq.*
[2] For their names in Arabic and Berber see *supra*, pp. 111, 115 *sq.*
[3] *Infra*, ii. 232, 242 *sq.*
[4] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 104, 105, 290.
[5] See *ibid.* p. 305.

baby; and she has to walk over it with the child in her arms in order to expel evil spirits. Elsewhere, also, gum-ammoniac is burned for similar purposes (Tangier, Ḥiáina), and so is rue (Ḥiáina, Shlöḥ). The latter is besides used to keep off *jnūn* from the corn both on the threshing-floor[1] and in the granary,[2] or it is put inside written charms (Aṭ Ubáḫṭi), or is carried by women round their neck and by men on the string of camel-hair (*l-ḥaiṭ*) which they have wound round the head (Ḥiáina).

In the Ḥiáina people fumigate themselves with coriander seed; in Fez such seed, which is supposed to be liked by the *jnūn*, is called *tˢĕffaḥ l-jinn*, "the apples of the *jnūn*". In the same town gum-lemon is burned inside the house at night, when its inhabitants are afraid of *jnūn*; and the room in which a dead body is lying is fumigated with it so as to prevent *šayâṭīn* from entering, or to drive away those who are already there. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the *jnūn* but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there. On Thursday nights the people of the Ḥiáina burn in their rooms gum-lemon, agal-wood, and white and black benzoin (the former called *ĵâwi mekkâ̊wi*, the latter *ĵâwi sūdâni* or *ĵâwi ḳḥal*) in order to drive away all *šayâṭīn* and please the angels. In Tangier also the smoke of agal-wood is supposed to put the *jnūn* to flight, whereas they are said to be fond of both kinds of benzoin and even use them as incense at their own weddings. In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the *jnūn* delight in black benzoin (Dukkâla, Shāwîa, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or that it is liked by certain *jnūn* but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke of it makes a person who is possessed with *jnūn* weep (Andjra). In Tangier it is believed that the smoke of mastic (*mĕska*) drives away *jnūn*; but in Fez I

[1] *Infra*, ii. 232. [2] *Infra*, ii. 243.

heard that a well-known *jennîya*, Lálla Mîra, is very fond of eating both mastic and sugar.

Henna is frequently used as a means of protection against evil influences ; and the same is the case with walnut root or bark, with which women paint their lips and teeth brownish, and antimony, with which they paint their eyes black. But though chiefly used by the women, all these paints are also on special occasions used by men,[1] and henna and antimony are applied to new-born babes as well. In some instances, especially such as refer to women in child-bed and infants, I have been expressly told that the paints in question are meant to serve as a protection against *jnūn*. These spirits are also afraid of saffron, which is consequently used in the writing of charms against them. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the bride has a broad line painted with saffron on the *lízār* round the top of her head, and so much importance is attached to this custom that it is practised even in the case of a widow bride, although she is not painted with henna.

A scribe from Glawi said that it is known among scribes that *jnūn* do not come near a person who carries a stick cut from a bitter-almond tree or has on his body a charm made of its wood. And a scribe from Mequinez told me that they keep away from a person who has in his hand an olive stick.

There can be little doubt that many or most of these substances and fumes are supposed to be shunned by the *jnūn* on account of their strong taste or smell ; but the more or less supernatural character attributed to some of them has also had something to do with the belief in question. Salt has not only a strong taste, which has justly been regarded as a cause of its use as a charm against evil spirits,[2] but it is also a somewhat mysterious substance owing to its power of checking decay,[3] and it has *baraka*.[4] As regards the fear

[1] See 'Index', and Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s. v.* Antimony, Henna, Walnut root or bark.

[2] *Cf.* Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur* (Leipzig & Wien, 1900), p. 599; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1911), p.161.

[3] *Cf.* Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. (Westminster, 1896), p. 23.

[4] *Supra*, p. 115.

which the *jnūn*, like many other spirits,[1] have of iron, there seems to be good reason for accepting Tylor's explanation that the *jinn* are essentially creatures belonging to the ancient Stone Age, and that the new metal is therefore hateful and hurtful to them.[2] Henna, walnut root and bark, and antimony are possessed of *baraka*; and the same is the case with the olive.

Baraka is in many other cases considered to keep off the *jnūn*, and is therefore utilised as a safeguard against them. In Dukkâla water which has been brought home on the *'āšûra* morning is put into the vessel where money is laid when it is to be buried in the ground, to serve as a charm against the earth-spirits, and such water is also poured on the threshing-floor; it is regarded as a charm on account of the *baraka* which water is supposed to possess on this particular morning. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, on the evening of the seventh day after the birth of a child (*ass n ssíbă'*) when the child is named, the house or tent, and also the mother and child, are fumigated with various kinds of incense bought on the *'āšûra* day, which is looked upon as particularly effective against *jnūn*. The hair on the head and feet of the animal sacrificed at the Great Feast is singed off as quickly as possible, because the smoke is supposed to drive away evil spirits,[3] and the blood of the animal is in various ways used for a similar purpose.[4] Among the Ait Temsâmän a man who is going to bury a vessel filled with money gets hold of a hoopoe (*hudhud* or *ṯbuibaḥṯ*)—a bird possessed of *baraka*—which he slaughters over the vessel so that the blood falls on it; then the money will not be haunted by *jnūn*. And the person who afterwards digs it up will likewise have to kill a hoopoe at the same place, so as not to be struck by the earth-spirits.

Of all preventives against *jnūn* none are considered more efficacious than holy words or passages of the Koran; there are *jnūn* who are afraid of neither salt nor steel, but all of them are afraid of the sacred words, except, I am told, their

[1] Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London, 1911), p. 232 *sqq.*
[2] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. (London, 1891), p. 140.
[3] *Infra*, ii. 120. [4] *Infra*, ii. 122 *sq.*

scribes, who are pious and good *jnūn* never thinking of doing harm to anybody. At Fez, if a little child is left alone in a room, a copy of the Koran is put close to its head to prevent *jnūn* from exchanging it for another child. The following portions of the Koran are commonly used against *jnūn*: the 256th verse of the second chapter (*sūratu 'l-baqarah*), the famous *āyatu 'l-kursī*; the 72nd chapter (*sūratu 'l-jinn*); the 112th chapter (*sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*); and the 113th chapter (*sūratu 'l-falaq*), in which the Prophet seeks refuge in God from evil influences.

The following formulas are also used:—*Bismilláh r-raḥmân r-ráḥīm mẹn jamê' mā ḫalâqa lláh*; or, *Bismilláh r-raḥmân r-ráḥīm mẹn jamê' mā naḥâfu ménhum*. But much more common are the simple phrases *bismilláh r-raḥmân r-ráḥīm* (or, in the case of scribes, *bismillâhi r-raḥmâni r-raḥêmi*), or only *bismilláh*. They are constantly used on occasions when people are afraid of being struck by *jnūn*, for example, when they pass a haunted place, cross a river, go out in the dark, go to bed, extinguish a light, blow at the fire, pour water on the fire or on ashes, tread on ashes or blood, or pour hot water on the ground. The *bismillāh* said by a person before he begins to eat prevents *jnūn* or Šíṭan from eating with him, and if he does not say it he consequently requires a larger portion of food to be satisfied. I was told of a scribe who once saw two *jnūn*, one of whom was very fat and the other very thin. When he asked them whence this difference, he got the answer that the fat one was always eating with people who omitted the *bismillāh* before their meals, whereas the thin one was living with people who never omitted it, in consequence of which he had nothing to eat. The *jnūn*, however, are more afraid of the formula *bismilláh r-raḥmân r-ráḥīm* than of the simple *bismilláh*. If a butcher says the former when he slaughters an animal, the meat will not be sold very soon because the *jnūn* at the market will refrain from buying it, whereas the *bismilláh* will not prevent their doing so (Andjra).

Another instance of the *jnūn's* fear of the religion of the Prophet is that they are afraid of corn after the alms called

lă-'šōr have been given out of it. For this reason seven grains of barley (Aiṯ Yúsi) or a piece of bread (Ṯemsâmän) are put underneath the head of a new-born child; and if the mother goes out at night with the infant on her back, she lays with it some bread or salt (*ibid.*). A grain of barley is sometimes put into a written charm to prevent its being spoilt by *jnūn*; and flour is put with money which is buried in the ground, to prevent their stealing it.[1] At the same time grain and flour are often said to be haunted or stolen by *jnūn*. In their relations to *baraka* there are indeed many inconsistencies. *Šayâṭīn*, if not Muhammadan *jnūn*, are said to avoid a place where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the *baraka* possessed by these animals (Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Ḥiáina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have *baraka*, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

It is also curious that water, which is so commonly considered to be haunted by *jnūn*, is nevertheless in some cases used as a means of keeping them at a distance—an idea which is probably connected with the purifying effects ascribed to water. In Fez it is the custom for a person who is compelled to sleep alone in a room to put there a vessel filled with water as a protection against the *jnūn*, as "there is safety in water". In the same town I was told that no water must be seen at the performance of a band of Ḥmádša; if they, in their state of frenzy, see a vessel with water they will break it, because they are then haunted by *jnūn* and therefore dislike water.[2] At Tangier it is considered necessary that the water-jar (*bûšš*) and the water-bottle (*bĕrrâda*) of a household should always have some water in it to keep off the *jnūn*; and in many cases a person who has moved into a house, on the first evening, sprinkles the corners of each room with water, saying, *Ḥăna mĕn ḍyâf ălláh ŭ ḍyâfkum a rijâl lĕ-mkân*, "We are guests of God and your guests, O men of the place". I was told that this is done as a

[1] *Infra*, ii. 247.

[2] See also *infra*, i. 343, 344, 349.

safeguard against the *jnūn*; for while some of these spirits —those who haunt watery places—are fond of water—others are afraid of it. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi a vessel with water is during the first week after the birth of a child put close to its head every night to keep at a distance a certain *jẹ̈nnîya* who is a danger to new-born babes; they believe that this *jẹ̈nnîya*, and other *jnūn* as well, are afraid of water. The water which is used in Moorish marriage ceremonies seems, sometimes at least, to be meant not only as a means of purification removing the impersonal force of evil, but as a means of keeping away evil spirits.[1]

So also fire, although haunted by *jnūn*, is on the other hand sometimes used as a safeguard against them. At Fez, on the twenty-seventh night of Ramaḍān, fires are made of straw or paper or any rubbish at hand on the roofs of houses to burn the *šayâṭīn*, as the people say;[2] and the fires made on *ʿāšûra* eve are said by the people of Fez to serve a similar purpose.[3] The use of charcoal and soot as charms against *jnūn*, which has been mentioned above, is presumably connected with the idea of fire as a means of destruction or purification.

The *jnūn* are kept off or put to flight by strong sounds. The constant firing of guns, the loud music, and the *zġârīt*[4] of women at Moorish country weddings, partly at least serve the purpose of frightening away evil spirits by the noise.[5] But on the other hand, silence is also looked upon as a protection against *jnūn*. It is considered not only improper but also dangerous for bride[6] and bridegroom[7] to speak or to speak aloud at the wedding, and the danger threatening them is not always impersonal in character: I was told that among the Ait Waráin, while the bridegroom is burning white benzoin before he has intercourse with the bride, the couple refrain from speaking for fear of the spirits that are

[1] See, *e.g.*, Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 121, 122, 231, 232, 255.

[2] *Infra*, ii. 98.

[3] *Infra*, ii. 65 *sq.*

[4] As regards this noise see Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 22 n. 2.

[5] *Cf. ibid.* pp. 89, 122, 136. See also *infra*, ii. 374.

[6] Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 203, 207, 212, 221, 244, 253, 295, 323.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 129, 323.

then supposed to be about.[1] When a person is digging up buried money, as already said, he must not speak lest *jnūn* should attack him.

One of the most common methods of warding off *jnūn* is to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

In Fez a buck-goat or a ram is slaughtered when the walls of the house are ready and it is just going to be roofed ; this is *'ār* on the *mwâlīn lĕ-mkân*, and it is believed that the roof would fall down should the sacrifice be omitted. The sacrificed animal is eaten, not by the owner of the house, but by the workmen. At Tangier a sheep or goat or cock is killed before the building commences and another one when the house is ready. These sacrifices were said to be *hdîyāt*^{s}, or " presents ", to " the masters of the house ", the omission of which would cause sickness or death among its human inhabitants ; whereas an *'ār*-sacrifice consisting of a black goat or a black cock is made in case a wall falls down when the house is building.

In Andjra a sheep, goat, or cock is killed on the spot where the house will have its entrance, to prevent its being haunted. When the threshold has been made, some salt is buried underneath it. And when the house is ready, salt is strewn in each corner of it, and behind the lintel of the entrance door is put some earth from Mûläi 'Abdsslam's shrine to give *baraka* to the house, as also a paper with a ^{d}*jéḍwīl* (*jéḍwäl*) containing some writing from the Koran as a protection against theft (the master of the ^{d}*jéḍwīl* being a Muhammadan *jenn*, called $^{d\text{-}d}$*jénwīl*, who will strike any thief attempting to enter the house). According to another account which was given me in Andjra, some salt and wheat and an egg are put in the ground where the house is to be built, and a goat is afterwards killed on its threshold, lest the children in the house should be stillborn or die early.

At Brīš, in the Ġarbîya, when the walls of the house are building, a goat or a sheep is slaughtered at the door so that

[1] Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 244.

its blood touches the threshold ; and when the house is ready, another goat or sheep or only a cock is killed, likewise over the threshold. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz strew a mixture of salt, tar, yeast, and coriander seed at the place where they are going to build the new house. They kill a sheep or a fowl and wet with its blood the ground where the walls will stand. When the entrance is ready, they kill another sheep or fowl over the threshold ; and in either case the sacrificed animal is eaten by the builders. When the house is ready a third sacrifice is made, a sheep being killed over the threshold, and its meat is served at the so-called *'ărs d-dār*, " the wedding of the house ", to which the men and women of the village are invited. These various sacrifices are regarded as *'ār* upon the *mmw̃ālīn lĕ-mkân*, who would cause poverty or sickness or death among the inhabitants of the house should they be omitted. Yet even though all these ceremonies be observed the house may nevertheless become haunted. If this is the case, its owner kills a fowl or a sheep in the haunted room, saying, *Ăḥna mĕn ḍüfân llah ŭ ḍüfânkum a mmw̃ālīn lĕ-mkân*, " We are guests of God and your guests, O masters of the place ". Scribes are invited to come and recite the Koran in the room, and incense is burned. This is done by towns-people in Mazagan, whereas country-folk, instead of trying to appease the *jnūn*, drive them away by putting tar, harmel, and salt in the haunted room, and hanging coriander seed under its roof.

In the Ḥiáina salt is strewn all along the trench (*lsäs*) in which the foundation stones of a new house are to be laid. When it is ready and the people come to live in it, they kill a sheep or a goat or, if they are very poor, a fowl at the threshold, as *'ār* upon " the masters of the place ". Of a portion of the liver or the meat and fat of the animal they make *käbäb* (elsewhere called *bûlfäf*), that is, they thread it on a skewer and broil it over a slow fire, so as to produce a dense smoke which smells very sweet to the *jnūn*. All the inhabitants of the village assemble in the new house, those who can afford it bringing with them some food-stuff ; and a supper consisting of *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksŭ*) and meat of the sacrificed animal is offered them. When they go away they say, *D-dār*

mabrûka, "May the house be blessed". The sacrifice is said to take away the *baṣ* and please "the masters of the house", whereas its omission would result in the death of some of the inhabitants or their domestic animals. Later in the evening the house is fumigated with gum-lemon and agal-wood.

We meet with similar practices among Berber-speaking tribes. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

The Shlöḥ of Aglu throw a mixture of flour and oil in the trench made for the walls, as a food-offering to "the masters of the house", and then strew some salt in the trench to protect the future inhabitants of the house from the attacks of these spirits. A perfectly white sheep is slaughtered at the entrance place, and its bleeding body is taken along the trench three times from left to right. The man who slaughters the animal says some words like these:— *Bismillä afilläunnġărs a lĕmluk n tgĭmmîad, adaġûrtḍărrum ula nḍărrakŭn, ákĕmfi̊llaġig råbbi taumbárkit*, "In the name of God, we kill for you, O masters of this house, may you not hurt us as we did not hurt you, may God make you (*i.e.*, this house) blessed for us". The meat of the slaughtered animal is then eaten by the workmen. When the house is ready, a sheep or a calf is killed inside it, and some of the blood of the victim is sprinkled on the lintel; whilst its meat is served at the feast which the owner gives for his friends and the scribes who come there to recite the whole of the Koran in the course of the night. Among the Iglíwa a cock is killed at the place where the house is going to be built, and when the lintel has been put over the doorway a sheep is slaughtered on the threshold and the lintel

sprinkled with its blood. Both the cock and the sheep are eaten by the builders.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, when the ditch for the walls has been dug, a sheep, a goat, or a fowl is sacrificed at the place where the house is to have its entrance; and when the building is ready, another sacrifice is made over the threshold, and the door-posts are smeared with the blood of the victim. If the owner has nothing to kill, he buys meat from the market and sprinkles the inside of the house with the gravy of the meat before any salt has been added to it. Some elderly men and scribes (if there are any in the village) are invited to a feast in the new building, *fâṭḥa* is made, the scribes recite portions of the Koran, the house is fumigated with incense of any kind the owner has got, and fresh milk is sprinkled in the rooms.

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, when a new village (*iġrěm* or, if small, *ṭiġrěmt*) is going to be built, a cairn is made at the place, every man bringing a stone which he dedicates to Sîdi So-and-so, mentioning by name some saint of the district or some other greater saint, like Mûlăi Dris or Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder. A sacrifice intended for the *ínsĕlměn* (*jnūn*) is then made on the cairn. When the village wall (*lḥēḍ*) is ready, a sheep or a goat is slaughtered at the gate (*lbāb ámqqŏran*) or, if there are more than one gate, at each of them, by the residents of the neighbourhood, and the blood of the animal is smeared on the gate. When the room (*lbīṭ*) or rooms (*lbyūṭ*) of a household are ready, its members perform "the slaughter of the threshold" (*ṭámġrûsṭ l l'ăṭebṭ*) as a safeguard against *jnūn*, burn benzoin and whatever other incense they have, and sprinkle the rooms with fresh milk, saying, *Aġáwiṭ lḥáqqĕnnum akŭniḍíḥḍu rábbi ġêfnăġ*, "Take your share, may God make you forbearing to us".

Like the building of a house so also the pitching of a new tent, or the pitching of tents at a new place, is accompanied with a sacrifice. The Bĕni Ăḥsen and Ulâd Bů'ăzîz slaughter a sheep, or at least a fowl, at the entrance or in front of a new tent when it has been pitched for the first time, as *'ār* on "the masters of the place"; the blood of the animal is left on the ground, whereas the meat is eaten by

the owner and his family. When they have moved their tent to a new place, on the other hand, they make no sacrifice, but only address the spirits as follows :—*Ăḥna mĕn ḍyâfīn (ḍüfân) llah ŭ ḍyafînkum (ḍüfânkum) a mmŭṽālīn lĕ-mkân, la tġairûna ma nġairûkum tarráḥlŭ u nḥalliûkum*, " We belong to the guests of God and your guests, O masters of the place, do not displease us, we shall not displease you ; go away with all that you have and we shall leave you alone " ; and before the inhabitants of the tents go to sleep the first night, they strew some salt on the floor.

Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr sacrifices are sometimes made when a village consisting of tents has been moved from one place to another. When the reaping of the corn is over and the tents are pitched at the place called *ámazir l lḥrīf*, where the village has its fruit trees, vegetable gardens, and threshing-floors, a cairn is often made outside the tent and the owner kills over it a sheep or a goat, saying some words like these :—" We are in God's *'ār* and your *'ār*, O men of the country (meaning the saints of the district) ; we are the guests of God and your guests, O people of the place (*aiṭ wánsa*, meaning the *jnūn* of the place) ; do not hurt us, we shall not hurt you ; we are in God's *'ār* and your *'ār*, O Mulăi 'Abdlqâder ; in the name of God the most great ". The cairn in question is called *ḍ̣irur n mûlăi 'Abdlqâder*, " the cairn of Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder ", who is the ruler over both saints and *jnūn*. But the sacrifice on this occasion may also take place without the making of a cairn, inside the tent ; this is the case if only a fowl is killed. If the victim is a sheep, several families generally join in the sacrifice, and the animal is then eaten by them in the evening.

One or more sacrifices are commonly made in connection with the digging of a well.[1] At Tangier it is the custom for the owner of a newly dug well to kill a sheep on its edge, when the water first appears in it. This is *hdîya* for " the masters of the place ", and the meat is eaten by the workmen ; but the custom is not always observed. Again, if water fails to appear though the digging has proceeded to a considerable depth, the owner kills at the same place a black goat or a

[1] I was told, however, that this is not the case in Fez.

black cock, saying, *L-'ār 'ăla lláh u 'ălikum yā rijâl l-mkān*, "The *'ār* on God and on you, O men of the place!" He then sprinkles into the well some of the blood, as also some milk, of which the *jnūn* are fond, and burns inside it black benzoin. I was told that the sprinkling of blood is *'ār* on the spirits but the sprinkling of milk and the burning of incense a kind of *hdîya*, or present, to them. In this case also the meat of the sacrifice is eaten by the workmen.

In Andjra a sacrifice is made before the digging commences and another when the well is ready. My native friends once drew my attention to a well the lining brickwork of which had cracked immediately after it was made because the usual sacrifice had been omitted. At Brīš, in the Ġarbîya, I was told that an animal is slaughtered on the third day after the commencement of the digging and another when the water first appears. In the Ḥiáina, after the digging has made some progress, a large piece of rock-salt is put into the pit; and shortly before the water is expected, a sheep or a goat is slaughtered so close to the well that the blood runs into it. This is *'ār* on "the masters of the place", who drink the blood, whilst the workmen, but not the owner of the well, eat the flesh of the animal.

Among the Bĕni Ăḥsen a sheep is sacrificed as *'ār* at the commencement of the digging, another when the water first appears, and a third when the well is ready; and the meat is eaten by the diggers of the well, but by nobody else. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a ram is slaughtered on the day when the digging is commenced, as *'ār* upon the *mmw̆ālīn l-arḍ*, "the masters of the ground". The sheep should be white or black according as white or black is a lucky colour for the owner of the well. The meat is eaten on the spot by the owner, his friends, and the workmen, whilst the blood is partaken of by the *jnūn*. When the water appears, another animal of the same kind is sacrificed, and its blood runs down into the well. Some three or four days after the work is finished the owner celebrates *'ărs l-bīr*, "the wedding of the well". A dish of *sĕksû* is prepared at the well, and a sheep or a bullock is slaughtered there in such a manner as to make its blood mingle with the water below. In each

case the person who kills the animal repeats the phrase, *Hḏ dbêḥtkum a mmw̃ḷīn lĕ-mkân a'ṭainâkum d-dbêḥa ttûma ta'ṭâuna l-mā*, "This is your sacrifice, O masters of the place, we have given you a sacrifice, may you give us water". The skins of the sacrificed animals are given to him or to those who dug the well.

Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer a goat or a fowl is killed at the place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are *'ār* upon the *áyiṭḅab umḥan*, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen. The Shlöḥ of Aglu slaughter a black he-goat at the place before they commence the work, saying some words like these:—*Nġărs fillaun a lĕmluk wamanad, afillaġtârḥum nărḥo fillaun adaġort'árḍĕm krä n tġausa n afillaġíšqqan*, "We killed for you, O masters of this water, may you make it easy for us, we shall make it easy for you, may you not cause us any difficulty". When the person who is digging in the bottom of the well sees the water coming, he must not speak about it as long as he remains there; if he did, the water would turn back at once. The first persons to drink of the water should be an unmarried youth and a maiden, both well-to-do; these lucky people are asked to drink, so as to give good luck to the new well. After this a sheep is slaughtered at the well, though the blood is not allowed to run into it; and there is a feast called *támġra wamánad*, "the feast of this water", where the people are entertained with *sĕksû* and meat of the sacrificed animal, and the girls make *zġârīt* (*taugrit*). The skin of the animal is given to the man who dug the well.

In Andjra, when the people are going to make a new water-mill, they kill a black goat and throw it into the stream on the spot where the millstone is to be placed. I have previously mentioned the sacrifices offered up to the *jnūn* at the spring Imi n Tâla, in the Great Atlas,[1] and shall in a subsequent chapter deal with sacrifices at the threshing-floor intended for "the masters of the ground" (*mwḷīn l-arḍ*)

[1] *Supra*, p. 291.

or "the masters of the threshing-floor" (in Shelḥa *lmluk unrär*).[1]

The sacrifices which we have now considered are mostly regarded as *'ār* on the *jnūn*; and *'ār* is a means of compulsion which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse.[2] But some of these sacrifices were represented to me as *hdîyāt'*, or "presents", that is, food-offerings to the spirits, and this is in principle something very different from *l-'ār*. In practice, however, the difference may be much less radical, or may almost disappear. The *jnūn* are very fond of blood, and even when the sacrifice is represented as *'ār* it is said that they drink the blood of the sacrificed animal, which seems to imply that the sacrifice is meant to please them as well as to constrain them. Among the other ceremonies connected with house-building, tent-pitching, or well-digging, there are, as we have seen, some which are intended not to frighten the *jnūn* but to appease them; and the instances of prophylactics of the latter type may easily be multiplied.

Thus in Fez, when people move into a house, whether new or old, they sprinkle the thresholds and corners of the rooms with fresh milk and burn white and black benzoin and agal-wood, of which the *jnūn* are fond, saying, *Ḥåna mĕn ḍyāf llah u ḍyâfkum qáblu 'ălîna*, "We are guests of God and your guests, receive us"; and on Thursday and Sunday nights it is in the same town the custom for the inhabitants of a house to fumigate it with both kinds of benzoin before they go to bed. In Tangier also white benzoin is burned on the same nights to appease "the masters of the house"; and it is believed that if this fumigation is omitted, the spirits will in the middle of the night knock at the door where the owner of the house sleeps with his wife. In the same town it also frequently happens that persons who have moved into a house on the first evening, in order to gratify the *jnūn*, sprinkle the corners of each room with milk, instead of keeping them off by the sprinkling of water, as said before. Among the Ait Waráin the bridegroom, before he has intercourse with the bride, burns some white

[1] *Infra*, ii. 234 *sqq*. [2] See *infra*, i. 518.

benzoin " to please the spirits of the place ". In the Ḥiáina, when a person comes to live in a house or to stay there even for a short time, he puts on the third night a dish of *ṭă'âm* (*sĕksŭ*), either with milk or meat but prepared without salt, outside the house as a food-offering or " hospitality " (*ḍyâfa*) to " the masters of the place ". Sometimes it happens that the *jnūn* return this kindness: I heard of a woman who made an offering and some five days afterwards found her churn full of butter without any buttermilk, a few minutes after she had filled it with milk and before she had begun to churn; and there could be no doubt that it was " the masters of the place " who had done this favour to her.[1]

In Andjra I was told that when a man for the first time enters a town or a market-place, he must either give a feast to his companions or make the noise of a donkey, and if he refuses to do so they tie his hands behind his back. The meal is an offering to the *mwâlīn l-mkān*, the noise is intended to put them to flight, and the tying-up of the man is *'ār* upon them; and if nothing of all this is done they will strike the people who enter the place. Instead of frightening away the *jnūn* by throwing salt into the well or spring from which water is fetched for the first time, the people of Andjra also throw into it seven pieces of bread for the purpose of appeasing " the masters of the place ". In the same tribe the bride, on the evening of *nhār s-sába' ḍe l-'ărûṣ u ḍe l-'ărûṣa*, " the seventh day of the bridegroom and bride ", takes one of the loaves of bread which she had on her head or back when she was girdled the same day, and goes to the spring which supplies the household with water. She drops some pieces of the loaf on her way, puts some round the spring, and throws others into the water, saying, *Ana mĕ ḍyâf lláh u mĕ ḍyâfkum, a mwâlīn l-blâḍ*, " I am [one] of the guests of God and of your guests, O owners of the land ". Being a stranger, she thus places herself under the protection of the spirits and saints of the district. Among the Ait Waráin, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's place, the mule on which she is riding is led seven times from right to left round the little mosque

[1] For food offerings to the *jnūn*, see also *infra*, ii. 163 *sq.*

outside the village. This was said to be a salutation to the *áitmort* (contraction of *ait tmort*), that is, the spiritual masters of the place, including both saints and *jnūn*; although there is reason to believe that it was originally meant as a rite of purification, preventing the bride from carrying evil with her to her new home.[1]

When a *jẹnn* or *jnūn* have actually got hold of a person, attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar. In the Ḥiáina, if a person is troubled with *lé-ryäḥ*—for example, if a woman has been struck by *jnūn* because she saw a piece of meat which was not given to her, or because her husband made her angry—tar is put into the patient's nostrils; and if a horse suffers from jaundice (*bûṣăffer*, which is a Jewish *jẹnn*), tar is smeared on its mouth and spots of it are painted on the lower side of its body. The Aiṭ Wäryâġer put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by *jnūn*, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through. In Andjra tar, black benzoin, and rue are burned in a similar manner. As soon as the *jẹnn* inside the patient feels the smell of the smoke, it begins to cry, in the person of the latter, and says to him, *Ana bẹ̌ lláh u š-šraʿ, nẹ̌mši fḥâli*, "I am under the protection of God and the religious law, I am going away". The patient then, on his own behalf, asks the *jẹnn* where he is going, and the *jẹnn* answers that he is going home to his own country. The patient asks what country it is, and the *jẹnn* answers that it is the country of the Christians. The patient says, "You may go to your country, but you must come back again, because you have robbed me of my health, and I am still afraid of you". The *jẹnn* insists on going away for good, but the patient replies that if he wants to go he must first enter the fire;

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 208, 215.

the patient believes that he cannot otherwise regain his health. The *jenn* then goes into the fire, and is burned to death. Another method of expelling troublesome *jnūn* is to burn powder and harmel together and inhale the smoke after it has passed underneath one's clothes; and in this case the patient also eats a little powder. In the same tribe, if a person has *š-šá'ṭa*, some salt is thrown into a fire and the patient in a crouching position extends his cloak over it.

In Dukkâla salt, tar, and a dagger are placed underneath a sick man's pillow, and tar is put into his nostrils; or a paper smeared with tar is burned and the smoke inhaled by him; or an iron-chain is moved in front of his face so as to make a rattling noise, after tar has been put into his nostrils. So also the Shlöḥ cure persons who have been struck by *jnūn* with tar or by burning rue in the room. In Fez a small piece of alum, salt, or harmel, is often worn together with a written charm by persons who are ill. In the Ḥiáina harmel, pounded and mixed with water, is taken as medicine by people who have been struck by *jnūn*. In the same tribe a married woman who cannot get a child has her vulva fumigated with gum-ammoniac on seven consecutive mornings before breakfast. In Andjra irregular appearance of blood in a woman is cured by her eating some charcoal made of lentisk (*ḍrō*). The Aiṭ Wäryâġer rub pounded bitter almonds (*ddauz māzag*) mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person who is troubled with *lé-ryāḥ*.

Silver coins are used, not only as a means of protection against *jnūn*, but sometimes as a remedy for illnesses caused by them. In Fez the family of a person who is troubled with *lé-ryāḥ* are advised by a *ṭálla' l-mlūk*, or exorcist, to put a dollar or half-a-dollar piece, after washing it with water and fumigating it with white and black benzoin, underneath the patient's pillow. If the patient begins to recover, a company of Gnáwa or a band of *ḥaḍḍârāt*[s] are called in to make their usual performance,[1] and the coin is given to them. It is called *'árbûn*, or money paid in advance.

Blood is sometimes used as a cure for illness caused by

[1] See *infra*, i. 344 *sqq*.

jnūn. In the Ḥiáina a person who is troubled with *lé-ryäḥ* goes to a slaughtering-place, burns there some benzoin, and takes home with him some clotted blood, which he envelops in a piece of calico and wears as a charm. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn, again, a charm written with the blood of a black hen or a white cock or a white tame pigeon is procured for such a person, who may besides eat the bird, after it has been boiled without salt, and drink the gravy; nobody else must eat of it, and the entrails, feathers, and bones should be buried, so that nobody can step over them. At Rabat a child suffering from whooping-cough—which is regarded as a *jennîya*—is taken by its parents to the chief of the butchers, *l-îmām dĕ l-gúrna*, together with an ox, a sheep, or a goat, which is killed by him before any other animal on that day; and as soon as he has cut its throat, he touches the throat of the child with the bloody knife. In Dukkâla this is done either by a butcher or a homicide, before sunrise. So also in Andjra whooping-cough is cured by a homicide feigning to cut the throat of the patient; and if a person is confined to his bed a homicide may be called in to act as doctor by pretending to stab him all over his body. The explanation given of this practice was that the *jnūn* are afraid of steel, but an obvious reason for employing homicides as doctors is the idea that a person who has killed a man is also able to kill a disease;[1] and besides, they are themselves *meskûnin*. In the Ḥiáina, if a woman has been struck by *jnūn*, her husband takes to her a homicide to cure her by stepping three times over her body. In the same tribe, if a person is troubled with *lé-ryäḥ*, some earth is brought from the grave of a person who has been murdered; this earth is mixed with pounded coriander seed and water, and the mixture is drunk by the patient on three consecutive days after sunset. In Andjra earth from a similar grave mixed with water is sprinkled on the joints of a person who is *meš'ôṭ*. Curative power is frequently ascribed to a place where a person has been murdered, in the case of whooping-cough or other illnesses. Contact with such a place has a destructive influence on the illness owing to the destruction of the person.[2]

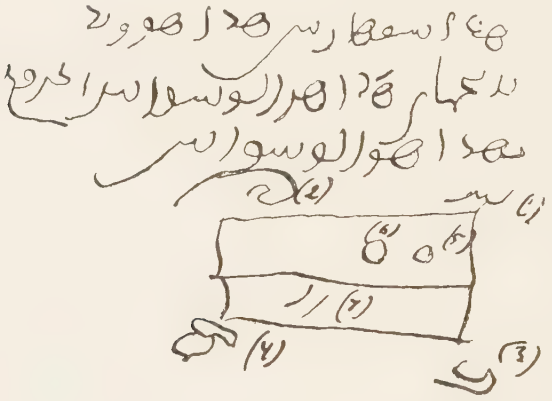
[1] *Cf. infra*, ii. 11, 404 n. 1. [2] *Infra*, ii. 558 *sq*.

Water is used, not only as a preventive against *jnūn*, but to cure illnesses and infertility caused by them. I was once called out to look at a man who had fallen down struck by a *jẹnn*; one of my friends sprinkled his face and feet with water and assured me that within a few minutes the *jẹnn* would let him alone. In Andjra a young wife goes to the sea-shore on the fortieth day after her arrival at her new home, before sunrise, without being seen by anybody; she throws a loaf of bread into the sea, lets seven waves go over her body, and says to the sea, *A 'ámmi l-bḥar, ána meryâḥa, a'ṭêni l-áulaḍ u ṣ-ṣáḥḥa*, "O my uncle the Sea, I am troubled with spirits, give me children and health". In the same district a barren woman likewise lets seven waves pass over her body, drinking a little and gathering some water from each wave; she then takes the water home with her, and drinks of it and washes herself with it for seven days.[1] The same practice is sometimes resorted to by childless men In Andjra animals are also taken to the sea and bathed on Midsummer day in order to become fertile, and if a hen does not lay eggs it is hung up in a tree while it is raining and a strong wind is blowing. Infertility in people or animals is sometimes said to be caused by *jnūn*, including the Táb'a,[2] and sometimes by witchcraft, which is often practised by the aid of *jnūn*. We have previously noticed instances in which water is used to break a spell.[3] Holy water is regarded as a particularly effective remedy for troubles caused by *jnūn*.

The recitation or writing of sacred words is an oft-used method of expelling troublesome *jnūn*. When a house is much haunted, a large number of scribes may be called in to read there the whole Koran, even as many as six or seven times successively (Sūs). In Mazagan and Dukkâla, if there is a haunted room in a house, the Koran is read in it by scribes, benzoin and other incense are burned, and tar, harmel, and coriander seed are hung under the roof. The recitation of sacred words, as we have seen, is a frequent cure for illnesses; and written charms are also very frequently used for a similar purpose. In Fez, if a person is affected

[1] *Cf. infra*, ii. 189. [2] See *infra*, i. 400 *sqq*. [3] *Supra*, p. 88 *sq*.

by *lé-ryäḥ*, a scribe writes something from the Koran on a paper which has the colour of the spirits troubling him, after which the paper is burned and the smoke inhaled by the patient. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, if a person suffers from an illness caused by *jnūn*, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck. In Andjra, illness caused by *jnūn* is cured by means of a written charm called *n-nšâri ḏĕ t-t'ébḥēr*, "the



charm of fumigation". A paper is divided into three parts, on each of which is written as follows (my scribe wrote a poor hand): *Hâḏa Šĕmhârûš hâḏa hûwa ûlaḍ bel lă-ḥmár hâḏa hûwa l-wéswas aḫrûj yā hâḏa hûwa l-wéswas*, "This is Šĕmhârûš, this is the Ûlaḍ bel lă-Ḥmár, this is the tempter, go out; oh this is the tempter". The letters must be written without dots, lest the *jnūn* should strike the scribe who writes them; "for the dots are the children of the *jnūn*". Each of the signs inside or at the corners of the *jédwäl* which is drawn underneath the writing is a charm against an illness which, at the time when the charm is written, has lasted so and so many days. Thus (1) is a charm against an illness which has lasted three days, (2) against one which has lasted five days, (3) against one which

has lasted four days, (4) against one which has lasted seven days, (5) against one which has lasted nine days, (6) against one which has lasted ten days, (7) against one which has lasted twelve days. If the illness has lasted more than twelve days the whole amulet is useless, and the patient must visit a *sîyîd* to be cured. One part of the *nšâri* is burned in the evening, another part on the following morning, and the third part on the evening of the same day. Each part is burned together with a leaf of a so-called "sultan of the oleanders" (*súlṭan d-dfel*)[1] with the name of a *jenn* written on it, as also some rue, harmel, tar, and salt. When this is burned the patient inhales the smoke. The *nšâri* should be written at a time when no prayer is said and when the sun is not shining; and it is used as a cure for illnesses caused by *jnūn* either on a Tuesday or a Wednesday —days on which the *jnūn* are particularly dangerous. Very similar to *n-nšâri ḏĕ t'ébḥēr* is another charm called *n-nšâri ḏĕ š-šûrb*, "the charm of drinking". But as the latter contains writing from the Koran, the three divisions of it must not be burned, but are put in water, which is then drunk by the patient.

Words in the *jnūn's* own language are also used for curative purposes. A man from the Ḥiáina told me that if a person has hurt a *jenn* or its offspring, by treading on them in ashes or making water in ashes or washing himself with water from a haunted spring, and the *jenn* in retaliation has made one of his eyes diseased, there is only one cure for it:—A scribe who understands how to deal with cases of this sort writes something in the *jenn* language on three sooty pieces of an earthenware pan (*fárraḥ*) which has been used for the baking of bread; one of the pieces is then heated in a fire and put into a bowl of water, which is kept underneath the affected eye so that the vapour enters into it; and the same is on the two following evenings done with the other pieces of the pan.

The practices by which *jnūn* are expelled from persons troubled with them very frequently include sacrifices and offerings. I shall first describe the so-called *ḍyâfa*,

[1] See *supra*, p. 109.

"hospitality", of the Arabic-speaking people in Northern Morocco, which is subject to many variations in detail. Minute accounts of this practice were given me by my friend Shereef Abdsslam's mother, an old shereefa born in the mountain district of the Bni Mṣáuwar but resident in Tangier, who enjoyed a great reputation for her skill in curing diseases. She told me as follows :—

Suppose that a person has *ǩ-šá'ṭa* caused by "the masters of the ground" (*mwâlīn l-'arḍ*), that he is very weak and feverish, feels pain in his knees and his head, talks to himself and imagines that he sees persons who are not there at all, then his family, in order to cure him, ask three married women who when they married were brides for the first time and whose names are respectively 'Aiša, Ráḥma, and Fáṭma (these are all names of *jẹnnîyāt*[s]) to give them a double handful of flour each. This flour is mixed together and put into a clean white kerchief or piece of cotton stuff, which is then fumigated with white benzoin and put underneath the patient's head over night. In the morning a woman who is past the age of child-bearing takes three handfuls of the flour and makes of it a small loaf without the addition of salt, whilst the rest of the flour is mixed with other flour and dough is made of it with salt but without yeast. On the top of the saltless loaf she puts seven grains of barley, and then all the loaves are taken to a public oven to be baked. Now fishes of five different kinds—one of each kind—are cooked with fresh butter, onions, and pepper-corns, but without salt ; and it is necessary that the pipkin in which this is done should be new. A small piece of each fish with some gravy is given to the patient to eat, another portion of the gravy is rubbed on his wrists, elbows, knees, ankles, and forehead, and a third portion is sprinkled on the ground underneath his bed and in each corner of the room where he is living. The woman puts into a basket the saltless loaf, the pipkin containing the remainder of the fish and gravy, the entrails of the five fishes as also of other fishes which were bought at the same time for the use of the family, four small flags of different colours—black, white, red, and yellow—fastened to sticks, and three dolls called

l-'ărâis representing a man and his wife and their little daughter. She also puts into the pipkin a small silver coin, saying, " Oh pardon us if we have forgotten anything which you like, here is the money with which you may buy whatever you want " ; and another silver coin she puts into her mouth to prevent the *jnūn* from striking her. She now takes the basket with its contents to some haunted place which is not frequented by many people, by preference to the seashore if it is near. On her way thither and back she must not speak to anybody nor look behind. At the haunted place she leaves everything contained in the basket, but the basket itself she may take back with her. When she returns she picks up seven stones from the road, and these she throws one after the other at the door of the sick person's house so that the people there shall let her in ; for she is not allowed to knock at the door. It once happened that the woman who had taken the *ḍyâfa* to the haunted place instead of throwing stones at the door knocked at it, and her hand was paralysed in consequence. She must also keep the silver coin in her mouth till she has entered the house, and then she does not give it back to its owner but retains it herself ; many a woman has become dumb because she omitted to put the coin into her mouth. The bread and fish which were prepared with salt are eaten by the other members of the patient's family and friends who come to the house, and if any of them is feeling unwell he may be cured by partaking of this food although it is salt. But if the patient is a child, the salted food must not be eaten by anybody else but members of the child's own family and other children.

The saltless food was represented partly as a gift-offering to the *jnūn* but partly also as *'ār*, by which they are compelled to leave the sick man in peace. They are supposed to accompany the food which is taken to the haunted place, and the dogs which devour it there are *jnūn* in disguise. Should a person eat that food he would die in consequence, because it is haunted. The flags are meant for the governors of the *jnūn* : the white flag for the great saint Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder, the black one for Sîdi Mûsa (a *jenn* saint), the

red one for Sîdi Ḥámmů (another *jẹnn* saint), and the yellow one for Lálla Rqîya (a saintly *jẹnnîya*). The dolls are given to the *jnūn* as " presents ", so that they shall have what they want and no longer molest the person whom they made ill ; they are evidently regarded as substitutes for him.

The following is another *ḍyâfa* custom, which is resorted to when all sorts of medicine have been tried in vain :—The family of the sick person buy pieces of seven internal parts—the liver, lungs, heart, etc.—of a bullock or sheep which has been slaughtered by a butcher as the first animal in the morning. They are all cooked together in a new pipkin with fresh butter, onions, and pepper, but without salt. Some of the gravy is rubbed on the patient's body, as in the former case. His family procure some flour from seven married women, three of whom have the names 'Aiša, Ráḥma, and Fáṭma, but this should be given them gratuitously and not for money. Some of it is kept over the smoke of white benzoin and then put underneath the sick person's head, as in the other case, whilst the remainder is mixed with flour belonging to his own family. *Sẽksů* is made of it, partly without any addition of salt, and the boiled pieces of the bullock or sheep are put into the *sẽksů*. The sick man eats as much as he can of the unsalted portion of this dish, and what remains of it is then, together with flags and dolls, as said before, taken to a haunted place. An hour or two afterwards the salted portion of the *sẽksů* is eaten by the patient's family and friends who have been specially invited for this occasion, but the latter must all be grown-up people, since no other children but those of the household are allowed to partake of this meal. Neither the sick man, who eats the unsalted food, nor the others, who eat the salted *ḍyâfa* (the name *ḍyâfa* is given to both kinds of food), say the usual *bismillậh* before they begin. This refers to the previous case as well ; and in both cases all persons present must be clean, as any unclean individual among them would be affected by the patient's sickness Both he and they must eat the *ḍyâfa* without spoons, because " the masters of the ground " never use spoons and would look upon it as an insult if the others did so ; and when they have finished eating, they must not

wash their hands but wipe them clean on the clothes worn by the sick man.

The shereefa also informed me of the following cure :— An old woman brings a yellow hen. A scribe kills it over a bowl or plate which is held upon the patient's head, and rubs his forehead and the joints of his arms and legs with the blood. The old woman boils the hen without salt in a new pipkin, fumigates it with white benzoin, and gives it to the patient to eat of. After he has eaten she puts anything which is left of the hen, even its entrails and feathers, as also the pipkin, into a basket, which she carries away to a haunted place. On her way there and back she has a silver coin in her mouth, and must neither speak to anybody nor look behind until she has re-entered the sick man's house.

An old man from Andjra told me that when a person is troubled with *lé-ryäḥ* a fowl is killed and boiled without salt. The sick man does not eat of it, but it is taken, whole as it is, to a place which nobody visits, and the old woman who carries it thither must neither turn round nor speak to anybody on her way, even though a stone were thrown at her. As soon as the fowl is boiled the *jnūn* begin to eat of it, and while eating they are carried away with it ; but if anybody walks over it at the place where it is thrown, the *jnūn* will enter into him. In the village Bné Ḥlu in the same tribe I was told that a cock is killed and boiled and put into a dish of *kŭsksŭ* (*sĕksŭ*) with all its feathers on the top, care being taken that none fall off. It is then carried by an old woman to a spring which is haunted by *jnūn*. If on the following morning it is found that *jnūn* have eaten of the food, the feathers are taken back to the house and burned and the sick person inhales the smoke ; but if the food is found untouched, there is no hope of his recovery.

At the market of *l-ḫămîs* in Andjra there is a place called *l-ḫámma*, consisting of a little cave with a spring close by, which is the *ḫálwa* of Sîdi 'Ăli ben Mĕs'ûd, a saint buried in Tetuan, who is the patron saint of *l-ḫămîs*. While alive he ruled over the *jnūn* of that place and kept them in prison, but he does not do so now that he is dead. If a person is *meskûn* he goes there on a Saturday or Wednesday night,

lies down naked over the hole in the ground, and in this position rubs the various parts of his body three times. He then goes to the spring and takes from it water, which he mixes with earth from the hole, and paints with the mixture a ring round each of his joints. When he goes to the spring he approaches it with his back turned towards it so as to avoid seeing the *jnūn*, and when he leaves it he has his face turned towards it as a respectful salutation. After he has painted his joints with the mixture of earth and water he either goes home directly or, if he is not too afraid to do so, spends the night at the *ḥámma* with his body stretched over the hole, in order to leave there his sickness. When he returns from the *ḥámma* he must not speak to anybody on the road, lest he should get worse, and should anybody speak to him that person would get his illness whilst he himself would get rid of it. If the *jnūn* appear to him during his sleep, either at the *ḥámma* or in his own house, he has to follow their directions ; and if they do not appear at all, he has to renew his visit to the *ḥámma* till he sees them or, otherwise, till he is cured. The *jnūn* will tell him what sort of a fowl he should kill at the spring—whether it should be a cock or a hen and of what colour it should be,—as also the day and hour when he should perform the sacrifice. He kills the fowl over an earthenware vessel, without the usual *bismilláh* ; should its blood touch the ground, it would lose its efficacy. He then throws the knife on the margin of the spring and leaves it there ; it would be dangerous to take it home and make further use of it, whereas by throwing away the knife he at the same time throws away his *bạs*, or evil. When no more blood flows out from the fowl he flings it into the spring ; when I visited the place I saw there a dead fowl. He breaks a loaf of bread made without salt, which he has brought with him, into seven pieces, dips them into the blood of the sacrificed fowl, and throws them in different directions in the immediate vicinity of the spring. He also dips into the blood seven pieces of his clothing ; and for seven nights afterwards he burns one of them each night before he goes to bed, and inhales the smoke Sometimes, when a very bad *jẹnn* has entered the patient's body,

he drinks some of the blood of the fowl on the spot. From the spring he goes to the little cave, taking with him the vessel over which the fowl was killed, and there he paints with its blood rings round his joints, using one of its feathers as a pencil. When he goes away he leaves at the cave the vessel and whatever blood remains in it, but takes with him some earth and also some water from the neighbouring spring or, if it happens to be dry, from another haunted spring at the market; and when he is back in his house, he paints rings round his joints with the earth and water. When he leaves the *ḥámma* he addresses it in the following words: *Yā 'ámtˢi l-ḥámma, ána ḫallítˢ lek ṣ-ṣáḥḥa u ntˢîna tˢa'ṭêni r-ráḥḥa*, "O my aunt the *ḥámma*, I left to you health and may you give me rest", meaning that he left there his illness and got health instead; my informant made the remark that when a *jenn* has entered a person's body it takes away his health and gives him its own health in return. When the patient has recovered, he goes back to the little cave and puts there a few copper coins, saying, *Yā 'ámtˢi l-ḥámma, ána ḫallítˢ lek n-nḥäs u ntˢîna tˢa'ṭêni n-nóqra*, "O my aunt the *ḥámma*, I left to you copper, and may you give me silver"; meaning that he left there his illness and will get back his health. He also leaves there some dolls which he has made, one for each joint of his body, saying, *Yā ámtˢi l-ḥámma, ána ḫd̲ītˢ lek l-'ărûṣ u l-'ărûṣa u l-'ăbîyiḍ u l-'ăbîyḍa*, "O my aunt the *ḥámma*, I presented to you bridegroom and bride and the little male slave and the little female slave"—meaning that he left there his illness, the *jnūn* who troubled him going away from him with the dolls. If a person is too ill to be able himself to perform the ceremonies described above, another member of his family takes his clothes to the *ḥámma*, puts them over the hole in the ground, rubs them as the sick man would have rubbed his body, and, with the clothes in his hands, acts in the same manner as the sick man would have done if he had himself visited the place.

When I was staying in the village Ḍār Fĕllaq in the mountain tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb, I was told that if a person is troubled with *lé-ryäḥ*, a black cock is killed over his head. It is cooked without having its feathers removed, and a little

of it is given to the sick man to eat. Some courageous person then takes it to a haunted place; he goes there one way and returns another way, and must not look back, lest he should become ill himself and the sick man should get worse. If anybody the next morning sees the cock at the haunted place, the sickness will go into him. In the same village I also heard the following story. One evening a man went to another village to invite some guests with their dancing boy. On the road he found a bullock resting close to a spring. He told it to get up, since otherwise somebody might come and catch it. But the bullock began to run after the man, who protected himself by drawing his sword and invoking Mûläi 'Abdsslam, the great saint of the Jbâla. The bullock was a *jenn*, and the man also saw other *jnūn* coming, and he went mad. Attracted by the noise, people from the neighbourhood came to the place, tied the man, and took him to a scribe, who ordered *kŭskswŭ* to be made without salt and to be carried to a certain place which was haunted by *jnūn*. He also told the patient's brother, who offered to take the food to the haunted place, not to look behind if he heard any noise on his way back. The brother did as he was told; he heard camels and horses coming after him and his name mentioned behind him, but he did not look back. And when he came home, he found his brother all right in his mind.

At Brīš in the Ġarbîya, if a person is troubled with *lé-ryäḥ*, a scribe or a black man who is familiar with the ways of the *jnūn* is asked what ought to be done. A common advice is that a black cock shall be killed over the sick man's head so that the blood drops on it, but the *bismillāh* must not be used on this occasion. When its feathers have been removed, the cock is cooked without salt and the patient's body is rubbed with the gravy all over. A woman then takes the cock to a place indicated by the scribe or the black man, generally a spring or pond, and, in this case also, she is not allowed to speak to anybody on the way. When she puts down the fowl at the haunted place she says, "This is hospitality for you, O masters of the place". If it is still found there on the following morning, it is an indication that the *jnūn* do

not care for it, and some other cure is tried. I heard of a similar practice among the Beni Ăḥsen. The *fqī*, or schoolmaster, of the village, who is consulted on the matter, orders a fowl to be killed over the sick man's head, care being taken that its blood does not touch the ground. In many cases the fowl is then cooked, without salt, and the patient drinks the gravy, whilst its meat, with the addition of salt, may be eaten by other members of the family. But I was also told, in the same tribe, that a black goat is killed at a place where a person has been struck by *jnūn*. The word *ḍyâfa* is not used by them in the sense mentioned above, nor, so far as I know, by any tribe farther south, nor in Fez and its neighbourhood.

In Dukkâla I was told that if a man has had a bath in the afternoon and become ill in consequence, a *fqī* who knows how to treat illnesses caused by *jnūn* is asked to cure him. He writes a charm, but if the patient does not get better he comes himself, and finds out, from the name of the patient and that of his mother, the tribe of the *jnūn* who struck him. The *fqī* orders a cock which has the colour of that tribe to be taken to the place where the sick man had his bath and to be killed there, but in doing so the sacrificer must neither say the *bismillāh* nor have his face turned to the East. The cock is then taken back again and cooked without salt, and some of the gravy is smeared on the patient's body or is drunk by him, or he eats the liver or heart or some other part of the cock, just as the *fqī* prescribes. The remainder of it is thrown at a haunted place indicated by the *fqī*, where it is eaten by *jnūn* in the disguise of dogs. I was also told that if a child is ill, its mother makes three small loaves of bread without salt, hangs them under the roof of the tent to remain there for three days, and then throws them at a haunted place.

In the Ḥiâina, if a person is troubled with *lé-ryăḥ*, a black or white cock or hen is killed over his head so that the blood drops down on it. The fowl is then boiled without salt, and the sick man drinks the gravy and eats the meat. The feathers only are taken to a haunted place, where the *jnūn*, attracted by the smell of blood, have a fight for

them between themselves, with the result that the patient will be left in peace and recover from his illness. This practice is known under the name of *n-nášra*; but there is also another cure, called *ṣadaqt*^{s} *j-jnūn*, which consists in a dish of *ṭă'ám* (*sěksů*) with meat but without salt being put over night at a haunted place near the house. It is believed that the *jnūn* go away from the patient together with the *ṭă'ám*, not to come back again.

Among the Tsūl a scribe gives the advice that a cock of a certain colour shall be killed over a bowl which is held close to the sick man's head, so that a little of the blood touches it. The cock is then boiled without salt, some of the gravy is given to the patient to drink, and his body is rubbed with the rest. Nobody eats of the boiled fowl, which, together with the feathers and entrails, is taken by a woman to the place where the man was struck by *jnūn*. The woman must not speak on her way there, nor after she has left the place, until she is at some distance from it.

At Fez, as we have seen, a person who is troubled with *jnūn* goes to l-Máqṭa' and gives to the *mqáddem* of the place some wax-candles and a black he-goat or a cock having the colour of the *jẹnn* or *jnūn* troubling him or "a cock of seven colours", which is killed by the *mqáddem*.[1] But if a person is ill, it also may happen that a woman of his family takes a *mnâra* to a slaughtering-place (*gúrna*) inside the town and lights it there as an offering to the *rijâl l-gúrna*. Or a woman who is *märyâḥa*, haunted, a so-called *ůmm j-jnūn*, pounds some roasted wheat, roasted sesame (*zénjlän*), white and black benzoin, mastic, agal-wood, and sugar, and mixes them with oil. She does this in her own house, and then takes the mixture to the place where the patient was struck by *jnūn*. She sprinkles it round this place, lights there a *mnâra*, burns some benzoin of both kinds, agal-wood, and mastic, and puts an egg in each corner of the place as food for the *jnūn*. This cure is called *bsîsa*.

An Arab from the neighbourhood of Marráksh told me that when a person is ill he consults a scribe, who lets him know when and where he was struck by a *jẹnn*. Some

[1] *Supra*, p. 284 *sq.*

semolina mixed with oil is then taken to that place, or a cock is killed there.

At Demnat a cock is likewise killed on the spot where the sick man was hurt by *jnūn*. It is plumed there, but is then, together with the feathers, taken to his house, where it is cooked without salt. The sick man drinks the gravy, whereas the other members of the family eat the meat—I presume with the addition of salt; should he eat of the meat, he would not get cured. The head, feathers, feet, and intestines of the cock, as also some barley and wheat and an egg, are laid in a vessel which is put near the patient to remain there over night. The following morning it is carried with its contents to the spot where he was struck by *jnūn*. The person who takes it there is not forbidden to speak in going, but must not do so in coming back, lest the whole performance should be of no avail. I also heard of another cure which had been practised in the same little town. A cock was killed over the sick man's head so that some of the blood touched it, whilst the rest was gathered in a bowl without being allowed to touch the ground. The head, feathers, and entrails of the cock, together with a raw egg and some barley and maize, were also put into the bowl, which was then kept near the patient over night, but in the morning carried to the spring called Lálla T^{s}abakîyut^{s}, the most haunted place in the neighbourhood. The egg was thrown into the spring, but the other things were left on its margin close to the water. The food was eaten by tortoises, which of course were *jnūn* in disguise. I have previously spoken of the offerings made to tortoises in the large pond or spring of Lálla Tákĕrkust and some other springs.

Among the Ait Ba'ámran in Sūs a person who is possessed with *jnūn* makes a dish of bread and butter but without salt, and puts it on the roof of the house, saying some words like these, "O God, I complain of my illness to this bread". It is left there uncovered till the following morning, so that the spirits shall partake of it. The man then buries it somewhere in the ground with ceremonies similar to those observed at an ordinary burial, or simply gives it to dogs to eat. Among other Shlöḥ in Sūs a cock or an animal having the

colour indicated by the scribe who is consulted on the matter is killed on the spot where the patient was struck by *jnūn*, or some food prepared without salt is deposited there. Among some Berbers of the Rīf a cock is killed and taken to a haunted place, or some *sāḥsû* (*sĕksû*) made without salt, together with two dolls representing a man and a woman, are put there. My best informant from the Rīf, however, could tell me no more of these things, because, as he said, it is only the women who know much about them.

The main ideas underlying these practices are clear. The sacrifice, and, sometimes at least, the food offering also, are regarded as *'ār*, implying a conditional curse, which is meant to compel the *jnūn* to leave the patient alone. As is generally the case with *'ār*-sacrifices, the victim is killed without the *bismillāh*; an exception to this rule (see *supra*, pp. 285, 338) is explained by the fact that the animal or fowl is given to the human care-taker of the haunted place, who by killing it " in the name of God " makes it suitable for food. Sometimes the sacrifice is made at the place where the person was struck by *jnūn* or at some famous haunt of theirs, just as *'ār* is cast on a man by killing an animal at his dwelling. In other instances the victim is killed over the patient's head so that some of the blood drops down on it; in this case contact is established between the sacrifice and the *jnūn* in his body. A similar contact is also brought about in other ways: parts of the patient's body are rubbed or smeared with the blood or with the gravy of the fowl after it is cooked, or he drinks of the blood or the gravy, or eats of the meat, or inhales the smoke of the burned feathers or blood. Some of these practices are also obviously intended to whet the *jnūn's* appetite and thus induce them to leave the sick man and go with the fowl when it is carried away to the haunted place. It is cooked without salt because otherwise the *jnūn* would not care for it; and the same is the case with the other food-offerings, of which in many cases the patient also partakes, or with the gravy of which his body is rubbed, before they are carried away. But the *jnūn* may easily come back to him or attack the person who carries the offering, unless the latter takes certain precautions—refrains from

speaking and looking back, keeps a silver coin in the mouth, and so forth; and both the patient and anybody else who eats of the *ḍyâfa* must avoid certain practices which are always observed when ordinary food is partaken of. Very dangerous it is to eat of the offering after it has been taken to the haunted place, or even to walk over it or to see it. A man from Andjra said that in his tribe the *ḍyâfa* is done at night so that nobody else shall get the sick man's complaint, whereas at Tangier it is done in the daytime because the people there do not care a bit about their neighbours, but on the contrary are pleased if their relative's illness is transferred to some other person. He told me that he once, outside Tangier, met a dog with a loaf of bread in its mouth; he threw a stone at it and it dropped the loaf; he ate a little of the bread, and when he came home he was taken ill and suffered from fever for two years. The dog was a *jenn* and the bread which it had in its mouth was *ḍyâfa*. The idea of transference is conspicuous in some of the practices mentioned, and, as already said, the dolls are no doubt meant as substitutes for the patient.

The *jnūn* who are troubling people are frequently expelled by the active aid of persons who stand in an especially intimate relation to these spirits. In Andjra, if attempts have been made in vain to cure a sick person with the assistance of saints and scribes, a so-called *nĕḍḍār* (masc.) or *nĕḍḍâra* (fem.) is called to the house; they are generally, though not always, black people, but in any case they are believed to be haunted by *jnūn*. Suppose that a *nĕḍḍâra* is sent for. She comes at night with a band of musicians playing on tambourines (*bnâḍer*). She puts her left hand on the patient's forehead and mutters an incantation. She asks for incense (*bḫōr*) of various kinds, which she burns, and both she and the patient inhale the smoke. The inhalation makes her dance, and the musicians begin to play. While dancing she ejects through her mouth little pieces of white benzoin, which she likewise throws into the fire. If the patient also begins to dance, she will order him to have a so-called *lâmma* next day, that is, 'Ḍsáwa are to be invited to the house to dance there. If, on the other hand, he does

not dance, she orders *ḍyâfa* to be made. While she was dancing herself, she told his family that a cock of a certain colour should be killed at a certain place, and she is now reminded of what she said in her frenzy. A cock of the colour indicated is given to her, and she takes it to a haunted place, which is supposed to be the very place where the patient was struck by *jnūn* ; when she was dancing she was able to say where it happened. She goes there alone and secretly, and speaks to nobody on her way there and back. At the haunted place she kills the cock without saying *bis-millâh* ; its blood is not allowed to touch the ground but flows into a vessel which she brought with her. She then takes the cock and the vessel with its blood back to the house, and carries it three times round the fire-place. She gives the blood to the patient to drink of, and also smears some of it on his temples and joints ; the blood which he takes is drunk by the *jenn* inside him. She dips the heads of some fishes into the blood which remains and puts them underneath the fire-place, and she also buries there the feathers, entrails, head, and feet of the cock, which are left there for ever. She boils the cock and makes with it a dish of *kŭsksŭ*, without the addition of salt. This dish, of which nobody in the house eats, she takes to a haunted place where there is water—not to the place where she killed the cock, but to another one which was specially indicated by her when dancing. Should anybody eat of this food, he would have the illness of the patient. On the following night, at the hour when the cock was killed the night before, she takes the heads of the fishes which were hidden underneath the fire-place to a watery place which is haunted by *jnūn*, but not the same as the one mentioned before. They had to remain hidden all day long because the sun must not shine on them. When the patient gets better, the *nĕḍḍâra* takes him to another haunted place where there is water, with which she rubs his body. Neither he nor she is allowed to speak on their way. This, too, is done at night, and, like the earlier ceremonies, must not be done at the hour of prayer.

There are other cases in which the *nĕḍḍâra* (or *nĕḍḍār*)

kills a cock over the head of the sick man so that all the blood flows down on it. She then buries the cock in the same manner as if it were a human being, with the face turned towards Mecca; by doing so she buries the *bạs* of the patient. All this is done at night. On the next morning she goes to the slaughtering-place at the market, and asks the butcher to allow her to fill a bottle with blood from a slaughtered animal as it gushes out from the wound. With the bottle in her hand she goes three times round the market, without speaking to anybody, and then returns to the sick man's house. She makes some dolls, which she dresses with pieces of the sick man's clothes of different colours, and ties them together two and two, each couple representing a bride and a bridegroom. She tears from the patient's white clothing as many rags as she made dolls, and dips them into the blood which she brought from the market. She carries the dolls and rags to a place where there is water, takes them three times round this place, lays down the dolls on the margin, and burns one rag close to each couple. When she has thus burned all the rags she says in an inaudible voice, or rather thinks, as she should not speak, *Ā 'ámmi r-râuḥậni ḫallít^{s} lek ṣ-ṣáḥḥa u ddīt^{s} l-marḍ*, "O my uncle *roḥâni*, I left to you the health and took the sickness". She means of course the reverse.

At Salli, when a person is troubled with *jnūn*, an expert in expelling them, a so-called *ṭálla'* (masc.) or *ṭálla't* (fem.) *l-mlūk*, is called in to cure him. The doctor dresses himself in a costume of a certain colour, covers his face with a cloth of the same colour, and inhales underneath it the smoke of black benzoin. The king of the tribe of *jnūn* whose colour he wears then enters into him and speaks to him. He tells the *ṭálla' l-mlūk* if it was a member of his own tribe or of some other tribe who struck the sick man, and, in the former case, informs him about the day and hour when it happened, as also what ought to be done. In the latter case, again, the *ṭálla' l-mlūk* dresses himself in the colour of the tribe indicated by the king; but before doing so he keeps himself covered for a while so as to let the *jẹnn* king go away. While he is dressing, no water is allowed to be in the room, as the

kings of the *jnūn* do not like that there should be any. I was told that a judge in Salli once prohibited these ceremonies; but the result was that one side of his body was paralysed, and he recovered only when he again allowed them.

Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the *jnūn* are expelled from sick people by persons called *šůwâfa* (masc.) or *šůwâfāt* (fem.), sing. *šůwáf* or *šůwâfa*, who themselves have plenty of *jnūn* inside them. They never eat food which is very salt, and while they are curing patients they refrain from eating salted food altogether. The *šůwáf* (or *šůwâfa*) tells the sick man to bring him (or her) clothes of a certain colour—that of the *jnūn* who struck him,—a cock or hen of the same colour, and some incense of the kind which is particularly liked by the king who rules over the *jnūn* in question. If they belong to the tribe Ulâd bĕn l-Ḥămár, red clothes and a red cock are required; when they strike a person blood gushes out from his nose or mouth or other parts of his body. Sîdi Mûsa l-Báḥri, the king of another tribe, requires blue clothes and a cock which has some blue feathers in its plumage; he resides in the blue sea. Sîdi Méimūn, another *jenn* sultan, requires black clothes and a black cock; and Lálla Mîra, sister of the Ulâd bĕn l-Ḥămár, requires yellow clothes and a yellow cock or hen—being herself a female, she also accepts the sacrifice of a hen. The *šůwáf* dresses himself in the clothes brought by the patient, and kills the fowl, without saying *bismilláh*, over a vessel which is held over his head. The blood, however, must not touch the head, nor is it allowed to flow down on the ground, because that would make it haunted; it is poured off at a place where nobody goes and is covered up with earth. The fowl is boiled and eaten on the same evening by the *šůwáf*, the patient, and those of the *šůwáf's ḥúddam* or followers (consisting of late patients who have been cured by him) who are present; it is eaten with its gravy and some sugar put into it, but without bread or anything else. This dish is called *lă-ḥlu*, "the sweet", or *l-mĕssûs*, "the saltless". The *šůwáf* has also, at the expense of the patient, called in a company of Gnáwa, who make their usual *dérdba*—dance and play and sing, and in their

songs invoke the various *jenn* saints. They are entertained with *sěksû* and meat, prepared with salt; and the *ḥúddąm* of the *šûwáf* also partake in the meal, but not the *šûwáf* himself nor the patient. The ceremonies and feasts of this evening are called *'ärs lĕ-jwąd*. If the patient suffers from a serious illness, he remains with the *šûwáf* for seven days and seven nights, during which time they only eat unsalted food. While the treatment lasts, the *šûwáf* remains dressed in the clothes of the same colour. He is addressed *sîdi*, "my lord". The common people regard him as a saint, but the scribes say he is a *sąḥḥąr*, or wizard. At Mazagan a *šûwáf* has no communication with the *jnūn* on Saturdays.

At Fez, when a person is ill, an *ûmm j-jnūn*, or haunted woman, is asked to cure him. She goes about in the town with a dagger in her mouth, begging of the shopkeepers *l-fedyâ li llĕh*, "ransom for the sake of God". They give her various things, such as sugar, candles, wheat, butter, money, and so forth; and she buys a black he-goat and some fowls, including a cock "of seven colours", a black and a white cock, and a yellow hen. She paints her hands and feet with henna, and arranges in the evening a performance of the Gnąwa in her own house, with her *ḥaddâmāt*^{s}, or believers, as invited guests. But before the Gnąwa begin their music and dancing she sits down on a chair, dressed in her ordinary white costume. The black he-goat is brought in and is killed by the *mqáddem* of the Gnąwa, and she drinks its blood as it is gushing out from the wound till the throat of the animal gets bloodless and pale. Her mouth is then wiped with a silk handkerchief. The white cock is put on a *ṭās* on her head; it turns itself upside down and makes *fâṭ*^{s}*ḥa*, as it were, after which it is allowed to fly away. Now the *mqáddem* of the Gnąwa kills the cock of seven colours on the *ṭās* over her head, without letting the blood touch the head, and then the black cock and the yellow hen. She gets up and begins to dance, driven to it by the *jnūn*, and Gnąwa and *ḥaddâmāt*^{s} and other women present do the same. While she is dancing she says what *jenn* it was that struck the patient, and when she has finished she is dressed up in clothes of the colour of the *jenn*. She eats of the three fowls

which were killed and afterwards boiled by the *mqáddem*, together with some white and black benzoin, mastic, and gum-lemon, but without salt; and the remainder of this dish, which is called *méssūs*, is sent to the sick man, who eats of it till it is finished, in the course of a few days. The bones of the fowls are taken to the slaughtering-place inside the town called *l-gúrna bīn lé-mdūn*, and are thrown away on this haunted spot. The gòat which was killed is given to the *mqáddem*, who takes it with him to his house, when he, accompanied by the other Gnáwa, leaves in the morning. The *ůmm j-jnūn*, on the other hand, remains inside her house for seven days, like a bride, continuing her treatment of the absent patient. On the second evening so-called *ḥaḍḍârāt*^{s}, or female musicians, come there, and the *ůmm j-jnūn*, again dressed in clothes of the colour of the *jẹnn*, dances as on the night before, and so do the *ḥaddâmāt*^{s}; and they all eat fish. In the morning the musicians go away, but on the next evening another band of *ḥaḍḍârāt*^{s} come; and the same is the case on the fourth day. On the fifth day the new *ḥaḍḍârāt*^{s} come in the daytime and the usual dancing takes place; and on the following morning not only the *ḥaḍḍârāt*^{s} but the *ḥaddâmāt*^{s} also leave the house. In the afternoon, about *'âṣar*, the *ůmm j-jnūn* sends to each of the latter, as also to those of her *ḥaddâmāt*^{s} who have not been present, a *jůbbâna*, or small vessel with a pointed cover, filled with milk, together with some *ḍáġnu*, that is, a mixture of pounded rice, sugar, sesame, white and black benzoin, mastic, agal-wood, clarified salt butter, and some other substances. The *ůmm j-jnūn* herself eats of this mixture and drinks some milk, and the *ḥaddâmāt*^{s} are expected to do the same. When the milk-vessels are returned, some silver money is sent with each of them, and every *ṭbîyaq*, or small palmetto tray, on which *ḍáġnu* was sent, is returned with some sugar, sesame, and mastic on it. It should be added that the milk had been already bought by the *ůmm j-jnūn* on the first day and, in the evening, poured into *jůbbânāt*^{s} painted in different colours; these were then put in a specially cleaned division of the room behind a curtain, or in a separate room, fumigated with incense, and were left there till the sixth day. The

*ḥaḍḍârāt*ˢ who have hitherto been playing in the house of the *ûmm j-jnūn* have all been white women, but on the evening of the sixth day black women belonging to the Gnâwa, so-called *nānámmẅi*, are called in to make *ḥáḍra* by playing on various instruments—*ágwaḷ* (a short clay cylinder with skin), *béndīr* (a tambourine), *gánga* (the Gnâwi name for a *gḕmbri*, or diminutive two-stringed guitar), etc.[1] The *ûmm j-jnūn* and her *ḥaddâmāt*ˢ dance, and while dancing she removes all her clothes with the exception of her drawers (*sárwaḷ*). On the morning of the following day, the seventh, the musicians and the *ḥaddâmāt*ˢ go away, and the whole thing is finished.

It is also the custom both in Fez and elsewhere to call a company of Gnâwa, both men and women, to the patient's own house, or, if the latter be a woman, to call there a band of *ḥaḍḍârāt*ˢ. The following description refers to a performance of Gnâwa at Tangier. They come to the patient's house in the dark, after sunset, playing on two large drums of the kind called *ṭ-ṭăbél dĕ gnâwa*, and many iron castanets (*šaqšâqa* or, as the Gnâwa themselves call them, *tšaqtšâqa*). In the central court of the house most of the male Gnâwa form a circle round one of their companions and move slowly from right to left, playing on their castanets and singing repeatedly, *Ṣalā yä nābîna ä múläi Můhámmed*, "Pray O our Prophet, O our lord Můhámmed"; while the man in the centre is turning himself round, and two other Gnâwa standing outside the circle are playing on the drums. When this ceremony, which is called *dérdba*, has come to an end, the family of the patient give them milk and dried fruit (*fâkya*); this is *l-baraka dĕ sîyĭdna Bůlel*, "the *baraka* of our lord Bůlel", the patron saint of the Gnâwa, who was a black slave and the Prophet's *múdden*. The *m'állem*, or chief, of the Gnâwa—who, generally, does not take part in the *dérdba*—sits down, with a large guitar in his hand, and playing on it sings a welcome song to the various saints of the *jnūn*, whom he mentions by their names; while the

[1] The black *ḥaḍḍârāt*ˢ play the *ágwaḷ* and *béndīr* in a particular manner, putting the former between their legs and the latter in front of them. The *gánga* is played by them only, not by the white *ḥaḍḍârāt*ˢ.

other Gnâwa, seated round him, repeat his words to the accompaniment of their castanets. Meanwhile the female Gnâwa, or *ḥdem* (sing. *ḥâdem*), who are sitting in the roofed rooms of the house, become one after another possessed by *jnūn*. When a *jenn* enters one of them she falls down in the room where she is sitting or rushes out into the court and falls down there; this is at all events the case with many of them, say eight or twelve. When a *ḥâdem* falls down she is attended to by two male Gnâwa, who are standing there without playing. They fumigate her face, hands, and feet with black benzoin if the *jenn* who entered her belongs to the tribe whose colour is black, otherwise with white benzoin—they know the colours of the various *jnūn* by whom the *ḥdem* are possessed. They also fumigate the clothes in which they are now going to dress the *ḥâdem*; these they take from a sack filled with clothes of different colours belonging to the *m'állem*, which was brought to the house on a large palmetto tray called *ṭ-ṭbêqa de l-mlūk*, "the tray of the owners". They lift the *ḥâdem* into a standing position, and the *jenn* inside her makes her dance up and down. The *ḥdem* may thus dance (*käitˢḥáirū*) for hours or even the whole night, the *m'állem* playing his guitar and the other Gnâwa making a noise with their castanets. Some of the dancing women beat their necks with cords, which were among the clothes, or with sticks, or plunge a dagger into the stomach or lacerate their thighs with it, and many of them eat fire. One of them enters the room where the patient is lying, lifts him on to her shoulders, carries him into the centre of the house, dances with him in front of the *ṭbêqa* close to the *m'állem*, and then sets him down on the ground. She addresses herself to the *m'állem* telling him that the person is ill, and asks God, time after time in different phrases, for his recovery, while the *m'állem* and the Gnâwa who have castanets make *fâtˢḥa* and say *amên a sîdi* after each sentence. When this is finished both they and the *ḥâdem* wipe their faces with both hands, saying, *L-ḥamdû li llâh rábbi l-'âlamīn*, "Praise be to God the lord of the worlds". The *ḥâdem* lifts again the patient on to her shoulders, and asks the *m'állem* to order them to leave,

which is done by a resumption of the music by him and the other Gnâwa ; she now carries him back to his bed. While the patient is seated on the shoulders of the *ḥâdem*, the behaviour of the latter prognosticates the turn his illness will take ; if she covers her eyes with her hands he will die, but if she shows signs of joy he will recover. The ceremony just described is not repeated by the other dancing women, who simply enter the patient's room and touch various parts of his body, saying, *La baṣ a'l ĕd-dâḥš dyânna*, " Good health to our young donkey " (meaning the patient). It should be added that during the whole of this performance there must be no water in the centre of the house, and if the Gnâwa want to drink water they have to go into one of the side-rooms or on the roof and drink without being seen by those who are dancing. If there is any intoxicated person in the house or on the roof, the persons who are dancing cry out, *Ḥâna bĕ lláh u š-šra'*, " We are under the protection of God and the religious law ". The Gnâwa are not allowed to smoke or snuff on this occasion, and when they first enter the house they have to remove their slippers. Although the persons who dance are mostly women, some of the male Gnâwa (*lă-'bîd*) may also be among them.

When a company of Gnâwa are thus called in, the expression for it is to " make Gnâwa " or to " make " or " bring to the house the slaves of the ground (*lă-'bîd dĕ r-râḥba*) " —a name given to the Gnâwa on account of their close relations to the *jnūn*, who are masters of the ground,—or to " make *l-lâmma* " or " *l-wâlîma* " or " *l-krâma* ". The last three expressions are also applied to the ceremonies which for similar purposes are performed by companies consisting of 'Ṣâwa or Jilâla. In these companies there are no women. The chief, who is called *d-dékkār*, plays on two small drums (*ṭăbûl*), whilst the other men, who are called *l-fóqra*, play on tambourines (*agūlan*, sing. *ágwal*, in Fez and Marráksh also called *t^{s}'aârj*, sing. *t^{s}a'rêja*), consisting of a clay cylinder on one side covered with goatskin, which the musician taps with his fingers. In all other respects the curative performances of the 'Ṣâwa and Jilâla are exactly similar to those of the Gnâwa.

In Fez, when a *ḥâdem* falls down, those who help her up salute the *jenn* inside her and ask who he is. The *ḥâdem* answers, " I am so-and-so ". Then they dress her in clothes having the colour which is liked by the *jenn*—blue if the *jenn* speaking through her is Sîdi Mûsa, red if it is Sîdi Ḥámmů, yellow if it is Lálla Mîra, green if it is Sîdi Bûhâli, black if it is Sîdi Bläl (Sîdi Bûlel), white if it is Sîdi j-Jilâli.[1] The chief, or *mqáddem*, of the Gnáwa kills a black he-goat or cock over a tray which is held above the patient's head, while he is sitting on a chair. This sacrifice is called *dbêḥa kbîra* if the victim is a goat, and *dbêḥa ṣġêra* if it is a cock ; and in either case it is taken away by the Gnáwa, nothing of it being eaten in the patient's house. Here also ceremonies similar to those of the Gnáwa are performed for curative purposes by 'Ḍsáwa, but their instruments differ ; the Gnáwa have their castanets, here called *qárqba*, their guitar called *gánga*, and their large drums or *ṭbăl*, which are not used by the 'Ḍsáwa. Performances of the kind described above are likewise arranged with *ḥaḍḍárāt*[s] on behalf of persons troubled with *jnūn*.

In cases of illness caused by *jnūn*, visits with sacrifices or offerings are frequently made to the sanctuaries of saints who are regarded as rulers over those spirits. To take an instance. A Moorish friend of mind in Tangier told me that his wife every year suffers from an irregular appearance of blood (*demm l-fásād*), which is attributed to the Úlâd bel lă-Ḥmár. In order to cure it she pays a reverent visit to Sîdi l-Mĕṣmûdi's sanctuary outside the town, lights there a candle, burns some white benzoin, reciting passages from the Koran, and makes an offering of a cock—red, black, or many-coloured, but not white—which is killed by the *mqáddem* of the place. She then takes a portion of its blood to Ḍâr l-ḥámra, a haunted ruin mentioned above, burning benzoin all the way. She smears the joints of her arms, her knees, and her throat-pit with the blood, but washes it off soon after at the pool outside Ḍâr l-ḥámra, where she also washes her face and extremities ; if there happens to be no water in it, she goes back to Sîdi l-Mĕṣmûdi and performs the ablutions

[1] *I.e.* Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder, who is then treated as a *jenn* saint.

in his spring on the roadside. She then enters Ḍār l-ḥámra, burns incense there, lights a candle, and sprinkles some milk, which she brought with her, on the inner side of the wall, and when this is done she goes away. It should be added that instead of Sîdi l-Mĕṣmûdi some other saint who rules over the *jnūn* may be visited for the same purpose. Of such saints there is a large number in Morocco.[1] But there are also other saints, of the *jenn* kind, to whom offerings are made by patients or their families, to enlist their assistance in driving away the molesting *jenn*. Very frequently cocks are carried to their *ḥámmāṭ*^{s},[2] and are either slaughtered there or left there alive. One morning at Tangier I saw several women walk to a large stone in the sea, the *ḥámma* of Sîdi Mûsa. They kissed the stone, put on it some candles and incense, and had a bath on the other side of it.

The relations between men and *jnūn*, however, are not always of an unpleasant kind, and the practices which have reference to the latter are not exclusively such as are intended to keep them at a distance or put them to flight. In many cases they may be summoned by men, who then make use of them for their own purposes.

Thus Sîyĭdna Suleimän had a wonderful ring, the so-called *ḫât*^{s}*em sîyĭdna Suleimän* or *ḫât*^{s}*em l-ḥékma*, by means of which he ruled over the *jnūn*, as well as over all animals and birds in the world and the winds; it had been given him by Allāh himself. Once, however, he lost this ring. A certain *'afrît*^{s}*a* sent her servant, an *'afrīt*^{s}, to watch for an opportunity to deprive him of it and throw it into the sea; and so the *'afrīt*^{s} did one day when Sîyĭdna Suleimän had gone to the hot bath and there removed the ring from his finger. It was eaten by a fish of the kind called *šáṭra*, which still has a mark of it on its back. Sîyĭdna Suleimän, who knew that the *'afrīt*^{s} had taken his ring and thrown it into the sea, went every day down to the sea-shore to look for it in the sand and among the seaweed. Once when he came there a fisherman had just caught a fish, and he bought it

[1] *Infra*, i. 363 *sq.* [2] See *infra*, i. 364 *sq.*

from him. When he prepared it for eating, he found his ring inside it. He put the ring on his finger, turned it round, and at the same moment some *'afârĕt*^{s} appeared. He told them to bring there the *'afrīt*^{s} who had stolen the ring. The *'afrīt*^{s} informed him about the *'afrît*^{s}*a* by whose command he had acted, and was then burned. The *'afrît*^{s}*a* was sent for; and when she admitted that she had done what was imputed to her, Sîyĭdna Suleimän had a large *qamqom* made and ordered her to be put inside it, after which it was closed and thrown into the depth of the sea; and there the *'afrît*^{s}*a* still remains alive. Thus Sîyĭdna Suleimän was again in possession of his ring; but shortly before his death Allāh told him to part with it and throw it into Zemzem, the sacred well within the precincts of the mosque at Mecca. There it is to this very day, and anybody who says he possesses it is a liar; nor has anybody else ever had such a ring. Yet I was told at Fez that Mûläi Ismâ'il, who was sultan of Morocco between 1672 and 1727, had a *ḫât*^{s}*em l-ḥékma*, by means of which he ruled over the *jnūn*. When he turned it round, *'afârĕt*^{s} came to carry out his orders; and in this way the marble pillars in the sultan's palace were brought to Mequinez. Sī Jilâli r-Rôgi, who in 1862 rebelled against Sîdi Mûḥámmed XVIII., is said to have had a similar ring, to which he owed his success in the beginning of his career; all his soldiers and horses were *jnūn* in disguise. But he lost the ring at Zärhūn, and was killed in consequence; for it was the ring that had protected his life. I am told that there are persons still living who have such rings, which make the *jnūn* their obedient servants; they are worn on the little finger of the left hand, and look quite like ordinary rings. In 1905, when I was staying in Mazagan, the governor of that town was said to possess such a ring.

There are scribes, especially in Sūs, who are able to summon *jnūn*, in order to get their assistance, by making use of a name of God in accordance with prescriptions laid down in their books; but it is only Muhammadan *jnūn* who may be summoned in this way. The scribe writes the name on a paper or writing-board, and then repeats it a certain number of times every morning and evening after prayer for

a certain number of days. On the last evening, when he is sitting alone in his room—not even a cat is allowed to be there on this occasion—burning white benzoin in the fire-pot (*méjmar*) in front of him, a *jenn* appears at the moment he finishes his recitation. It is the *jenn* of the name of God which he has been repeating; for every name of God has its special *jenn*, called *l-ḥdīm de l-'ism*, "the servant of the name" The *jenn* says to him, *Āmar yā sîdi*, "Command, O my lord". But the scribe, who is looking down at the fire-pot continuing the burning of incense, gives no answer. The *jenn* repeats the phrase another time or several times, without receiving a reply, and at last cuts off a tuft of hair from his head and puts it in front of the scribe, telling him to burn one hair every time he wants the *jenn* to come and execute his command; after which the *jenn* goes away. The scribe who does this must be a thoroughly good and pious man, who says his prayers regularly, observes his fast in Ramaḍān, refrains from all alcoholic drinks, is faithful to his wife, and never lies or steals or commits any other wrong. Should he ever misbehave, the *jenn* would strike him; one of my informants knew two old scribes who in this way lost their lives. At Fez I was told that only childless persons dare to summon *jnūn* in the said manner, since the *jenn* may hurt the children even of a pious scribe. In the same town it is the custom for a scribe who is summoning a *jenn* to become his *ḥdīm* to partake of nothing but bread made of barley without salt and oil, until the *jenn* appears.

There are scribes who by summoning *jnūn* are able to find out the perpetrator of a theft. By the aid of a boy who has not yet reached the age of puberty the scribe *t'äiṭálla' mḥálla* or *käiṭálla' l-mḥálla*, "raises an army", as it is called. At Fez it is done at the place where the theft was committed. The *fqī* washes the right hand of the boy, keeps it then over a fire-pot in which he is burning white and black benzoin, pours into the centre of it some Moorish ink, touches his forehead with his own right hand, tells him to fix his eyes on the ink, and recites something from the Koran as an incantation (*t'äi'ázzem*). The *fqī* asks him if he sees anything, and if he says "No", goes on with his incantation

until the boy says that he sees something. "What do you see?" asks the *fqī*. "I am seeing people", answers the youngster. The *fqī* tells him to say to them, *Ḥárrjů mḥálla*, "Make an army come out". So he does, and now a troop of men riding on horses appear in the ink. The *fqī* instructs him to ask them to bring there the person who committed the theft, and they do what he asks them. If he now recognises the thief whom he sees in the ink, he mentions his name to the *fqī*; the latter tells him to pour the ink from his hand back into the inkstand, and when this is done the *fqī* licks up any ink which remains in the hand. If, on the other hand, the boy does not recognise the thief who appears in the ink, the *fqī* asks him to describe his looks (which, however, must not be done aloud), and then communicates to the owner of the stolen property what is told him. If the owner now recognises the thief from the description given of him, the performance comes to an end; otherwise the *fqī* writes for him a *ḥerz* consisting of something from the Koran together with a few words in the *jẹnn* language, and tells him to put it underneath some heavy thing, like a box or a stone. The *fqī* thus *it*ˢ*qqaf* the stolen object, making it remain where it is, and instructs the owner to go to a certain market-place the next time a market is held there. There he will find his stolen property or part of it offered for sale, and this will lead to the discovery of the thief. It is the *fqī* who has caused the stolen thing to be offered for sale at the market on that day by writing another *ḥerz* to "open the *t*ˢ*qāf*" (*iḥôll t-t*ˢ*qāf*, or *ibṭṭál t-t*ˢ*qāf*) and induce some *jẹnn* to visit the thief and advise him to take the thing to the market.

This description is based on information I received at Fez. At Tangier the *fqī* writes on the palm of the boy an *āyah* of the Koran together with the name of the *roḥâni* (*jẹnn*) of that *āyah*—every verse of the Koran has its special *jẹnn*; he does the writing in a circle and in the centre he places a large blotch of ink. He then throws coriander seed into a fire-pot and recites the *āyah* he has written time after time, until the boy tells him that he sees the thief or thieves carrying away the stolen thing and the place to which it is taken. It is the *roḥâni* of the *āyah* who makes the boy see

all this: he has come down from the sky and lets the whole scene pass over the blotch. But he only comes down on a clear day, and a performance in cloudy weather is therefore of no avail. Before the *fqī* begins to write he receives a silver coin as *ftˢöḥ*,[1] and if he succeeds he will of course have a more substantial reward, which has been agreed upon in advance. The performance by preference takes place on the spot where the theft was committed, but it is not necessary that it should do so. There is also another, less usual and less effective, method of detecting a thief. The *fqī* writes the *āyah* on the forehead of the boy and pours ink on his palm, and holding his own hand over his forehead recites the *āyah* until it produces the desired effect. In this case there is no fumigation. I was told that these experiments may be successfully performed with any boy of the proper age, whereas they are doomed to failure if the boy is too old.

A scribe from the Ḥiáina gave me the following description of the practice of "raising an army". A *fqī* draws a *jḗdwäl* on the right palm of a boy and writes inside it the name of some *jnūn* and outside it the names of the four archangels, after which the hand of the boy is fumigated with coriander seed. He now sees the army of the *jnūn* and answers the questions put to him by the *fqī*, telling him all that he sees.[2]

[1] See *supra*, p. 156.

[2] Hamilton (*Wanderings in North Africa* [London, 1856], p. 262 *sqq.*) describes an ink-mirror performance conducted by a man from Tangier, and gives the following translation of a manuscript found among the effects of a Moor. "How to make the Djin descend.—Write in the right palm of a boy or girl, below the age of puberty, the seal which is here given, and fumigate with coriander seed, which among the Djin are counted apples, and conjure them with the Surah 'and the sun' to the end, until they come down. Then ask them what you desire to know, and they will answer you with the permission of God (be he exalted!); and this is what you write on the forehead of the child. . . . And then you write the seal, and in the midst of it make a spot of ink; and when you wish to dismiss the kings, conjure them with the verse of the throne, and they will depart by permission of God". According to Leo Africanus (*The History and Description of Africa*, ii. [London, 1896], p. 457 *sq.*), magicians of Fez poured a drop of oil into a vial or glass of water, to make the water transparent and bright, and then delivered it into the hands of children scarce eight years old, who

Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a person who has been robbed of something goes to a *šûwáf* or *šûwâfa*, puts a coin close to his lips, and whispers, "I have lost this or that; tell me who has taken it or where it is". He gives the coin to the *šûwáf*, who moves it with his hand over a coal-fire containing burning incense. The *šûwáf* then snuffs at the coin and tells the man about the thief or the place where he may recover his property. The same is done if information is wanted about something else—for instance, if a father is anxious to know whether his absent son is alive, or if a person wants to ascertain if he will be lucky in some undertaking. At Fez, also, a person who desires to know something about his future consults a *šûwâfa* or a *šûwaf*, who tells people's fortunes by the aid of shells. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer there are women, called *ḏizuhrîyin* (sing. *ḏäzuhriṭ*), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from *jnūn*.

Sîdi 'Abdsslam's mother initiated me into the following method of getting news about absent members of the family. At ten o'clock in the morning, or thereabout, two elderly and respectable women go to a public oven to invite the *jnūn* who are haunting it. On their way there they are not allowed to speak to anybody they happen to meet. When they arrive at the door of the place, they address the *jnūn* in the following words:—*Zînû 'ălîna a mwâlīn l-mkān, hād l-lîla l-fäl dyâlkum*, "Favour us O masters of the place, this evening is your [time for] prognostication". They then ask the *jnūn* to bring with them all their people, strong and weak, seeing and blind When they say this, they must keep very serious; if they laugh, they will have their features

affirmed that they saw in it, as it were in a mirror, swarms of devils resembling a whole army, and the devils answered their questions. For the ink mirror see also Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story* (London, 1911), p. 207; Lefébure, 'Le miroir d'encre dans la magie arabe', in *Revue africaine*, xlix. (Alger, 1905), p. 205 *sqq.*; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 276 *sqq.*, where some performances conducted by a celebrated Maghrebin magician at Cairo are minutely described; and Baldensperger, 'Peasant Folklore of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement for 1893* (London), p. 217 *sq.*

distorted. They then go to the place at the market where corn is sold, to the place where animals are slaughtered, to the sea-shore, to a well which is dried up, and to a ruined and deserted house. At each of these places they repeat the same invitation. The women who thus invite the *jnūn* must put on their *ḥâyḕk* with the left hand and while walking about hold it up with the same hand, contrary to the ordinary custom of women; and they paint their left eye with antimony. They also call upon seven different women who have married only once in their life (whether they be married now or not) and whose husbands also have married only once, and ask of them some money, some fat of a goat sacrificed at the Great Feast, and some hair of the same goat; it must be the fat and hair of a goat and not of a sheep, since goats are animals especially liked by *jnūn* and therefore haunted by them. With the money the two women buy some white benzoin, which they mix with the fat and hair of the goat, and of this paste they make as many small balls as there are women who want information about absent friends—this kind of magic is always practised on behalf of several persons at the same time,—as also three balls for the Sultan, Dār ḍ-ḍmâna (the Wazzan shereefs), and *l-máḫzen* (the Government). In the middle of the night, when nobody is walking about in the streets, these women, together with the two who invited the *jnūn* and made the balls, mount the roof of a house which is uninhabited or in which, at any rate, there is no man or boy on that night. They take with them the balls and a fire-pot, without saying *bismillâh*, and must neither speak nor laugh; if they do, they will be struck by *jnūn*. (This is altogether a very dangerous ceremony, said the old shereefa; she was quite afraid of telling it to me because it might affect my health even to hear of it.) On the roof they put the balls into the fire-pots, first those made for the Sultan, Dār ḍ-ḍmâna, and *l-máḫzen*, and then one ball each on behalf of the absent relatives. They blow the fire with bellows, and when the smoke of the ball is rising they hear or see the *fâl*, both their own *fâl* and that of the others. If the absent friend is dead, they hear crying or lamentations or a funeral song. If he is well, they hear his

voice telling them so. If he is on his way home, they see him coming like a shadow and hear his talk. If he is going to marry, they hear music and sounds as from toy-guns. All the sounds and visions they experience are very faint or dim. When Sîdi 'Abdsslam was away with me in Mazagan and his mother was told that he was ill, she herself took part in a ceremony of this kind. She heard him say, "O my mother!" She heard him talk with me in a European language, heard the noise of mules and of unloading them, and saw her son and me and mules, not distinctly but only as shadowy appearances. This *fäl*, however, is made not only to get information about absent friends but also to ascertain what will happen to people at home, to the woman herself or to somebody else; for example, a member of the family who is ill. If he is going to die, crying is heard by those who take part in the ceremony; but if he will recover, they hear him saying so. The shereefa finished her account by adding that if the *jnūn* have been invited and the ceremony has nevertheless not been carried out, they will get angry and throw stones at the women who invited them. "Here we are", they say; "you must hurry on to make yourselves ready".

A similar sort of magic, called *ḍrēb l-fäl*, is practised by the women of Fez. The woman who wants to get news about an absent member of the family, or to find out whether a sick person at home will recover, makes *sĕksŭ* and gives it in charity to poor people. She then visits various fountains and the slaughtering-place called *l-gúrna bīn lé-mdūn*, inside the town, and the cave of l-Máqṭa' outside Bāb l-Ḥămîs, burns white and black benzoin at all these places, and lights a *mnâra*, or oil-lamp, at the slaughtering-place and in the cave. At each place visited by her she addresses the *jnūn* with the words, *Ana tˢaná'rḍ 'ălikum*, "I am inviting you". In the night she ascends the roof of her house together with one or two other women, taking with her a *méjmar*, or fire-pot, with burning coal. The women throw benzoin in the fire, and ask the *jnūn* to give them the information wanted. They may then hear crying or the sounds of a funeral song, which means that the absent friend is dead; or the *zġârītˢ*

of women, which means that he is happy; or the noise of people who are quarrelling, which means that he is in trouble. Again, if the information refers to a person who is ill, the *zġârīt*^{s} indicates that he will soon recover, whilst weeping indicates that he will die.

Magicians (*ḥokậma*) from 'Sūs are said to find buried treasure by writing the name of some *jẹnn* on a paper, putting the paper on the palm of the left hand, reading an incantation over it, and making it fly by blowing at it. At the place where it falls down there is money buried. It may be that when the magician digs for the treasure, he finds that the *jẹnn* guarding it has transformed the money into charcoal, but if he is a good *ḥkīm* he can, by writing a charm, change the charcoal into money again. Sometimes *jnūn* help people to find hidden treasure in the following way. When two *jnūn* quarrel with each other one of them may, in order to deprive the other one of his money, write on a paper in what place the money is to be found, at what time the owner of it will be absent, and what should be done to find the money. The person who wants to get hold of it may, for instance, have to kill a he-goat, a ram, a fowl, a snake, or a man who has a straight line across the palm of his hand, or to wound such a man (who is called *zúhri* and is regarded as a lucky person) so that his blood comes in contact with the place where the money is buried. The *jẹnn* then throws the paper in the way of some scribe who is walking in a desert place, or puts it inside the book which a scribe makes use of in writing charms. If the scribe does what is written on the paper he will find the treasure. When he goes to seek for it, however, he is accompanied by two or three other scribes; and while one or two of them are digging, one is reading the chapter of the Koran which is indicated in the letter of the *jẹnn* and another one is burning incense. To find the place where the treasure is buried, the scribe may be ordered to puff at the paper and let it fly and dig wherever it falls down. There are also scribes who can open closed doors without a key: they write something on a paper and burn it, with the result that *'afârĕt*^{s} will come and open the door.

The *jnūn* help people to practise witchcraft (*sḥōr* or *sḥōr*). A person who for this purpose wants to summon a Jewish *jenn* does all sorts of disgusting or forbidden things. He eats his own excrements, and dirties his clothes with them; drinks his own urine if thirsty, and sprinkles his clothes with it; puts his right slipper on his left foot and his left slipper on his right foot, and wears all his clothes with the inside out; makes an ablution with his urine, and prays with his face turned in a wrong direction, that is, not towards Mecca. He writes on a paper the name of the *jenn* whom he wants to summon inside a *jédwäl*, in accordance with the instructions he gets from a book on the subject; burns the paper together with some coriander seed, and in burning it recites the name of the *jenn* and some passages from the Koran with the word Allāh and other holy words exchanged for *šíṭan*; and continues this recitation until the *jenn* comes.

We have seen that *jnūn*, both Muhammadan ones and *šayâṭīn*, are mentioned by name in many charms;[1] and of all methods by which they are enlisted to help men to carry out their wishes this is undoubtedly the most frequent. Such charms play a prominent part in witchcraft. Some instances of this may be mentioned in the present connection, while others will be reserved for a subsequent chapter.[2]

If a person wants to make the people living in an enemy's house quarrel among themselves he may resort to the following practice. A black hen is killed, its head is shaved with a razor, and a charm containing names of *jnūn* is written on the head of the hen with its own blood. Then the head is thrown into the enemy's house, with the result that the *jnūn* will make the inmates quarrel and the house will become empty within three days. This should be done about sunset (Ḥiáina). At Fez, charms intended to evoke a quarrel are written on white paper with tar and fumigated with gum-ammoniac and coriander seed; while charms intended to cause a *jenn* to give bad dreams to a certain person are written on red paper with the blood of a he-goat which is perfectly black. In order to make a person ill a charm

[1] *Supra*, p. 208 *sqq.* [2] *Infra*, i. 570 *sqq.*

containing magic figures is written on the bone of a carcass, which is fumigated with coriander seed and gum-ammoniac and then buried underneath the threshold of his house so that he shall walk over it; all this is to be done on a Saturday. Such a charm is called *tˢâmrīḍ* on account of the purpose it serves (Fez). There is another charm called *tˢéṭwif*, the object of which is to make a person mad. An egg is emptied of its contents, the name of a *jenn* is written on the inside and outside of its shell with a fluid consisting of the white of the egg, the milky juice of an unripe fig, and saffron; and the contents of the egg, together with some gunpowder, are then poured back into the shell and buried at a place where the person against whom the charm is directed will walk over it. When he does so he will become mad (Andjra).

A *maḥâbba*, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan *jnūn*, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of *šayâṭīn*.[1] This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that *jnūn—mûminīn*—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been procured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and

[1] *Supra*, p. 212.

they soon become husband and wife (*ibid.*). If a man wants to increase his own sexual capacity he can do so by writing the word *sălṭâ'in*—the name of a *jenn*—with Moorish ink on the palm of his right hand and then licking it up with his tongue (Fez).

In order to become a successful juggler (*ṣaḥb l-ḫanqāṭêra* or *ḫanṭāqêra*) a person makes the *riâḍa*, as it is called, that is, he fasts for three or seven days, recites every day some incantation in solitude, and eats during the night nothing but bread made of barley (without salt) and oil and containing red raisins. The *jenn*—a *jenn šiṭâni*—who is going to help him then comes and tells him what to do and what not to do: to abstain from salted food, to neglect his prayers altogether, to perform abominable acts such as making water in a mosque or on a copy of the Koran or in a hot bath, or to eat human excrements. He will then be able to turn people's sight by sprinkling in the air a pinch of a powder made of ninety-nine ingredients—charred swallows, bats, hoopoes, and what not—and summoning the *jenn* in an inaudible voice; and he will do wonderful things. He takes, for instance, in his hand an empty glass, and all of a sudden it seems to be filled with water. He closes his empty hand, and when he opens it there is money in it. He puts a date into somebody's mouth, and it becomes cow-dung; or he puts cow-dung there, and it becomes a date. He places a tambourine (*béndīr*) with the skin upwards on an empty spot, taps a little on it, and when he lifts it up there is a snake underneath. All this is *ḫanqāṭêra ṣĝêra*, "little jugglery", as distinguished from *ḫanqāṭêra kbîra*, "great jugglery", which was prohibited by the sultan Sîdi Mûhámmed, father of Mûlăi l-Ḥâsan, after a horrible spectacle at the market-place of Marráksh, where a *ḥkīm* was seen slaughtering his two sons in the presence of all the people.

There are would-be magicians who make money by pretending to summon *jnūn* to amuse people. I have twice been present at such a séance. The magician, a black man from Sūs—the country of magicians—wrote some mystic signs on a sheet of paper, which he fastened to the wall; it

was a letter to some *jenn*. He then blew out the light, and demanded absolute silence. After a few minutes a tremendous noise was heard: the *jenn* came down along the wall, and ran to the magician. They had a dialogue together, and the *jenn* went away over the roof. Nothing else could be seen in the dark but the vague outline of a moving body. The *jenn* once shook hands with me, and the hand was that of a man. The magician had no assistant. He was undoubtedly a good ventriloquist and endowed with exceptional powers of seeing in the dark.

On the threshing-floor sacrifices are made to the *jnūn* not only in order to prevent their stealing from the corn but to induce them to help the workmen and, especially, to give *baraka* to the grain.[1] Yet the *baraka* they bestow on it may become excessive and even cause the death of the farmer, his wife, or his children, unless the danger is averted by another sacrifice.[2] At Fez I was told that if the *jnūn* cause the water-supply in the house to cease at night, there is a splendid opportunity for anybody who notices it to enrich himself: he gets up and puts into the basin (called *sqqâya* if it is oblong, and *mâ'da* if it is round) an object of silver or gold, with the result that the water there is transformed into the same metal. Many persons have made a fortune in this way through the kindness of the *jnūn*.

While *jnūn* by proper treatment may be induced to help men to accomplish their wishes, all departed saints have Muhammadan *jnūn* as their regular servants, ready to execute their orders and assist them in performng their miracles. Thus—to take an instance at random—when Sîdi Qâsĕm, in the Faḥṣ, wants to wreck a steamer passing his tomb on the Atlantic shore, he sends his *jenn* servants to do it. But there are also very many saints who rule over the *jnūn* in general, and therefore are appealed to by people troubled with *lé-ryāḥ*. Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder is the sultan of all the *jnūn* as well as saints. Other less elevated rulers of the *jnūn* are, for example, Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem, who is buried outside Fez but has a highly venerated *ḥauš* in Andjra; Sîḍi Mâlĕk, whose grave on the border between the Ibqqóyĕn

[1] *Infra*, ii. 234 *sqq*. [2] *Supra*, p. 220 *sq*.

and the Aiṯ Wäryâġer is visited by people from all parts of the Rīf; Sîdi Qâsĕm, Sîdi Ḥsáyĭn, Sîdi l-'Arbi, and Sîdi l-Mĕṣmûdi in the Faḥṣ; Mûläi 'Abdllah, Sîdi 'Abdl'ăzîz ben Yéffû, Sîdi Ms'ūd ben Ḥăṣćin, Sîdi Mḥámmed bĕn Ḥămed, Sîdi 'Abdlmâlĕk, and Sîdi 'Abdllah ben Yūsf in Dukkâla; Mûläi 'Abdűllah ben Ḥsáyĭn, buried in the neighbourhood of Marráksh, who gave the magicians power over the *jnūn*; Sîdi Ḥămâd Aḥánṣal, whose tomb is to the east of Demnat; Sîdi Ḥămâd A'ájli, whose shrine is in the district of the Ait Mzal in Sūs. A saint may also rule over the *jnūn* of a certain locality, which may even be at a considerable distance from his grave; thus, as we have seen, Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mḥámmĕd ben Nâṣăr, who is buried in the valley of the Wâd Drā, is the sovereign of the *jnūn* of Imi n Taqqándut.[1]

In Northern Morocco many a saint has a so-called *ḥámma*, a place haunted by Muhammadan *jnūn* over whom he rules. On the sea-shore at Tangier there is Mûläi 'Abdlqâder's *ḥámma*, also called Sîyĭdna Nōḥ's (Noach's) grave—consisting of a flat oblong stone. This very haunted place is visited by women, who bring with them candles, incense, and bread made without salt as offerings, sit down on the stone, and wash their feet and hands in the water. Other stones or rocks a little farther out in the sea are the *ḥámmāṭ*[s] of the *jĕnn* saints Sîdi Mâimūn, Sîdi Mûsa, and Lálla Jmîla. Sîdi Bûmġait[s], whose shrine is on the sea-shore between Azîla and Laraiche, has likewise as his *ḥámma* a stone in the water. Close to Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥărâzem's *ḥauš* in Andjra there is his *ḥámma*, consisting of stones and a spring, while Sîdi Ṭálḥa's *ḥámma* near his *ḥauš* in the same district is a hollow in the ground with a spring. The so-called *ḥámma* at the market-place *l-ḥămîs* in Andjra, said to be both the *ḥálwa* and the *ḥámma* of Sîdi 'Ăli ben Mĕs'ûd, who is buried at Tetuan, is a cave with a spring close by.[2] Another Tetuan saint, Sîdi 'Abdllah l-Ḥa[dd]j, has a *ḥámma* in the village Būsemläl, on the other side of the river, which consists of two enclosures of stones with a brook between them; girls who are anxious to get married wash their hands and feet in the brook and pray to the *ḥámma* (as I was told when

[1] *Supra*, p. 287. [2] *Supra*, p. 333.

I visited the place), not to the saint, for the fulfilment of their wishes. When the *ḥámma* of a saint is situated close to his sanctuary, persons visiting the latter go first to the *ḥámma* to wash themselves and leave there their *bạs* and, sometimes, throw seven pieces of bread into the water as an offering to the *jnūn* haunting the place.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATING TO THE *JNŪN*

THE word *jnūn* is a local plural of the old Arabic *jinn*, which itself is a collective noun, although in Morocco it is used as a singular. And with the name came also the conceptions connected with it. The Moorish *jnūn* resemble in all essentials and in many details the *jinn* of the East.

According to al-Qazwīnī it is related in histories that a race of *jinn* in ancient times, before the creation of Ādam, " inhabited the earth, and covered it, the land and the sea, and the plains and the mountains ".[1] In their general properties they are an intermediate class of beings between angels and men, but inferior in dignity to both, created of fire. " They eat and drink, propagate their species (like, or in conjunction with, human beings), and are subject to death, though they generally live many centuries ".[2] Of the belief in marriages between men and female *jinn* there are instances recorded both in Arabic literature [3] and in descriptions of modern Arabs.[4] There are among them kingdoms and

[1] Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 134.

[2] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 231; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 149.

[3] von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. (Wien, 1877), p. 258; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 154; van Vloten, ' Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern ', in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. (1893), p. 245, viii. (1894), p. 64 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. (Leiden, 1896), p. 109.

[4] Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii. (Cambridge, 1888), p. 191 *sqq.*; Baldensperger, ' Peasant Folklore of Palestine ', in *Palestine*

rulers ;[1] it is commonly believed that the pre-Adamite *jinn* were governed by forty, or, according to some, seventy-two kings.[2] There are believers and infidels and every sect among them, as among men.[3] Muḥammad believed that he was sent as an apostle to both men and *jinn* ; and the 72nd chapter of the Koran contains an allusion to a vision in which he beheld a multitude of the *jinn* bowing in adoration and listening to the message which man had disdainfully refused. A tribe of them were converted to Islam by his preaching on his return from Ṭā'if.[4]

The *jinn* are usually invisible, but they are capable of assuming various shapes.[5] They may appear in the shape of human beings, sometimes of the stature of men and sometimes of a size enormously gigantic.[6] An Arab told Doughty that " for a while he could perceive nearly a half part of all who bear the form of mankind to be jins ".[7] In the *Arabian Nights* they are often represented as appearing, first of all, in a monstrous undefined shape, like an enormous pillar, and as only gradually assuming a human shape and a less gigantic size. The extreme changeability of the appearance of the *jinn* is well illustrated in the twenty-second *Night*, where we read of an *'ifrīt* who came out of a water-tank in the semblance of a mouse ; it grew and grew until it became, first a coal-black cat, then a dog, then an ass-colt, and finally

Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893 (London), p. 205 ; *Idem, The Immovable East* (London, 1913), p. 84 *sq.* (Palestine) ; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 384.

[1] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 382.

[2] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 29.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 29.

[4] See Palmer, in the Introduction to his translation of *The Qur'ân*, i. (Oxford, 1880), pp. xiv, lxx ; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, ii. (Berlin, 1862), p. 246 *sq.*

[5] Nöldeke, ' Arabs (Ancient) ', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, i. (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 669 ; Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 34 *sq.* ; Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness* (London, 1909), p. 195 ; Baldensperger, *The Immovable East*, p. 85.

[6] Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 35 ; von Kremer, *op. cit.* ii. 257 ; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 156 ; Tallqvist, *På helig och ohelig mark* (Helsingfors, 1918), p. 112 (Lebanon).

[7] Doughty, *op. cit.* ii. 189 *sq.*

a buffalo. Very frequently they appear to mankind in the shape of snakes, scorpions, lizards, wolves, lions, jackals, dogs, cats, or other animals.[1] According to a tradition of the Prophet the *jinn* are of three kinds: one have wings and fly, another are snakes and dogs, and the third move about from place to place like men.[2] In Upper Egypt people do not care to have anything to do with cats at night, as these may be *jinn* in disguise.[3] The *jinn* are also fond of riding upon all sorts of animals, except hares, hyenas, and monkeys; and if a hunter misses the mark, it is because a *jenn* is sitting on the neck of the animal aimed at and turns off the arrow.[4] Wild beasts were supposed to be the cattle of the *jinn*.[5]

The *jinn* may not only be seen but heard. They utter a peculiar dull sound (*'azīf*) which is heard in desert places at night, but, like the demons in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, they produce a "diversity of sounds".[6] Their presence is also indicated by unusual or uncanny phenomena or events. The mediæval Arabs associated a definite class of demons with sand-whirlwinds and applied the name *zawābi'* indifferently to these phenomena and to the *jinn* who accompanied or caused them.[7] So also it is the general belief of the Arabs

[1] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 151 *sqq.*; Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), pp. 120, 129; von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, iii.-iv. (Wien, 1890), pp. 26-28, 35; van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 240; Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 198 *sq.*; Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 669. For snakes see Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Wien, 1908), p. 324, and *infra*, i. 385 *sq.*

[2] *Mishkāt*, xviii. 3.3 (English translation by Matthews, vol. ii. [Calcutta, 1810], p. 314).

[3] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 390. For the belief that the *jinn* appear as cats see also Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 199. Damīrī (ii. 212, quoted by Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 129 n.) says that a *ġūl* appears in the form of a thieving cat.

[4] von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 258; van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 172; Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 116, 207 *sqq.*

[5] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 129 n. 2.

[6] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 150; Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670; Sprenger, *op. cit.* i. 221; Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 210 *sqq.*; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1903), p. 320. In Arabia Petraea it is believed that animals can hear them (Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 320).

[7] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 134; van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 180; Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 204.

of Egypt that the whirlwind which raises the sand or dust in the form of a pillar of prodigious height is caused by the flight of one of these beings, or that the *jinnī* "rides in the whirlwind"; [1] and it is spoken of as a devil.[2] In Palestine the tall smoke-pillars of the whirlwind are said to be the bodies of evil spirits.[3]

The presence of *jinn* may be indicated by peculiar phenomena of light.[4] It seems quite probable that the idea expressed in the Koran [5] that the *jinn* were created of smokeless fire was derived from the strange phenomenon of *ignis fatuus*, which in the East,[6] as in Morocco, is believed to be lighted by *jinn*. The Moorish superstition with regard to a falling star finds support in the Koran, where it is said that the *jinn* listen at the gate of heaven for scraps of the knowledge of futurity and, when detected by the angels, are driven off and pelted with shooting stars.[7] Many Arabs ascribe the erection of the Pyramids and all the most stupendous remains of antiquity in Egypt to Jann ibn Jann and his servants the *jinn*, believing it impossible that they could have been raised by human hands.[8]

In Palestine it is believed that the *jinn* may take the shape of a stone over which a man might stumble or of any article that would cause an injury; indeed, every accident is ascribed to these spirits.[9] If an Egyptian peasant "stumble over a clod, he must take care to invoke the name of God in a set form, otherwise he is safe to be possessed; and there is always a devil ready to leap down his throat in case he should happen to gape".[10] In Arabia whistling "would be taken for one's whispering to the jan"; [11] and in Upper

[1] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 232.
[2] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 175.
[3] Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 312.
[4] Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 198, 205 *sq.*
[5] *Koran*, xv. 27, lv. 14.
[6] Burton, in his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, i. (London, 1894), p. 398 n. 3.
[7] *Koran*, xxxvii. 7 *sqq.*, lxxii. 9. *Cf. ibid.* lxvii. 5.
[8] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 236.
[9] Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 195; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 319 (Moab).
[10] St. John, *Village Life in Egypt*, i. (London, 1852), p. 262.
[11] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 556. *Cf. ibid.* ii. 118, 119, 335.

Egypt " a Moslim is never heard whistling a tune or anything else, especially at night, since the spirits are attracted by whistling ".[1] In Syria it is believed that a thing which is lost has been stolen [2] or, if it is found again, borrowed by the *jinn*.[3]

The Eastern *jinn*, like the Moorish *jnūn*, are also disease-spirits. They cause asphyxia, epilepsy, convulsions, lumbago, fever, epidemics, and, especially, madness.[4] " Mankind after the Arabs' opinion ", says Doughty, " may be vexed in their bodies and minds by possession of the jan. . . . Strange maladies and lunatic affections are ascribed to their influence ; scorned and bewildered persons are said to be ' be-jinned ', mejnûn, demoniacs ".[5] He who looks at himself in a looking-glass in the dark runs the risk of going out of his mind (Syria).[6] In Palestine " every fright is considered to be produced by the spirits, and fright is regarded as the cause of most illnesses ".[7] Impotence in men and infertility in women are attributed to the machinations of the *jinn*.[8]

At the consummation of a marriage precautions must be taken against the *jinn*.[9] Infants are much exposed to being injured by them ; [10] or a human babe may be exchanged for

[1] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 390. For a similar belief in Palestine see Baldensperger, in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893*, p. 205.

[2] Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 113.

[3] Eijūb Abēla, ' Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien ', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. (1884), p. 84.

[4] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 155 *sq.* ; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 257 *sqq.* ; van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 233 *sqq.* ; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 53 *sq.* ; Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 383 (Upper Egypt).

[5] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 258 *sq.* *Cf.* Burton, in his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, i. 9 n. 1.

[6] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 96.

[7] Einszler, ' Der Name Gottes und die bösen Geister im Aberglauben der Araber Palästinas ', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, x. (1887), p. 178.

[8] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 155.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 155 n. 4 ; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. (Haag, 1889), pp. 123, 209.

[10] von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 34.

a *ǧenn* child (Syria).[1] When a pious man leaves the mosque, evil spirits lie in wait for him.[2] But although certain people are particularly liable to be attacked by the *jinn*, everybody has to be on his guard against them.[3] "The demons", says Nöldeke, "are always, in the main, objects of fear, crafty, mischievous, or even destructive beings. The notion that the Jinn were regarded by the heathen Arabs as partly benevolent seems to have arisen under the influence of Islām, which teaches that at least some of the Jinn are true believers, though it cannot be denied that, even in the pre-Islāmic age, certain friendly acts may occasionally have been ascribed to them".[4]

In the East, as well as in Morocco, the principal abode of the *jinn* seems to be the under-world.[5] In his *Travels in Arabia Deserta* Doughty says, "They inhabit seven stages, which (as the seven heavens above) is the building of the under-world".[6] In Egypt, according to Lane, it is the custom "on pouring water, etc., on the ground, to exclaim or mutter, 'Destoor'—that is, to ask the permission or crave the pardon of any ginnee that may chance to be there".[7] And in the East, also, the *jinn* are frequently supposed to be the guardians of hidden treasures.[8] But they are no more than the Moorish *jnūn* tied down to any particular place. "Earth, air, and water in the East, are filled with spirits".[9] The chief abode of the *jinn* is said to be in the mountains of Ḳāf, which are supposed to encompass the whole of our earth; but they are also believed to pervade both the solid matter of the earth and the firmament, and to inhabit rivers,

[1] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 84.

[2] Damīrī, quoted by Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 199.

[3] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 149; Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 209; Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 193; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 319.

[4] Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 669.

[5] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 151; Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 170; Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 193.

[6] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 259.

[7] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 232. See also Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 390.

[8] von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 30 *sqq.*; von Wrede, *Reise in Ḥadhramaut* (Braunschweig, 1870), p. 126; Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 170 (Palestine).

[9] St. John, *op. cit.* i. 262.

ruined houses, wells, baths, ovens, and the latrina.[1] A Bedawi dervish in Palestine said to Baldensperger:— "Wherever Nature has been most wonderful the Jân will certainly be found. Springs of water, waterfalls, rivers, wells, deserts and curious rocks, cliffs and seas, caverns and mountain tops are all Maskoon (inhabited by Jân)".[2]

In Palestine every spring is said to have its spirit or spirits, which no peasant woman omits addressing before she lets down her bucket, saying, "Permission, you owner of the ground; we are under your protection, in the name of God".[3] So also in Egypt, where, according to St John, "the well is almost always haunted by a beautiful female spirit, who floats in the water, or hovers over its surface", no bucket is ever let down without a previous "by your leave".[4] In the same country, when a person is about to enter a bath, he should offer up an ejaculatory prayer for protection against evil spirits, and should place his left foot first over the threshold.[5] In Palestine, too, various precautions are taken by people visiting a bath;[6] and in Syria a person who comes from a hot bath is not allowed to call upon anybody who is ill, since such a call might make the illness worse.[7]

In Moab "le *ǧin* aime les endroits solitaires, les ruines abandonnées".[8] But also ordinary houses are supposed to be haunted by *jinn*.[9] Wilson says that in Palestine evil spirits are believed specially to haunt corners of houses, as appears from the proverb, "No corner but has its demon".[10]

[1] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 231 *sq.*

[2] Baldensperger, *The Immovable East*, p. 85. See also Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 170; Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 53; von Mülinen, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxx. (Leipzig, 1907), p. 190 *sq.*; Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 324 *sq.* (Arabia Petraea); von Wrede, *op. cit.* p. 125 (Ḥaḍramaut); Bent, *Southern Arabia* (London, 1900), pp. 260, 261, 274.

[3] Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 180.

[4] St. John, *op. cit.* i. 262.

[5] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 350.

[6] Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 176 *sq.* See also *ibid.* p. 172 *sqq.*

[7] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 89.

[8] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 320.

[9] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 128 (Mecca).

[10] Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 53.

According to the Bedawi dervish quoted by Baldensperger, again, the *jinn*, when living in human habitations, " prefer the hearth and the threshold ; therefore humans never step on the threshold on entering a room, and never pour water on the hearth, which would be followed by immediate punishment, as the Jân will not suffer their dwelling-place to be soiled. They have always lived there ".[1] The idea that the threshold is haunted by *jinn* has led to various taboos and precautionary practices ; [2] in Syria, for example, nobody must beat a little child upon the threshold lest it should be possessed by an evil spirit.[3] But every part of a house, and indeed every place, is inhabited by its peculiar genius.[4] That particular *jinn* presided over particular places was also the opinion of the pagan Arabs. When they found themselves in a lonely place such as they supposed the *jinn* to haunt, they used to say, " I take refuge in the Lord of this valley from the foolish among his people ".[5] Hence it is said in the Koran, " There are persons amongst men who seek for refuge with persons amongst the *jinn* ".[6] Certain trees are also considered to be haunted by *jinn*.[7] In Ḥaḍramaut it is said to be dangerous to touch the sensitive Mimosa, because the spirit that resides in it will avenge the injury.[8] In Palestine the carob tree is particularly noticeable among the haunted trees,[9] and fig trees are likewise supposed to be the abode of spirits. " It is especially dangerous for a father of children to sleep beneath them, as they destroy many people ".[10]

[1] Baldensperger, *The Immovable East*, p. 85. See also *Idem*, in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893*, p. 205.

[2] Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 170 *sqq.* ; Conder, *Heth and Moab* (London, 1885), p. 302 ; Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London, 1883), p. 35.

[3] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 88.

[4] St. John, *op. cit.* i. 262 ; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 319.

[5] Palmer's note to the passage just referred to, in his translation of *The Qur'ân*, ii. (Oxford, 1880), p. 305.

[6] *Koran*, lxxii. 6.

[7] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 151.

[8] von Wrede, *op. cit.* p. 131.

[9] Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 180 *sq.*

[10] Baldensperger, in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893*, p. 204. See also Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, p. 331 (Syria).

The *jinn* are particularly fearful at night,[1] but disappear at daybreak.[2] In Syria it is prohibited or considered dangerous to pour out hot water in a kitchen at night,[3] to make a noise in a bath in the dark,[4] and to lend fire or yeast or a sieve to a neighbour after sunset.[5] In Egypt people are afraid to go out or remain alone in a room at night; and it is not considered permissible to sweep out a house at night since a *jinnī* may be struck and injured and so induced to revenge himself.[6] On Friday the *jinn* are particularly fond of stationing themselves on the thresholds of doors and gates, and nobody will then venture to remain at such spots.[7] During the month of Ramaḍān they are confined in prison,[8] at all events the evil *jinn*.[9]

The Eastern *jinn* are afraid of salt and iron.[10] On the eve of the festival which follows the month of Ramaḍān, some of the women of Egypt, with a view to preventing such spirits from entering their houses, sprinkle salt upon the floors of the apartments, saying as they do it, "In the name of God the compassionate the merciful".[11] It is also the custom in Egypt to induce a child to lick salt if it suffers from an illness which is supposed to be caused by a *jinnī*, and to bury a written charm and some salt underneath the threshold of a house where there is a woman whom a *jinnī* has made infertile.[12] When an Egyptian sees a whirlwind which raises a pillar of sand or dust approaching him, he exclaims, "Iron, thou unlucky!"—"as genii are supposed to have a great dread of that metal"; or he endeavours to

[1] *Koran*, cxiii. 3; Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 171 *sq.*; Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 193; Baldensperger, in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893*, p. 205 (Palestine); Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 320 (Moab).

[2] *Koran*, cxiii. 3. [3] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 83.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 85. [5] *Ibid.* p. 98. *Cf. ibid.* pp. 81, 87, 112.

[6] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 389 *sq.* [7] *Ibid.* p. 389 *sq.*

[8] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 235; Baldensperger, in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893*, p. 205.

[9] *Mishkāt*, vii. i. 1 *sqq.* (English translation, vol. i. 462 *sqq.*).

[10] von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 37; Goldziher, 'Eisen als Schutz gegen Dämonen', in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, x. (1907), p. 42 *sqq.*

[11] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 235.

[12] von Kremer, *Studien*, i.-ii. (Wien, 1889), p. 25.

drive away the monster by exclaiming, "God is most great!"[1] In Syria, if a child is subject to a fit which is supposed to be produced by the *jinn*, a sword or a knife is held over its head; and this cure is practised not only by Muhammadans but by Jews,[2] who since ancient times have believed that spirits are afraid of iron.[3]

The *jinn* are frightened away by strong smells and sounds.[4] In Arabia houses are fumigated with harmel.[5] Water is used as a protection against disease demons or as a cure for illnesses caused by them;[6] and according to a tradition of the Shī'ahs the Prophet, before he gave his daughter in marriage to 'Alī, commanded her to fetch water and then sprinkled both her and 'Alī with it, invoking God to protect them and their offspring against the devil.[7]

The *jinn* are scared away with incantations and sacred words. Doughty says that there are exorcists in Arabia who make people believe that, by reading powerful spells out of the Koran, they can terrify and expel the possessing demons.[8] Pieces of paper inscribed with passages from the Koran are frequently used as charms against the *jinn*; and a much approved mode of charming away sickness is to write such passages on the inner surface of an earthenware cup or bowl and to wash off the writing with water, which is then drunk by the patient.[9] The *bismillāh* is an extremely frequent means of defence against the *jinn*. "If a man feels that he has provoked their resentment, he may drive them away by uttering the *bismillāh*. Similarly, in order to render his goods proof against the *jinn*, he uses the phrase as a charm when he shuts the door, or stores articles of food in their appropriate receptacles, or lays down his clothes at

[1] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 232.
[2] Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 106.
[3] Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Strassburg i. E., 1898), p. 159.
[4] von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 36 *sq.*
[5] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 143 n.
[6] Goldziher, 'Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel', in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910), p. 34 *sqq.*
[7] *Ibid.* p. 31 *sq.*
[8] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 259.
[9] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 161; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 257, 263; von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 36.

night ".[1] In fact, all sorts of actions are inaugurated by the ejaculation of a *bismillāh*.[2]

The Arabs of Palestine make propitiatory offerings to the *jinn*.[3] Before entering the water of a hot spring, many of them sacrifice a fowl.[4] In Moab, " chaque fois qu'ils dressent une tente en une nouvelle place, ils doivent apaiser le *ǧin* par un sacrifice ou par un repas ".[5] The Bedouins of the Arabian Desert sprinkle blood upon newly-broken fallow, upon the foundation of a new building, and also when they open new wells or enlarge old ones.[6] In Al-Hejr, says Doughty, husbandmen " sprinkle new break-land with the blood of a peace-offering : the like, when they build, they sprinkle upon the stones, lest by any evil accidents the workmen's lives should be endangered ".[7] Among the early Arabs also, at the building of a house, it was thought prudent to conciliate the *jinn* with some offering, since otherwise they might frustrate the work.[8]

The belief in Sîyîdna Suleimān's ring which gave him power over the *jnūn* is of Eastern origin. Sulaimān ibn Dā'ud (Solomon, the son of David) had a sealing ring upon which was engraved " the most great name " of God. It was partly composed of brass and partly of iron ; with the brass he stamped his written commands to the good *jinn*, and with the iron those to the evil ones. Over both orders he had unlimited power, as well as over the birds and the winds, and, as is generally said, the wild beasts.[9]

It must not be supposed, however, that the resemblances between the Moorish *jnūn* and the Eastern *jinn* are due to Islamic influence alone. Many characteristics of the latter are so widespread in the world of spirits that it would be a marvel if they had been lacking in those of the early Berbers. We have seen that the Berbers had their sacred

[1] Goldziher, ' Bismillāh ', in Hastings, *op. cit.* ii. (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 668.
[2] See Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 160 *sqq.*
[3] Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 181.
[4] Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 53.
[5] Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 319.
[6] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 452.
[7] *Ibid.* i. 136.
[8] Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670.
[9] Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 39 *sq.*

stones, rocks, caves, mountains, and springs; and it is obvious that while in some cases the supernatural beings or influences associated with these objects of nature were absorbed by the Muhammadan doctrine of saints, they were in other cases included among the *jinn*. In no other way could we explain the great prevalence of haunted places among the Berbers of to-day. And also in other respects their belief in spirits presents traits which make it impossible to doubt that it has a deep foundation in the antiquity of their race.

This belief is as strong among the Tuareg as it is among the Berbers of Morocco or the Kabyles of Algeria.[1] The Tuareg believe that *alchinen* (or *alhînen*, as the word is also spelt by French writers) inhabit the mountains, camping on them and leading a life very much like that of the Tuareg themselves. They have their own quarrels and wars and make raids on each other. But they are endowed with the power of becoming invisible, and they come unseen to take and to drink the milk of the cows belonging to the Tuareg. "Beware", say the Tuareg, "when you are out at night that you do not run against an *alchin* (the singular of *alchinen*). You will see nothing at the time, but the next morning when you wake you will find that your foot is sore and you cannot walk. You have trodden on the foot of a demon".[2] The Tuareg also believe that ashes and certain trees are haunted,[3] and they ascribe all sorts of unusual events to the activity of demons. "Chez les Touareg", says Duveyrier, "cette croyance est tellement puissante qu'ils ne veulent jamais passer la nuit sous un toit, dans la crainte de s'y trouver emprisonné par les alhînen: aussi, mettre un targui en prison est presque le condamner à mourir de peur. Toute maladie nerveuse: épilepsie, catalepsie, convulsion,

[1] See Hilton-Simpson, 'Some Notes on the Folklore of the Algerian Hills and Desert', in *Folk-Lore*, xxxiii. (London, 1922), p. 170 *sqq*.

[2] Hourst, *Sur le Niger et au pays des Touaregs* (Paris, 1898), p. 227. For haunted mountains among the Tuareg see also Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara* (Paris, 1864), p. 416; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* (Alger, 1908), p. 59 *sq*.; Aymard, *Les Touareg* (Paris, 1911), p. 61.

[3] Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 59 *sq*.

etc., est réputée prise de possession par les génies ; pour les conjurer d'évacuer la place, on a recours aux exorcismes les plus étrangers ".[1]

Owing to our very defective knowledge of the early Berbers it is to a large extent impossible to decide what elements in the demonology of Morocco are indigenous and what not, though a more minute comparison between Moorish and Eastern practices and beliefs than could be undertaken at present might throw some new light on the subject. The extreme prevalence of fowl sacrifices in the cult of *jnūn* as well as of saints is a North African peculiarity.[2] Al-Bakrī speaks of a Berber tribe called Ursīfān, who never went to war without previously sacrificing a black cow to the *šemārīḫ*, as they named their demons.[3] The idea that butchers and slaughtering-places are haunted seems to have a Berber origin, to judge by the dread which the aborigines of Gran Canaria had of butchers[4] and the present Tuareg have of slaughtering-places ;[5] but similar ideas may of course have prevailed among the Arab invaders. The occult " science " which enables the magician to call up *jinn* and make them do his bidding by invoking them by name and by writing down mysteriously arranged letters, figures, words, and numbers, is widespread in the East, but the Maghrebins are reputed the most learned and skilful in it.[6] Lane speaks of a celebrated Maghrebin magician at Cairo who by means of a mirror of ink, similar to that described above, found out persons who had committed a theft, and performed other feats of a most wonderful character.[7]

[1] Duveyrier, *op. cit.* p. 418.

[2] *Cf.* Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. (Halle a.S., 1890), p. 348. M. Toutain observes (*Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, iii. [Paris, 1920], " Le sacrifice des volatiles et des petits oiseaux était un rite courant dans la religion punique ".

[3] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by de Slane (Paris, 1859), p. 410.

[4] Abreu de Galindo, ' The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands ', in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, xvi. (London, 1814), p. 820.

[5] Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 60.

[6] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 383 *sq.*

[7] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 276 *sqq.* See *supra*, p. 356 n.

Both in Arabia[1] and Egypt Maghrebins excel in the art of discovering hidden treasures, and Barbary sends there "whole troops of adventurers, who have no other means of living than the arts of magic".[2] Thus the *jinn*-cult of the West has also influenced that of the East, and not only been influenced by it. Klunzinger observes in his book on Upper Egypt that the names of the *jinn* summoned "generally sound unlike Arabic, and may afford the philologist not uninteresting hints regarding the origin of this 'science'".[3] In Morocco some names of *jnūn* are expressly said to be Sudanese; and it is notable that the chief magicians, who practise their art by the instrumentality of the *jnūn*, come from Sūs, the southernmost part of Morocco, where the negro influence is considerable.

There can be no doubt that various practices connected with the belief in *jnūn* have a Sudanese origin.[4] We have seen that there are intimate relations between the *jnūn* and negroes, and that the Gnáwa, chiefly consisting of negroes, are experts in expelling *jnūn* from persons who are troubled with them. The performances of the Gnáwa described above are very similar to the Egyptian *zār*, which, though its name is Abyssinian, seems to have been introduced by black slaves from the negro tribes of Tropical Africa;[5] and they also resemble to some extent the rites of the Masubori in Hausa-land.[6]

But the Gnáwa are not only exorcists, they are actual

[1] Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 282; Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 257.

[2] St. John, *Village Life in Egypt*, ii. (London, 1852), p. 289; *Idem*, *Adventures in the Libyan Desert* (London, 1849), p. 93 *sq.*

[3] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 383 n. 1.

[4] *Cf.* Andrews, *Les Fontaines des Génies* (*Seba Aioun*), *croyances soudanaises à Alger* (Alger, 1903), *passim*; van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (Paris, 1920), p. 256 *sqq.*

[5] See Brenda Z. Seligman, 'On the Origin of the Egyptian *Zar*', in *Folk-Lore*, xxv. (1914), p. 300 *sqq.* The same kind of ceremonies are practised at Mecca for the expulsion of spirits called by the foreign word *zār* (Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 124 *sqq.*).

[6] See Tremearne, *The Tailed Headhunters of Nigeria* (London, 1912), p. 254 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* (London, 1913), p. 145 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *The Ban of the Bori* (London, *s. d.*), p. 280 *sqq.*

jẹnn-worshippers. In the middle of Ša'bą̄n they celebrate an annual feast at which they make sacrifices to the *jnūn*.[1] Once I was at Tetuan when the feast took place. The Gnąẇa went in procession with noisy music to a spring called 'Ain ṣ-Ṣáuwar, near the Moorish cemetery outside the town. They took with them a black bullock, a black goat, and a black donkey carrying several chickens of various colours. When they came near the spring, they began to dance, burned incense, and lighted candles. The bullock was then killed, and the man who slaughtered it sucked blood from its throat. The goat and the fowls shared the same fate. Unfortunately I did not arrive at the spot until the proceedings were just over, but I am speaking from credible hearsay. At Salli I was told that in Ša'bą̄n the *ṭálla' l-mlūk* makes a feast, which lasts one day and one night, to take leave of the *jnūn*, who are going to spend the following month in a state of imprisonment. The feast is attended by the Gnąẇa of the town as invited guests, and they play as usual. In the night the *ṭálla' l-mlūk* dresses himself up in all his dresses, one after another, and performs all his dances; each tribe of the *jnūn* has its own dance. And while he is dressed in red a goat is slaughtered, and he sucks its blood from the wound.

In Fez, on the 15th of Ša'bą̄n, the Gnąẇa of the town—both the men (*lă-'bîd*) and the women (*l-ḥdem*)—go in procession to a place outside Bą̄b Ft^{s}öḥ called Šährîj Gnąẇa, where there is a haunted spring. There they make their usual performance—playing, dancing, and dressing themselves in various colours; and their *mqáddem* kills a black he-goat. Those of them who are dancing drink the blood from the wound, holding their hands on their backs. During the same month the Gnąẇa of Fez spend every night in one or another of the public baths in the town, so that when the month comes to an end each bath (*ḥámmām*) has had a company of Gnąẇa one night. They dance and play and

[1] Speaking of the negro women in Egypt who claim powers of dealing with spirits, Niya Salima (*Harems et Musulmanes d'Égypte*, p. 263, quoted by Mrs. Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 302) says, "Before Ramadan these women solemnly celebrate their annual *moulid* (fair or fête)".

dress themselves up, and the owner of the bath gives them a black goat, which is killed by their *mqáddem*, the dancers drinking the blood as at the feast in the middle of the month. One day the *ṭálla' l-mlūk* of each *ṭáifa*, or congregation, of the Gnáwa in Fez—there are some three or four congregations—buys a large quantity of milk, pours it into earthenware bowls with covers (*jbâběn*, sing. *jăbbâna*), painted in different colours, and throws pounded benzoin into the milk. He does this in the evening, and places the bowls in a room of his house where nobody sleeps that night and which has previously been washed and fumigated with benzoin. On the same night the Gnáwa of his *ṭáifa* come to his house as invited guests, are entertained by the *ṭálla' l-mlūk*, and dance and play and dress themselves up; but they are not allowed to go into the room where the milk is kept. In the morning the *ṭálla' l-mlūk* gives some of the milk to the Gnáwa to drink, and sends the rest to his *ḥůddąm*—that is, the persons who regularly employ him—one bowl to each, which is returned with some money in it. It is believed that during the night Sîdi Mûsa and the other *jęnn* saints visit the room and impart *baraka* to the milk by dipping a finger into it. This feast is called *tˢébyitˢ*. It is easy to understand that the black slaves who came to Morocco found the Moorish belief in *jnūn* particularly congenial to their own native superstitions and entered into close relations with these spirits by means of practices which were more or less similar to those in vogue among their own people.

It also seems to me probable that the custom of the *ḍyâfa*, or at least the sacrifice which is so often implied in it, has come from the Sudan. In the literature on the eastern Arabs I have found no exact counterpart to it; the custom, practised in Mecca, of putting seven loaves of bread under the pillow of a sick child and then, after the child has slept on them, throwing them to the dogs to eat,[1] is probably only a form of disease-transference. On the other hand, a custom very similar to the Moorish *ḍyâfa*-sacrifice is reported from Timbuctoo. When a person is ill, music is employed to excite ecstasy in some saint, "who, when in a state of

[1] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 121.

inspiration, tells (on the authority of some departed saint, generally of Seedy Muhammed Seef) what animal must be sacrificed for the recovery of the patient: a white cock, a red cock, a hen, an ostrich, an antelope, or a goat. The animal is then killed in the presence of the sick, and dressed; the blood, feathers, and bones are preserved in a shell and carried to some retired spot, where they are covered and marked as a sacrifice. No salt or seasoning is used in the meat, but incense is used previous to its preparation. The sick man eats as much as he can of the meat, and all present partake; the rice, or what else is dressed with it, must be the produce of charitable contributions from others, not of the house or family; and every contributor prays for the patient".[1]

Our investigation would be incomplete without some words about the origin of the ancestors of the *jnūn* from whom they have derived their name, the *jinn* of the pagan Arabs.

The beliefs and practices relating to the *jinn* which prevail in Muhammadan countries may be divided into different strata: many of them have been preserved from the old Arabic paganism, others were introduced by the new religion, and others were added from earlier beliefs and practices prevalent in the countries to which it spread. The ancient Arabic belief in the *jinn* was on the whole maintained by Islam; the assemblage of these beings was in fact extended by the Prophet, who also recognised the existence of the heathen gods, but classed them among the demons.[2] Some of the *jinn*, as we have seen, were converted to Islam, but the others were regarded as the enemies of Allāh; hence their fear of the Koran and the *bismillāh*. Jewish and Christian elements were also infused into the demonology of Islam.[3] For example, the *jinn* who at the gate of heaven

[1] Jackson, *An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa . . . By el Hage Abd Salam Shabeeny* (London, 1820), p. 33.

[2] *Koran*, xxxvii. 158; Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 120; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 157; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. 111 *sqq.*; Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670.

[3] Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 110.

listen to the conversation of the angels respecting things decreed by God, are the *angeli desertores* or *proditores* who, according to a Jewish idea often met with in early Christian writings, stealthily got hold of the divine truth and imparted it to mankind.[1]

Considering that the belief in the *jinn* in Muhammadan countries is made up of a variety of elements, it can, of course, only with due caution be used to illustrate the ideas of the ancient Arabs. But on the other hand, our knowledge of these Arabs does not contain anything which justifies the conclusion that their conception of the *jinn* was essentially different from that of a later age. This must be borne in mind by anybody who ventures to speculate on the origin of the Arab belief in the *jinn*.

Robertson Smith tried to show that this belief was a survival of totemism. He argues that it requires a very exaggerated scepticism to doubt that the *jinn* are mainly nothing else than more or less modernised representatives of animal kinds, clothed with the supernatural attributes inseparable from the savage conception of animate nature. "In the old legends", he says, "the individual *jinnī* who may happen to appear to a man has no more a distinct personality than a beast. He is only one of a group of beings which to man are indistinguishable from one another, and which are regarded as making up a nation or clan of superhuman beings, inhabiting a particular locality, and united together by bonds of kinship and by the practice of the blood-feud, so that the whole clan acts together in defending its haunts from intrusion or in avenging on men any injury done to one of its members. This conception of the communities of the *jinn* is precisely identical with the savage conception of the animal creation. Each kind of animal is regarded as an organised kindred, held together by the ties of blood and the practice of blood revenge". The *jinn* usually appear to men in animal form, though they can also take the shape of men. This last feature, however, cannot be regarded as constituting a fundamental distinction between them and ordinary animals in the mind of the Arabs,

[1] von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 39 *sq.*

who believed that there were whole tribes of men who had the power of assuming animal form. The supernatural powers of the *jinn* do not differ from those which savages in the totem stage ascribe to wild beasts. They appear and disappear mysteriously, and are connected with supernatural voices and warnings, with unexplained sickness or death, just as totem animals are. A madman is possessed with the *jinn*; and there are a hundred examples of the soul of a beast being held to pass into a man. They occasionally enter into friendly relations or even into marriages with men, and animals do the same in the legends of savages. Yet, like the wild beasts, the *jinn* have for the most part no friendly or stated relations with men, but are outside the pale of man's society; they frequent waste and desert places far from the wonted tread of men, and their special haunts are just those where wild beasts gather most thickly Ultimately, however, the only animals directly and constantly identified with the *jinn* were snakes and other noxious creeping things, which continued to haunt and molest men's habitations after wild beasts had been driven out into the desert.[1]

We shall see whether these statements, if correct, have any bearing on totemism. It is true that among the *jinn* the individual has no distinct personality and is only one of a group or clan. It is also true that each kind of animal is often regarded by savages as analogous to a more or less organised community, in which the individual is lost sight of. But the same holds good, to a great extent, of savage men. They form tribes and clans, and the members of each group are "united together by bonds of kinship and by the practice of the blood feud", whereas the members of the group are hardly taken into account at all as individuals. It is from this organisation of human society that the idea of animal tribes is derived. Man models nature after the fashion of his own nature, and attributes human qualities to the supernatural beings in whose existence he believes. He does so to gods and he does so to demons. Why, then, should we believe that the similarity between the *jinn* clans and the several species of animals is due to identity, instead of

[1] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 120, 126 *sqq.*

regarding it as the natural result of an analogous derivation from the common root-idea of human society ?

Robertson Smith attaches much importance to the fact that the *jinn* most frequently appear to men in animal form. He does not deny that, according to Arab beliefs, they also may appear in the shape of human beings—although he seems to underrate the frequency of such cases—but he thinks that he solves the difficulty by a reference to the tales of men who were transformed into animals. Such stories, which are frequent in Morocco also,[1] certainly show that there are no unsurmountable barriers between man and the lower animals ; but they are hardly to the point. Though men are transformed into animals, Robertson Smith gives no instance of an animal assuming the shape of a man. As to the statement that the *jinn*, like totem animals, are connected with sickness and death, it should be noticed that they are supposed to cause sickness by actually entering into the person who is ill. A totem animal, it is true, may also cause disease in a similar way, but, so far as I know, only if it is eaten. Savages know nothing of microbe totems.

It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the *jinn* only incidentally, not permanently or necessarily, have the shape of certain animals. One of their chief characteristics is their extreme changeability. They make themselves visible or invisible just as they like, change rapidly from one form into another, and, at their pleasure, take up their abode wherever they please. The totem, on the other hand, is a class of material objects, and a totem animal is essentially an animal, though assumed to be endowed with some mysterious power. Further, the animal totem is an animal species, and every member of it is a representative of the totem ; whereas the *jinn*, when appearing in the shape of animals, do so only individually. There is absolutely no connection known to exist between certain tribes of *jinn* and certain species of animals ; nor is the whole animal species looked upon as *jinn*, although individual members of it are at times supposed to be spirits in disguise. So far as we know, there was only one animal that, according to ancient Arab beliefs, more

[1] *Infra*, ii. 315, 316, 324, 326, 329 *sqq.*

permanently possessed a demoniacal nature, namely, the snake.[1] But this, of course, does not mean that it was regarded as a totem animal. Totemism is an intimate relation, generally speaking a relation of friendship and kinship, which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of objects on the other side ;[2] and no such relation has ever been known to exist in ancient Arabia between men and snakes. Altogether, the relations between men and *jinn* are utterly different from the relation in which a man stands to his totem. Robertson Smith is aware of this ; he expressly points out that in Arabia all demons or demoniac animals habitually appear as man's enemies. But he argues that " totems, or friendly demoniac beings, rapidly develop into gods when men rise above pure savagery ", and that " it is natural that the belief in hostile demons of plant or animal kinds should survive long after the friendly kinds have given way to individual gods, whose original totem associations are in great measure obliterated ".[3] Whatever else may be said against this reasoning, we may still repeat Tylor's protest against premature conjectures as to the origin of deities from totem animals and against " the manner in which totems have been placed almost at the foundation of religion ".[4]

The supposition has also been made that the *jinn* were originally the spirits of dead people. No evidence, however, has been produced in support of this suggestion. The *jinn* haunt burial-grounds, like so many other places,[5] but they are not known to do it in any conspicuous degree. In Morocco many people are afraid of visiting a cemetery at night ; and, especially among Berbers, I have met with the

[1] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 152 *sq.* ; Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 669 ; *Idem*, 'Die Schlange nach arabischem Volksglauben', in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, i. (1860), p. 413 ; van Vloten, 'De uitdrukking as-sjaitân ar-ragîm en het steenen werpen bij Mina', in *Festbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje*, p. 37 *sqq.*

[2] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. (London, 1910), p. 3 *sq.*

[3] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 443 *sq.*

[4] Tylor, 'Remarks on Totemism', in *Jour. Anthrop. Institute*, xxviii. (1898), p. 144.

[5] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 150.

idea that the dead may get up from their graves, and that there also may be *jnūn* in the cemetery. But this is denied by others; and, generally, the Moors are no believers in ghosts.[1] Of the Egyptian *jinn*, Klunzinger expressly asserts that they are not spirits of the dead that have to walk.[2] In Egypt, according to Lane, "the term 'efreet is commonly applied rather to an evil ginnee than any other being, but the ghosts of dead persons are also called by this name; and many absurd stories are related of them, and great are the fears which they inspire", although there are some persons who hold them in no degree of dread.[3] In his *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Doughty defines *'afrīt* as an "evil *genius loci*, a word spoken of the spirits of wicked men departed, which as flies to the dunghill haunt eternally about their places of burial".[4] But 'Ifrīt is a name introduced by the Koran,[5] and is there an epithet of somewhat doubtful meaning, applied to a demon, not to a particular class of demons. "The belief current in later times", says Nöldeke, "that the *'Ifrīts* or *'Afrīts* are demons of a specially dangerous kind, is due to a misunderstanding of this passage".[6] With reference to the ancient Arabs the same writer observes that "the belief which exists among many primitive races that the dead are malevolent and seek to injure the living, is one of which no traces are to be found among the Arabs".[7]

Writers on the history of religion have often moulded the religious phenomena into too narrow forms, whether the form be headed totemism or ancestor-worship. The conception of the *jinn* evidently implies a generalisation on a much larger scale. These spirits seem to have been invented to explain strange and mysterious phenomena which suggest a volitional cause, especially such as inspire men with fear. Robertson Smith's statement that their special haunts are the places most frequented by wild beasts is certainly not in

[1] *Supra*, p. 275; *infra*, ii. 546 *sqq*. [2] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 382.
[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 236. [4] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 170.
[5] *Koran*, xxvii. 39. *Cf.* Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 149.
[6] Nöldeke, in Hastings, *op. cit.* i. 670 n.*.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 673. *Cf.* Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. (Halle a. S., 1889), p. 255.

accordance with facts. We have seen that their principal abode is the under-world, but that they haunt all sorts of places and objects which have a striking appearance or otherwise excite feelings of wonder or fear, that men are surrounded by them, and that uncanny events of every description are attributed to their activity. They frequently assume the shape of animals, I presume, not because there is any intrinsic connection between animals and *jinn*, but because the *jinn* represent active forces, and among living things the animals are the most mysterious ; it is significant that the uncanniest of all creatures, the snake and other creeping things, most frequently are *jinn* in disguise. The belief that brides and bridegrooms are much exposed to the attacks of these spirits seems to be due partly to the new state of life into which they are about to enter, and partly to the particular character of the act by which marriage is consummated ; sexual intercourse is looked upon as defiling, and under certain circumstances as a mysterious cause of evil.[1] The threshold is considered haunted by *jnūn* presumably on account of that uncanny feeling which superstitious people are apt to experience when they first enter a dwelling.[2] And so forth. The feeling of uncanniness seems always to be at the bottom of the belief in the presence of *jinn*.

For this reason the *jinn* are closely connected with other mysterious forces. It is often impossible to distinguish between misfortunes attributed to *jnūn* and those attributed to the impersonal force of evil which the Moors call *l-bạs* ; I have even heard it said that the *bạs* is the *jnūn*. The belief in *jnūn* is also closely bound up with the dread of the " evil eye ". The evils caused by them are largely the same, and so are the classes of persons particularly exposed to them and the charms used against them ; for example, the same passages of the Koran as are

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 328 *sqq.* ; *Idem*, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii. (London, 1921), p. 564 *sq.* In Egypt celibacy is in some cases " the essential condition in a compact with a genie " (Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 384).

[2] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 219 *sq.* ; *Idem*, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii. 538.

supposed to drive away *jnūn* are also used as a protection against the evil eye.[1] A Shawi scribe in the Aurès in Algeria informed Mr. Hilton-Simpson "that among his people the belief is held that when the admiring glance leaves the eye it is joined by a *jinn*, who accompanies the glance to the object admired, and causes the harm which is popularly supposed to befall the person or thing upon whom the 'evil eye' has been cast".[2]

So, too, there is an intimate connection between *jnūn* and *baraka*. Saints rule over the *jnūn* and have Muhammadan *jnūn* as their assistants; and Mûlăi 'Abdlqâder is the sultan of all the saints and *jnūn*. The term *rijâl ălláh* comprises both saints and Muhammadan *jnūn*, and in the *jenn* saints the border-line between *jnūn* and saints is wellnigh obliterated. Maniacs are regarded as *mejnûnin*, while harmless lunatics are venerated as saints. There are species of animals that have *baraka* as well as animals that are haunted by *jnūn* or are *jnūn* in disguise. There is *baraka* in cats, although *jnūn* often appear as cats. The frog is sometimes said to be a *fqêra*, or female saint, although it is more frequently considered to be haunted by *jnūn* or to be itself a *jenn*. A snake which is found in a house or tent may be either a *jenn* or a saint, and a snake at a *sîyĭd* is taken to be the dead saint himself. There are holy trees and haunted trees, and trees which are regarded as holy by some and as haunted by others. The same sorts of places—rocks, caves, springs, the sea—as are haunted by *jnūn* are also associated with saints. Shrines are haunted at night, and occasionally there is some doubt whether a certain place is connected with a saint or merely haunted by *jnūn*.[3]

Like other forms of the *bas*, and the *baraka*, the *jnūn* thus belong to the world of mystery. They are personifications of what is uncanny in nature, or the imagined causes of all sorts of uncanny events. The same is the case with their

[1] *Infra*, i. 444.

[2] Hilton-Simpson, 'Some Algerian Superstitions noted among the Shawia Berbers of the Aurès Mountains and their Nomad Neighbours', in *Folk-Lore*, xxvi. (1915), p. 228.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 228.

kindred among other Muhammadan peoples ; and there is every reason to believe that in this respect the *jinn* of the ancient Arabs did not differ from their modern descendants. This is suggested by their very name. *Jinn* probably means " covert " or " darkness ".[1]

[1] Nöldeke, in Hastings, *op. cit.* i. 669 ; *Idem*, in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, i. 413 n. *** ; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 148.

CHAPTER VII

INDIVIDUAL SPIRITS

THE *jnūn* are generally lacking in individuality Their characteristics are mostly those of the species and the tribe. Different tribes of them, as we have seen, may have different religions, different dispositions of mind, and different colours, and attack people in different circumstances and on different days. There are also certain *jnūn* who have individual names, such as the *jẹnn* saints, some disease spirits, and others whose names play an important part in many invocations and charms. In Fez there was an '*afrīt*' by name 'Allů, who lived in a spring still known under the name 'Ain 'Allů, but he was killed by Mûläi Idrīs ; the spring is situated in the vicinity of Mûläi Idrīs' sanctuary. Magicians read in their books about " the seven kings " of the *jnūn* (*seb'a ḍe l-mulūk*), whose names are stated somewhat differently in different books. According to one version they are Muḍhhib (" gilder "), Merra, al-Aḥmar (" the red "), Borqān (" gleaming "), Šemhūreš, al-Abyaḍ (" the white "), and Mīmūn (" lucky ").[1] Of these personages Mīmūn is popularly known as a *jẹnn* saint by name Sîdi Mîmūn or Mâimūn, and Šemhūreš is also much spoken of, under the name of Šĕmhârůš. He had a son called *sůlṭān l-kḥal*, " the black sultan " ; and when he died he also left behind a daughter, who is still alive and assists her own sex in practising witchcraft. But all these individuals are very shadowy beings without any distinct personality.

[1] *Cf.* Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), pp. 121, 160 *sq.*

The case is somewhat different with certain other spirits with individual names who are generally included among the *jnūn*, but present definite characteristics of their own and call for special attention. Among the Arabic-speaking people of Northern Morocco there is a belief in a *jennîya* called 'Aiša Qandîša. She appears as a grown-up woman with a beautiful face, but she has also been seen with the legs of a goat or an ass, or with the legs of a woman and the body of a she-goat with long pendant breasts. She is very libidinous and tries to seduce handsome young men. I was told of a man in Tangier who once in the middle of the night met her in the street, although he took her for a woman. She said to him, " O man, O man, come ! " He did not answer but proceeded to his room in another street, shut the door, went to bed, and extinguished the light. When he put his hand on the pillow he, to his amazement, touched the breast of a woman. Now he understood that the individual he had met was a *jennîya* and that it was she who was in his bed. He got a fright, jumped up from his bed and rushed out from the room, and went to his parents' house, where he knocked at the door. His mother and brother came out, and when he told them his adventure they accompanied him to his room ; but they found nobody there. On the next day he spoke about it to an old man, who said that 'Aiša Qandîša every night at a certain hour appears in the shape of a woman in the place where he met her, trying to induce men to go with her ; and that he who does so will be maddened by her.

She has her home, however, in a river or a spring or the sea. A Moorish friend of mine in Tangier told me that in his childhood his mother used to warn him against 'Aiša Qandîša when he was going to bathe in the sea, and it is from the sea that she ascends to the cave of Rmelqâla.[1] A woman from the Tsūl said that she lives in a spring. According to the people of Tetuan, she resides in the river outside that town, at a place where there is a ruined bridge ; she seizes and kills persons who bathe there—indeed, every year three or four men fall victims to her in this way. But in

[1] *Supra*, p. 289.

the summer when it is very warm she is sometimes seen sitting on the shore. At Fez she comes out from the Wād g-Gzām ben Zékkūm, the drain, in the quarter g-Gzām ben Zékkūm, in the shape of an ugly old woman with pendant breasts. Among the Beni Ăḥsen I heard that she lives in the river Sbū, although she has the vicious habit of approaching married men in the shapes of their wives and then taking their lives. A woman told me that once, when her son was bathing in that river, 'Aiša Qandîša came and rode on his back, and he got rid of her only when he cried out to the persons present, "Give me a dagger"; for 'Aiša Qandîša, like other *jnūn*, is afraid of things of steel, even needles. In the same tribe it is the custom for those who on Midsummer day take a swim in the river, first to throw into it burning straw with *sĕksū* as an offering to 'Aiša Qandîša and her husband Ḥámmů Qáiyů. The latter was described as a very tall individual, who lives with her in the river.[1] I also heard about him in other tribes of Northern Morocco—in the neighbourhood of Mequinez a man told me that he had once seen him in a river; but he is much less spoken of than his wife. I have not met with the belief in 'Aiša Qandîša farther south. In Dukkâla the people told me that they had heard of her only from Ḥmádša, who, when they are dancing and invoking *jnūn* before they begin to chop their heads with axes, sing, *'Aiša Qandîša gâ'da t'ḥănni*, "'Aiša Qandîša is sitting and smears herself with henna".

The people of Dukkâla, however, speak of another *jĕnnîya* who is also known to be very libidinous and to madden or kill people by frightening them. She is called Ḫărâja or (with the definite article) lă-Ḫrâja, a name derived from the verb *ḫrej*, because she "comes out" from some watery or other haunted place. She assumes different forms on

[1] *Cf. Villes et tribus du Maroc. Documents et renseignements publiés sous les auspices de la résidence générale par la mission scientifique du Maroc: Rabat et sa région*, iii. (Paris, 1920), p. 298:—"Il appelle fréquemment par leur nom tous ceux qu'il aperçoit; il ne faut ni lui répondre ni regarder de son côté. On découvre souvent la trace de son passage quand, la nuit, il traverse un Oued".

different occasions. A youth from the Shāwîa told me that she is black and her head, including the face, covered with long hair. In Dukkâla I heard that she was once seen on a road in the shape of a he-goat, tied up. The man who found the goat took it with him, but while he was carrying it, he suddenly heard it speak, asking him, "Am I heavy?" He got frightened, of course, and threw off the mysterious animal. A scribe from the same province said that he on a certain occasion saw Ḫărâja like a red dog with a big human head; she was clapping her hands, but when he recited some passages from the Koran she ran away, and when he looked back he saw her no more. Another Dukkâla scribe told me that a friend of his once made an appointment to meet at a desert place a certain woman whose husband was absent from home. While he was waiting for her, he fell asleep. He was awaked, however, by a woman resembling the one he intended to meet, who wanted to rob him of his gun. He made resistance and ran away; but he was ill for a whole month afterwards, and the part of his body against which she had pressed her elbow turned black. He was convinced that the woman was lă-Ḫrâja; for when he woke up from his sleep he heard a great number of owls hooting on the neighbouring rocks. There is, moreover, not only a *jĕnnîya* named lă-Hrâja, but a whole class of *jnūn* called *lă-ḫrâij*, who appear in the shape of animals or men. They are seen by bad people only; if two persons are sitting together, one of them may see a spirit of this kind though the other one sees none. If anybody comes to a place haunted by the *ḫrâij* the hair will rise on his head, even though he cannot see them, and if a dog comes to such a place it runs away at once. Ḫărâja seems on the whole to be a southerly variant of 'Aiša Qandîša.

Two men from Sūs told me of a *jĕnnîya* who sometimes appears as a pretty woman but at other times with the feet of an ass or a mare, and who is of a very libidinous nature, offering herself up to men. The name 'Aiša Qandîša was not known to them. Nor does it seem to be known in the Rīf. But the Ait Temsâmän use the term *ṯäjnnĭšṯ* as a proper

name for a certain *jẹnnîya*, who appears with a nice face, speaks to men calling them by name, and proposes to marry them. If the man answers, " I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one, I am protected against you by God and the religious law ", then she disappears ; whereas if he says " yes ", he is done for—he may go with her or she may go to his house, either then or afterwards, and she will kill him. These female spirits are evidently equivalents to 'Aiša Qandîša.

I have not found 'Aiša Qandîša mentioned in the descriptions of other Muhammadan countries, but her name is nevertheless distinctly of Eastern origin. Qĕdēšā was the name for a temple harlot in the Canaanitish cults. A prominent trait of 'Aiša Qandîša's character is her libidinousness, and in this respect she differs from all other *jnūn* who have a more or less distinct personality, with the exception of those who are apparently simple variants of her. Both her name and her character thus seem to connect her with the cult of 'Aštart, and so does her homestead. She lives in rivers, springs, or the sea ; and 'Aštart has likewise been associated with water, the cause of fertility. Her name has been connected with a root meaning " to be watered ", and has been interpreted as the numen of a spring ; and it has been suggested that " many nymphs of fountains and streams in Phœnician settlements may be only variant forms of 'Ashtart ".[1] This suggestion is certainly supported by the Moorish belief in 'Aiša Qandîša. 'Aštart was worshipped not only by the Canaanites, Hebrews, and Phœnicians, but also in Phœnician colonies, and prostitution is widely attested as a religious rite in her service ; thus we hear of women " of the congregation of the people of Astarte " at Carthage.[2] Carthaginian colonies existed in Morocco. The earliest of these colonies was the Thymiaterion of Hanno and Scylax,

[1] Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins* (New York, 1902), pp. 86, 104 *sqq.* ; Paton, ' Ashtart (Ashtoreth), Astarte ', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 117.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i. (Parisiis, 1881), no. 263, p. 340. See also Toutain, *Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, iii. (Paris, 1920), p. 89.

which was probably the present Mehdîya ; [1] and it is perhaps not merely by accident that I have found the belief in ʿAiša Qandîša and Ḥámmů Qáiyů more vivid among the Beni Ăḥsen, living in the same neighbourhood, than among any other tribe in Morocco. I think, then, we have reason to suppose that ʿAiša Qandîša is the old goddess of love degraded to a Moorish *jennîya* of a most disreputable character. And this supposition may lead to the suggestion that her husband Ḥámmů Qáiyů was perhaps the Carthaginian god Ḥaman.

A *jennîya* whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Ġôla. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face. She speaks gently to people and thus allures them to come to her, but at the same time she is very dangerous : when she has got hold of a person she kills and eats him. I have heard of people, both in the Rîf and the Ġarbîya, who have seen the Ġôla ; and of a certain shereef in Tangier, Sîdi ṭ-Ṭáiyib, it is said that whenever he went out he was followed by her. Formerly she was seen at noon on the tower (*ṣóm'a*) of the *záwia* of Sîdi Ḥmed ben Nâṣăr in the same town, and even now nobody but the *mûdden* would like to go up there at that hour or in the dark. Long ago there was a *ġôla* in the mosque l-Kutubîya at Marráksh, who sometimes ate people visiting the place. Once, however, when Sîdi ʿĂli ben Qâsem went there to pray, he imprisoned her in a room in the tower of the mosque and closed the door so that nobody could enter it. She may be there still or she may be dead—who knows ? Anyhow the room, which is called *bîtˢ l-ġôla*, is considered to be haunted. At Fez there is, outside Bāb g-Gîsa, an old dome-shaped building which is named *ḥámmąm l-ġôla*, " the hot bath of the Ġôla ", from which people have seen a *jennîya* come out in the shape of a black

[1] Tissot, ' Recherches sur la géographie comparée de la Maurétanie Tingitane ', in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut de France*, ser. i. vol. ix. (Paris, 1878), p. 226 *sqq*. See also Playfair and Brown, *A Bibliography of Morocco to the end of 1891* (London, 1892), p. 4 ; Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors* (London, 1901), p. 228.

woman with her right breast thrown back over the left shoulder and her left breast over the right shoulder and with long projecting canine teeth. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, again, there is a cave called *käf l-ġôla* at the village Aid Dris.

The Ġôla has a husband, called the Ġōl, who resembles her both in appearance and character. In Tangier a man who has long hair hanging down from his head, a luxuriant beard, hairy hands and feet, and long nails, is said to be "like the Ġōl"; and in Andjra mothers frighten their children by telling them that the Ġōl will come and eat them. In the Faḥṣ, near the village z-Zînaṭ^{s}, there is a rock called *l-ḥjar de l-ġōl*.

Ġōl has the plural *ġwāl* and *ġôla* the plural *ġôlāṭ^{s}*; they are thus used not only, with the definite article, as individual names, but also to denote a male or female member of a special class of beings. The *ġwāl* are said to live in the Sudan or Sahara or in a thick wood from which they come out in the shapes of animals, or who knows where? They have black faces and eyes like flaming fire and are fond of human flesh. Some people maintain that the *ġwāl* are not *jnūn* but a species by themselves or a kind of men or wild animals, whereas others, who seem to be particularly well informed, are of opinion that they are of the *jenn* kind. An old man from the Ḥiáina spoke to me about *jennîyāt^{s}* called *ḥadmânāṭ^{s}*, who correspond to *ġôlāṭ^{s}*: they appear as black women with long projecting canine teeth and pendant breasts, the right one thrown back over the left shoulder and the left over the right shoulder; they attack people, and if they get hold of anybody they eat them.

Among the Shlöḥ of Southern Morocco, on both sides of the Great Atlas (Ḥáḥa, Iglíwa, Sūs), there is a belief in a female being called Taġznt or Táġŭznt, who is seen at night and eats people, and was said to be the same individual as the Ġôla.[1] Berbers belonging to the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi told me

[1] Doutté (*Missions au Maroc—En tribu* [Paris, 1914], p. 86) speaks of the belief in a female ogre called Taġzen, with two enormous breasts, living in a place in the Great Atlas range. In his *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 228, Stumme translates the word *taġŭzänt* with the German "Hexe", and he mentions two plural forms of it.

that in their tribe the Ġôla is called Ṯámza.[1] She has very long and pendant breasts, and lives in a desolate place. If a person carries a gun or is accompanied by a dog, she is afraid of him and runs away, but otherwise she makes a sign to him and calls him by name; for she knows the name of everybody. And if she gets hold of him she strangles him. Her husband is called Lġōl. A female spirit called Ṯâyu, which also was said to be only another name for the Ġôla, was formerly seen among the Ait Temsâmän in the Rīf, though she no longer appears among them. She lives or lived—my informant asked me if I knew whether she is nowadays found elsewhere—in desert places, has very much hair on her head, and long pendant breasts. A *ǧennîya* of the same type is Šbûha, mentioned to me by a scribe from the Aiṯ Wäryâġer. She appears sometimes as a woman and at other times as a she-animal—a mule or donkey or bitch—or in any shape she pleases. Her breasts and lower lip are very long and pendant. She lives in some desert place, from which she comes and frightens people; and those who see her go mad. I have also heard of her at Tangier.

The Ġôla is the Ġūle or Ġūl mentioned in old Arabic literature and Arabic tales as the name for a female demon of a most dangerous disposition, who is fond of eating men; the word comes from a root signifying "to destroy", perhaps originally "to assault". She passes a solitary existence in the deserts, or lies in wait at some place where men are destined to perish; thus she appears to persons travelling alone in the night, and being supposed by them to be herself a traveller, lures them out of their way. She not only converses with the travellers, but sometimes prostitutes herself to them. She has the power of changing her shape. She may appear in the *rôle* of a young wife who gives a sleeping-draught to her husband, or as a girl weeping on the road-side. But usually she is described as an ugly woman with

[1] *Cf.* Basset, 'Berbers and N. Africa', in Hastings, *op. cit.* ii. (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 513:—"Among the Rif of Morocco and the K'sūr at Wargla we find *amza*; among the Beni-Menacer *amza*, with feminine *thamzat* or *tamzat*". Biarnay mentions the terms *amza* and *amziu*, "ogre", and *ṯamza*, "ogress", in his *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif* (Paris, 1917), p. 87.

long pendant breasts, which she sometimes throws back over her shoulders, or as a hideous monster with the feet of an ass or with hairy skin resembling that of a dog.[1]

The belief in this ogre and in a whole class of beings called by a plural form corresponding to the Moorish *ġwāl* is widely spread in the East as well as in Northern Africa.[2] In Egypt, says Lane, "these beings are generally believed to be a class of evil ginnees, and are said to appear in the forms of various animals and in many monstrous shapes, to haunt burial-grounds and other sequestered spots, to feed upon dead bodies, and to kill and devour every human creature who has the misfortune to fall in their way".[3] With reference to Palestine Baldensperger writes:—"Away from high roads and human habitations, on sandy wastes and rocky regions there is the Ghûl, which, as its name indicates, is insatiable and often devours women and children. Most of them have names of animals".[4] According to Persian beliefs, "the *ghúls* . . . usually endeavour to entice the traveller away from the caravan to his destruction by assuming the form or voice of a friend or relative. Crying out piteously for help, and entreating the unwary traveller to come to their assistance, they induce him to follow them to some lonely spot, where, suddenly assuming the hideous form proper to them, they rend him in pieces and devour him".[5]

Von Kremer identifies the Ĝūle with the Syrian Šūbeh,[6]

[1] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 42 *sq.*; von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, iii.-iv. (Wien, 1890), p. 54 *sq.*; van Vloten, 'Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern', in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. (1893), p. 179; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 149 *sq.*; Nöldeke, 'Arabs (Ancient)', in Hastings, *op. cit.* i. (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 670; Spitta, *Contes arabes modernes* (Leide et Paris), pp. 16, 17, 130, 142 *sqq.*

[2] For Algeria see Desparmet, *Contes populaires sur les ogres recueillis à Blida*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909–10), *passim.*

[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 236 *sq.*

[4] Baldensperger, *The Immovable East* (London, 1913), p. 86. See also Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 313; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 53 *sq.*; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 321 *sqq.*; Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Wien, 1908), p. 326 *sqq.*

[5] Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians* (London, 1893), p. 165.

[6] von Kremer, *op. cit.* iii.-iv. 54.

who shows herself in the shape of a fabulous animal or as a woman with coarse hair on her head, immense eyes, and long pendant breasts.[1] This *jẹnnîya* has her counterpart in Morocco also so far as the name is concerned, Šbûha evidently being the same as Šübeh. Taġznt or Táġŭznt, Ṯâyu, and Ṯámza, whom the natives themselves identify with the Ġôla, may nevertheless be old Berber spirits, modified by Arab beliefs. Their names are Berber; Ṯámza is derived from the root *mz*, "seize", "take".[2]

A very dangerous *jẹnnîya* is the Táb'a (T^{s}áb'a), "she who follows".[3] She attacks both women and men, renders them sterile, causes the death of their children in early infancy, makes them wasteful or addicted to some other particular vice, or kills their animals. Unlike 'Aiša Qandîša and the Ġôla she is not seen by anybody; she is a secret cause of evil, and as such infinitely more active and destructive than either of those *jẹnnîyāt^{s}*. A woman who is a victim to her is said to be *met^{s}bô'a*, a man *met^{s}bô'ŏ*; and there are a large number of such persons. The ideas about her are very confused. I was told that the Táb'a may be killed by a charm written by a *fqī*, but that if the charm is not sufficiently strong her children will avenge her death by killing the *fqī*. On the other hand, *t-táb'a* is also used as the name, not for a personal being, but for a mysterious infliction of some kind or other, an infection which is hereditary or transmissible, for example through the infected individual's clothes, and which only after some hesitation may be admitted to be caused by a *jẹnnîya* of that name.

The Táb'a is euphemistically called Ůmm ṣ-Ṣůbyān, especially in her capacity of causing the death of infants. Under this name (Omm al-Ṣibyān or Umm eṣ-Ṣibyān) she is also known in the East—in Egypt, Kordofan, and Mecca—and is mentioned by Damīrī and Soyūṭī.[4] The same name

[1] Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, etc., i. (Berlin, 1854), p. 273 *sq.*

[2] See Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 165; Basset, *loc. cit.* p. 513.

[3] On this *jẹnnîya cf.* Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 347.

[4] von Kremer, *op. cit.* iii.-iv. 34 *sq.*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. (Haag, 1889), p. 123 *sq.*; Anderson, 'Medical Practices and Superstitions amongst the People of Kordofan', in *Third Report of the Wellcome*

is given to an owl,[1] which is likewise supposed to cause diseases among infants [2]—an old idea, mentioned by Ovid, who states that owls suck the blood of new-born children.[3] There are similar beliefs in Morocco. At Fez a little child is not allowed to stay under the open sky in the evening about half an hour before sunset for fear lest an owl should fly over its head and make it ill.[4] The Ait Waráin believe that if an owl flies over a suckling, the child will die soon after. At Demnat I was told that if a little child is struck by an owl, as it is liable to be if taken out of the house, it becomes unable to open its mouth and suck its mother. The owl was said to be a *jenn*, and the cure is in accordance with this belief: at night when everybody else in the house is sleeping the mother fills her mouth with oil, spits it out on some flour, and makes with it a saltless paste, which she, without saying a word, distributes in all the corners of the house, on the doorsteps, and in the fire-place, evidently as an offering to the *jnūn*. The Aiṭ Yúsi believe that a certain *ṭajĕnnīṭ* (*jennîya*) is a great danger to new-born babes. She comes in the shape of a bird, though she has breasts like those of a goat which are filled with blood, and if the child sucks her breast it will die at once. As a protection against her a vessel filled with water is placed close to the child's head every night during the first week, and a net is generally hung at the door of the house or at the back of the tent, as it is from this side that the bird usually enters the place, and there it is left for forty days.[5] I heard no name for this spirit, nor for the one that assumes the shape of an owl, but they are obviously closely connected with the belief in Ůmm ṣ-Ṣůbyāṇ. Another name for Ůmm ṣ-Ṣůbyāṇ, also found

Research Laboratories at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum (London, 1908), p. 284; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 115 *sqq.*

[1] von Kremer, *op. cit.* iii.-iv. 35.

[2] Vassel, *La littérature populaire des israélites tunisiens* (Paris, 1905–7), p. 191 (Tunis).

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 131 *sqq.*

[4] See *infra*, ii. 334 *sq.* See also *supra*, p. 166.

[5] See also *infra*, ii. 382.

in the East,[1] is Qarîna ; I have heard it at Tangier, where it is pronounced Qrîna.

There are numerous remedies for the evils caused by the Táb'a, apart from the usual visits to shrines. The following cases may serve as examples. In an olive grove at the village Ḍār Ṭwîläš in Andjra there is an old mosque called ᵈJwím'a Ḍār Ṭwîläš, which is no longer used as a mosque but is visited by women who are barren or whose children die in infancy because they have become the victims of the Tˢáb'a. On the death of a child the mother goes there, accompanied by her husband, on a Friday. The husband kills on her behalf a fowl as *'ār* upon the ᵈJwím'a, and she promises the sacrifice of a he-goat in the future in case she shall give birth to a child who remains alive. She walks three times round the mosque, and then sprinkles the dead child's clothes, which she has brought with her, with some earth mixed with water taken from a spring close by. She repeats the visit, together with her husband, as also the circumambulation of the mosque, on every subsequent Friday until her wish for a child is fulfilled ; and on these occasions she makes small offerings of candles, money, or bread to the ᵈJwím'a. On the fortieth day after its birth the child is carried to the mosque, the father makes the promised sacrifice at the threshold, the mother walks three times round the mosque with the infant, and the parents smear its joints, as well as those of their own bodies, with a mixture of earth and water similar to that mentioned above. Then the mother takes the child inside the mosque and says, " O Lálla ᵈJwím'a this is not my child, it is yours ". Afterwards also the child

[1] Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 124 ; Baldensperger, ' Peasant Folk-lore of Palestine ', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893* (London), p. 206. In Egypt and Syria the word *qarîna* is used as the name for a spiritual counterpart or " double " which is supposed to accompany every person through life (Seligman, ' Ancient Egyptian Beliefs in Modern Egypt ', in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* [Cambridge, 1913], p. 449 *sq.* ; *cf.* Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam* [London, 1920], p. 107 *sqq.*), an idea which Professor Seligman looks upon as a survival of the ancient Egyptian belief in the *ka*. In Egypt the death of one or more children in a family is often attributed to the influence of their mother's, or in some cases their father's, *qarîna*.

must be frequently taken to the mosque on Fridays, lest it should die ; and when old enough, it is dressed in the clothes of its dead brother or sister which were sprinkled with earth and water from the mosque.

Among the Ait Waráin, if a person's children die owing to the *ttábă't* (I doubt whether in this case the word should be written with a capital), a learned scribe may find out from his books that the only remedy is complete abstinence from a particular food, such as meat of a certain kind, fat, fish, or milk, which is the cause of the *ttábă't*. But it must be abstained from not only by the affected parent and the child, but by all future children and descendants, since otherwise the evil will come back to the family.[1] At Fez, if the T^{s}áb'a causes the death of a woman's second child, the mother buys the head of a sheep, cooks it, and puts it into the *késkäs*, or steamer used for the making of *sĕksŭ*, and then asks the first-born child to eat of it. The part of the head which the child first touches with its fingers—the tongue or eye or ear or any other part—is at once taken away from it, and never after is the child allowed to eat that part of a sheep ; in this way its life is saved. Nay, even this person's own children and descendants must in the future abstain from the same part of a sheep ; one of my informants said that none of his family ever eats the eyes of this animal for fear lest the T^{s}áb'a should come back. Again, if a man is *met^{s}bŏ'ŏ* and his children die in consequence, his wife throws a sieve (*ġárbăl*) at him from behind, without his knowing it, and then touches with fire that part of his body which is hit, because it is supposed to be the seat of the T^{s}áb'a. There is the risk that he may die from this treatment ; but if he does not, his children will also remain alive—in other words, he is relieved of the T^{s}áb'a.

I have also heard of the following cure. If several children in a family die not long after they were born, the mother, when she is again with child and the embryo is seven months old, asks her husband to procure the gut of a hedgehog. She girdles herself with the gut early in the morning, goes to the market and walks round it three times,

[1] For another cure among the same tribe, see *supra*, p. 283.

and then ties the gut round a pregnant bitch or she-cat. The result is that the young to which this animal will give birth are going to die; she has transferred to them the death which threatened her own child. It may be added that the child is not named until it is old enough to partake of the sheep slaughtered at the name-giving ceremony, when it is made to eat as much as it can of a dish prepared from the internal parts of the sheep, after which the remainder of the dish is thrown away, since nobody else must partake of it. Before this has been done the child is called by all sorts of temporary names, obviously in order to mislead that terrible *jẹnn* or *jẹnnîya*, often appearing in the shape of a black person, whose specialty is to kill children (another variant of Ůmm ṣ-Ṣůbyāṉ). All this was done by my friend Sîdi 'Abdsslam's sister to save the life of her little son, Sîdi Baraka. She was taught to do so by her mother, who herself had learned the practice from a Rîf woman.

In the Ḥiáina the place where the body of a dead person is washed is fumigated with gum-lemon and agal-wood and sprinkled with salt to keep off *jnūn* or the *jẹnn* called the Ḫiäl, or "spectre". So also a desert place where some one has been murdered, even though it be long ago, is haunted by a *jẹnn*, named "the Ḫiäl of the murdered one (*mắġdōr*)", who appears in the shape of an animal, such as a he-goat, horse, donkey, dog, cat, or hare; and in a similar shape a *jẹnn* may come out of a grave in the wilderness. But if the person who sees him knocks a knife against a stone, or if he wears a certain charm, the *jẹnn* will take to flight. My informant emphasised the point that the Ḫiäl is not the ghost of the dead person but a *jẹnn*. Yet there can be no doubt as to the origin of this being. In some Berber tribes the Läḫiâl or Lḫiâl is to be guarded against on the spot where a person has died or where the corpse of a dead person has been washed, or at the place where somebody has been murdered; but among them this apparition is said to be, not a *jẹnn*, but the soul of the dead man.[1]

Among the Berbers there is the belief in a female demon who lives in cemeteries. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer maintain that

[1] *Infra*, ii. 444, 445, 526, 527, 549.

every cemetery has a *ḏäjennit*, or *jennîya*, who appears in the evening in the shape of a mule and therefore is called *ḏäsärḏund*, or "mule". She is very seldom seen, but several persons have heard her voice, which is like that of an ordinary mule, and the rattling noise of something made of silver or iron which she carries round her neck. It is a bad omen to see or hear her: it means illness or madness or death. The Ait Temsâmän, who have a similar belief, call her *ṯäsāḏunt imḏran*, "the mule of the cemetery". The Shlöḥ of the Iglíwa believe that in old cemeteries there is a mysterious female mule which walks about at night; they call her *taserdunt n ísmḍal*, "the mule of the graveyards".[1] If anybody sees her and mounts her to ride, she takes him to the cemetery, where she digs his grave with her feet. There was once a man who owned some pasture-ground near a graveyard. In the morning when he went there, he regularly found that some animal had been feeding on the grass. He therefore decided to spend a night at the place to watch what would happen. He then saw a very fat mule coming there to graze. He mounted the mule, which ran away with him to the cemetery and began to dig in the ground; but he went off and climbed a tree, where he remained till the hour for the morning prayer when the evil spirits disappear from the surface of the earth. My informant added that although many persons have been taken to the cemetery by this mule, she has not, latterly at least, been successful in her evil attempts. The belief in her, which is said to be very ancient, seems to be fading away. The Shlöḥ of Aglu, in Sūs, speak not of a mule but of a mare, called *tagmart ísmḍal*, "the mare of the graveyards",[2] which at night is heard making a noise with an iron chain in the cemetery. It is only bad people, however, who hear

[1] *Cf.* Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 311:—"Au milieu de la nuit, rôde la 'mule des cimetières' *taserdunt n-isemdal*. Ses hennissements bruyants causent la terreur du voyageur attardé vers lequel elle galope pour le dévorer. Elle fait un bruit d'enfer et, sous ses sabots ferrés, jaillissent des gerbes d'étincelles".

[2] *Cf.* Stumme, *Märchen der Schluḥ von Tázerwalt* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 55, 56, 173 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Handbuch des Schilḥischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 227.

this noise ; and some of them get so frightened that they die in consequence.

At Fez I heard of a *jennîya* who is called *bġîlt^{s} l-līl*, " the little female mule of the night ", because she appears at night in the shape of a female mule. She is covered with golden things, which gives her a radiant appearance. If anybody sees her and attacks her in order to get the gold, she knocks him down, unless he has with him a book containing some writing from the Koran or a dagger or a knife. If he then puts on her the book, or draws the dagger or the knife, she gets frightened and lets him have the things she is carrying.

The female demon who lives in cemeteries and appears at night in the shape of a mule and " the mare of the graveyards " seem to be genuine Berber creations ; neither of them, so far as I know, have been found among Arabic-speaking people, whilst the former occurs among Berbers who live so far from each other as the Rifians and the Shlöḥ. " The little female mule of the night ", spoken of at Fez. may be a corrupt variant of " the mule of the graveyards " but deprived of its chief characteristic, its connection with the cemetery.

A scribe from the Ḥiáina spoke to me of a *jennîya* by name lă-Ḥkîma ʿOqla, who rules over 366 tribes of evil-minded *jnūn*, her son ʿAirûd,[1] and her sister ʿAqêṣa. They live in the river Bûzemlan between the Ḥiáina and the Ait Waráin, and are very dangerous, always ready to strike people. He knew nothing more about them. An Arab from Cape Juby (Ras Buibiša), right opposite to the Canaries, whom I met at Marráksh, told me about two *jennîyāt^{s}*, Fáṭma and Ndaháwa, who rob cows of their milk and deprive uncharitable people of half of their property. They are sisters and always appear together ; but they can only be seen by people who have *baraka*.

The most famous of all *jnūn* is Šîṭan (š-Šîṭan, š-Šîṭān, š-Šîṭan, š-Šeiṭān ; I shall use the form Šîṭan, without the definite article, as I heard the name being used in Fez) or Iblis (Iblīs, Yéblis), that is, Satan or the devil, who is

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 270.

regarded as the chief of the evil *jnūn*—the *šayâṭīn* or *ibâles*.

Šîṭan is everywhere, except in mosques. He may assume all sorts of shapes,[1] hence he has gained the epithet *ăbrîbäš*, or "vari-coloured". But at the same time a few definite bodily characteristics are given to him. He has seven hairs on his chin, and is blind in the right eye. It was put out by Sîyĭdna Idrīs, the prophet,[2] who was a tailor. Šîṭan once came to him with an egg in his hand and told him that God had shaped the world like an egg. Sîyĭdna Idrīs was enraged by this blasphemous talk and answered, "No, God made the world like the eye of this needle, look here". When Šîṭan looked at the needle the prophet thrust it into his eye. An old scribe told me that Šîṭan has a penis on the inner side of his right thigh and a vulva on the inner side of his left; to produce offspring he needs therefore only to close his thighs, and this he does all day long, which explains why there are so many *šayâṭīn* in the world. But from other scribes I hear that Šîṭan has a wife by name Šiṭânah (š-Šiṭâna, š-Šeiṭâna) or Sạ'dậna.

Šîṭan is the great tempter. He induces people to refrain from praying, from reciting the Koran, from fasting in Ramaḍān, from giving alms, and from fulfilling other duties prescribed by God. He makes men and women indulge in lustfulness, tempts brothers to have illicit intercourse with their sisters, causes quarrels between husbands and wives, incites men to fight and curse and kill each other. He finds pleasure in seeing people do what is hateful to God. He rejoices when a man dies unmarried, and weeps when a young man takes to himself a wife. If anybody pollutes a mosque or uses unclean liquid for his ablutions, or treats the Koran disrespectfully, he may be sure to gain Iblis' favour. Šîṭan is anxious to enter into the bodies of men through their

[1] Jābir Maġrabī (quoted by Sell, *The Faith of Islám* [London, 1896], p. 202) says, "Iblīs, though able to assume all other forms, is not permitted to appear in the semblance of the Deity, or any of his angels or prophets".

[2] This prophet is mentioned in the *Koran*, xix. 57 and xxi. 85. He is generally identified with Enoch.

mouth or nostrils or ears or eyes, to induce them to do wrong.[1] If a person behaves badly it is said that he has Šíṭan in him, *fih š-šíṭan*, or that he is himself Šíṭan ; and bad people are called *šayâṭīn*. They are even worse than Šíṭan :—*Š-šíṭan mĕn j-jenn úla š-šíṭan mĕn bnâdem*, or, *L-wúswäs* (" the tempter ") *mĕn l-jenn wála mĕn bnâdem*.

Šíṭan makes himself unpleasant to men in many ways. He inflames them with anger and inspires them with fear. He deceives them with false dreams. If a person omits saying his evening prayer his dreams will not be trustworthy, because they are sent by Šíṭan (Fez). In the first ploughing season dreams are not to be trusted (Shiáḍma, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Aiṯ Nḏēr), because Šíṭan turns them topsy-turvy as the plough turns the earth (Tangier). If a man has a nightly pollution it is caused by the devil, who makes him believe that the woman in the dream is a real woman ; it is said that *šíṭan ḍárbû*, " the devil struck him ", or *šíṭan ṯ'ḥṭṭáh*, " the devil made him err ". Or the woman is Šiṭâna, and if it is a boy who appears in the dream, he is Šíṭan ; and in such cases it is very dangerous for the man to mention his dream to anybody (Andjra, Tangier). If a person has lost a thing or put it away so that he cannot find it, it is Šíṭan that hides it or is sitting upon it. When he is seeking for it he says, *Ā š-šíṭan a'ṭêni dyâli úla nbūl á'lik*, " O Satan, give me my thing or I'll make water upon you " (Ḥiáina) ; or he ties a string round a fold of his clothes, or makes a knot in them, and ties thereby " the navel-string of Yḗblis " (as it is called), who will be left thus tied up until the lost thing is found (Fez). If a woman cannot find a thing which she has dropped, she puts a needle to stand in the ground, saying three times, *Ā l-yíbra jíb li l-ḥâja ḏyâli au nḏóqqāk fi l-'ainîna ḏ yḗblis*, " O needle, bring me my thing or I'll thrust you into the devil's eyes " (Andjra). If a person breaks a thing, it is Šíṭan who is the cause of it.[2] If he drops a thing which he

[1] *Cf. Mishkāt*, i. 3. 1 (English translation by Matthews, vol. i. [Calcutta, 1809], p. 23) :—" Verily, the devil enters into man as the blood into his body ".

[2] *Cf.* von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, ii. (Wien, 1877), p. 256.

is carrying, Šiṭan has given him a blow on the head, and if he stumbles Šiṭan has knocked his foot (Fez). Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, if a party of hunters are in vain hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, *Ălláh in'ál šširan rḥărâmi*, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away. In Ḥáḥa, if a wild-boar hunt proves unsuccessful, the hunters bury a stone representing the devil and beat the earth over it with a stick; and Mr. Ratto of Mogador, a well-known sportsman, told me that they provide the grave with a head- and a foot-stone and then make water over it.

Various improper or unusual acts or omissions are either ascribed to Šiṭan or make him appear at once. If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, it is said that the devil has tied him (Andjra, Iglíwa, Aglu). To crack one's bones is the breaking wind of the devil (Andjra). Whistling is sometimes said to be the talk of the devil (*ibid.*). When a person yawns, it is the devil or *jnūn* that make him do so (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz), or the devil blows into his ear (Fez). He should cover his mouth with the palm of his right hand or, if it is engaged, with the back of his left hand; otherwise the devil will make water in his mouth (Fez).[1] If a donkey is braying, Šiṭan is the cause of it by riding on its tail or blowing into its ear; or it makes its noise when it sees the devil in order to drive him away by cursing him, as it were. If certain ceremonies which regularly precede the first meeting of bride and bridegroom are not carefully observed, Yęblis will cause domestic quarrels (Andjra).[2] If a person, when he goes to bed at night, does not fold his

[1] It is said in the Muhammadan traditions that God hates yawning, which is of the devil. "Therefore whenever any one of you yawns, he must suppress it as much as he can; but if he cannot stop it, let him put the back of his left hand upon his mouth; for verily when any one yawns and opens his mouth the devil laughs at it" (*Mishkāt*, xxii. 6. 1, English translation, vol. ii. [Calcutta, 1810], p. 413).

[2] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 127.

clothes but leaves them as he has thrown them off, Šíṭan or *jnūn* will put them on (Fez). When any one enters a mosque and takes off his slippers in the *qauṣ*, he should put one over the other so that the soles touch each other, lest Šíṭan should also enter the place ; and the same will happen if he enters it with the slippers on his feet. If a person starts on a journey and anybody calls him back, it is Šíṭan that does it (Andjra). If anybody sits down on the threshold of the house, Šíṭan will sit down by his side. If anybody makes water in a standing posture, Šíṭan passes between his legs, or the angels weep and Šíṭan laughs. If any one allows his nails to grow long, Šíṭan will go underneath them. If you omit saying the *bismillāh* before a meal, it was Šíṭan that induced you to omit it, or he will eat with you. If anybody refrains from saying it when he enters a room in which other persons are sitting, he is a devil, or the devil enters with him. If he omits it before he has intercourse with his wife, the devil enters the woman and will be half the father of the child, and the child will be a *weld l-ḥărâm*.[1] If you take a thing from its place without saying the *bismillāh*, Šíṭan may strike you.

Besides the simple *bismillāh*, the phrase *bismillâh r-raḥmân r-râḥîm* (or, in the case of scribes, *bismillâhi r-raḥmâni r-raḥêmi*), "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate", is often used against Šíṭan. Another formula is, *A'ûḏu bi·llâh(i) mẹn š-šíṭan ăr-rájîm* (or, *A'ûḏu bi llâhi mîna š-šiṭâni ar-rajîmi*), "I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one" ; or, . . . *mẹn š-šíṭan l-mârîd*, ". . . from Satan the rebel". Šíṭan is likewise kept away by any of those passages of the Koran which are used against the *jnūn* in general, as also by prayer ; and if a person prays at forty daybreaks in succession, the devil will never come to him and he will always say his daily prayers (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

[1] *Cf.* al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, lxvii. 66 (French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. iii. [Paris, 1908], p. 578) :—"D'après Ibn-'Abbâs, le Prophète a dit : 'Eh bien ! si l'un de vous, voulant avoir commerce avec sa femme, disait : 'Au nom de Dieu. Ô mon Dieu, écarte de moi le démon ; écarte le démon du fruit de nôtre union', et qu'ensuite le Destin ou la Prédestination fît naître un enfant de ces relations, le démon ne pourrait jamais nuire à cet enfant' ".

But the most common of all weapons directed against him is the curse. Few phrases are more often heard than *Ălláh yẹn'ál š-šíṭan*, "God damn Satan", to which is not infrequently added *l-ḥărâmi*, "the villain". Instead of *yẹn'ál*, *yẹl'án* (the word of the written language) is used by scribes, who consider it more effective. Another curse addressed directly to the devil is, *Ălláh yẹná'lek u yắḥzik ā yẹ́blis*, "May God damn you and cause your ruin, O devil". These phrases are used in all sorts of cases where Šíṭan is supposed to be active: by persons who want to calm an angry friend, by the ploughman when he begins his work [1] or if his bullock is obstinate and lies down,[2] by a person who takes grain from the granary,[3] by the bridegroom's bachelor friends when his hands are painted with henna,[4] by a person who cannot find a thing which he has lost or mislaid, or who puts money into his bag, or who is yawning, or whose donkey is braying. If a man wants to protect himself against a nightly pollution, he writes with his finger, as it were, the word Jẹbrīl (the name of an archangel) on his right leg at the groin, and the word Mīkā'īl (the name of another archangel) on his left; or he writes in the former place the letter *kāf* (ك) and in the latter place the letter *nūn* (ن). These letters are regarded as charms on account of their connection with the 19th and 68th chapters of the Koran, which are popularly called *kaffáya* and *nūn*. Another method adopted for the same purpose is to write with Moorish ink a *nūn* with *ruf'a* (*ḍamma*) over it (�unن) on the right leg at the groin.

In Andjra, on the day when the bride is taken to her new home, the bridegroom's procession goes to the *rắuḍa*, or cairn, dedicated to the great mountain saint Mûlăi 'Abdsslam, if there is such a cairn in the village, or, otherwise, to some other saintly place. Each member of the procession then pelts the *rắuḍa* with stones in order to drive away or kill Yẹ́blis, who may easily accompany them on their way.[5] This manner of dealing with the devil is probably

[1] *Infra*, ii. 210, 212, 214 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, ii. 218. [3] *Infra*, ii. 244.
[4] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 98.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 129.

an imitation of the ceremony of "pelting the devil" which is performed by the assembled pilgrims at Minā, in memory, it is said, of Abraham's having driven Iblīs away with stones when tempted by him to disobey God and refuse to sacrifice Isaac. Anyhow, it is a treatment which well suits the *rajīm*, or "stoned one".[1] Another epithet given to Šīṭan is *l-laʿīn* or *n-naʿīl*, that is, "the cursed one". For fear of mentioning him by his proper name he is also, euphemistically, called *ʿámmi r-roḥâni*, "my uncle *roḥâni*", or *ʿámmi l-būhâli*, "my uncle the foolish one". Generally, however, people are not much afraid of speaking of Šīṭan; one of my scribes from Dukkâla, who was utterly unwilling to converse about the *jnūn* after *ʿâṣar*, had no objection at all to talking about Šīṭan after that hour. The reason for this is that Šīṭan himself is not very much feared. He is, no doubt, as the Koran puts it, "unto man an open foe",[2] who "only desires to place enmity and hatred" between the faithful, and to turn them "from the remembrance of God and from prayer",[3] who bids them "sin and do wrong",[4] and "promises them naught but deceit".[5] But apart from this, he is rather fond of playing tricks on the human beings than anxious to inflict upon them greater evils; when he enters into a person he does not do it to make him ill or to take his life. Moreover, Šīṭan is easily driven away. Though other charms which are generally used against *jnūn*—such as steel, salt, tar, and so forth—have no power over him, he is exceptionally sensitive to sacred formulas. They are the natural weapons against him, and no others are needed. For he is essentially *l-mårīd*, a rebel against the Merciful.

According to the Koran, Iblīs or Šaiṭān was originally an angel who fell from Paradise on account of his proudly refusing to adore Adam.[6] In Morocco I have heard people emphatically deny that he is a *jẹnn*. Some maintain that

[1] As to the meaning of this expression see van Vloten, 'De uitdrukking as-sjaitân ar-ragîm en het steenen werpen bij Mina', in *Festbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje* (Leiden, 1891), p. 35 *sqq.*

[2] *Koran*, xvii. 55. [3] *Ibid.* v. 93.

[4] *Ibid.* xxiv. 20. [5] *Ibid.* xvii. 66.

[6] *Koran*, ii. 32, vii. 10 *sqq.*, xvii. 63 *sqq.*, xviii. 48, xx. 115, xxxviii. 74 *sqq.*

Yęblis had two sons, Šiṭan and Jinn, both of whom had children, those of the former being the *šayâṭīn* and those of the latter the *jnūn*—a view which has some support in one of the traditions.[1] The most common belief, however, in Morocco as among Muhammadan theologians,[2] is the one mentioned above, that Šiṭan or Iblis is a *jęnn* and the chief of the evil *jnūn*, whether he was so from the beginning or was an angel who, owing to his fault, was transformed by God into a *jęnn*.[3] Yet his chieftainship is more honorary or theoretical than real; hence he inspires less dread than his subjects. He is mainly a Koranic figure, who lacks that deep foundation in popular beliefs which can be claimed by the *jnūn*.

The expression Šaiṭān occurs in the Koran fifty-two times and Iblīs only nine.[4] Nöldeke observes that, although it seems tolerably certain that the word *šaiṭān* was known to the Arabs before the days of Muḥammad and it actually occurs as the name of human individuals, its form agrees so closely with that of the Ethiopic *šaiṭān*, which is derived from the Hebrew *sāṭān*, that we are forced to consider it a loan-word.[5] Iblīs is the Christian *diabolus*.[6]

[1] Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 134.

[2] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), pp. 79, 231 *sq.*; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, ii. 255; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 157. *Cf. Koran*, xviii. 48.

[3] Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 135. [4] *Ibid.* p. 84.

[5] Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670. From the Hebrew and the Aramaic several religious expressions passed into the Ethiopic language at an early period, through the influence of Jewish or Christian missionaries. Wellhausen says (*op. cit.* p. 157 n. 3), "Dass Schaitan schon altarabisch sei, ist innerlich sehr unwahrscheinlich".

[6] von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 40.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVIL EYE

BESIDES the *jnūn* the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—*L-'ain 'ánda tˢultˢáyin fĕ l-mqâbar*;[1] or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—*N-nûṣṣ fĕ bnâdem käimûtˢ bĕ l-'ain*; or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—*L-'ain tˢúḫli l-qôṣōr wa tˢû'ámmir l-qôbōr* (Fez), or *L-'ain tˢḫli d-dúyōr wa tˢû'ámmir l-qóbōr* (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

A person who has an evil eye is called in Arabic *ma'yān* or *mû'áiyin* or, in Dukkâla, *ṣga'*, but the term *ṣga'* is also used for a bad or inauspicious person generally. In the Shelḥa of Aglu and Glawi a man who has an evil eye is called *amiyaḍ* and a woman *tamiyaṭṭ*. One who has been hurt by the evil eye is in Arabic said to be *m'áyin*; or it is

[1] There is a similar saying in Palestine (Lydia Einszler, 'Das böse Auge', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xii. [Leipzig, 1889], p. 212). The Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier between Afghanistan and Hindustan say, "The sick from disease recover, but from eyes never"; and, "Eyes ruin houses" (Thorburn, *Bannú; or, Our Afghan Frontier* [London, 1876], p. 161).

said of him *fīh l-'ain*, " he has the eye " ; or *fīh n-nefs*, " he has the breath " ; or *fīh l-ûja'*, " he has the pain " (Ḥiáina) ; or *fīh l-kélma*, " he has the word " (Tangier, Andjra). The usual term for the evil eye is *l-'ain*, " the eye ", but at Fez it is also called *n-nefs*, " the breath ". The Berbers of the Aiṭ Sádděn speak in the same sense of *állĕn m mĕddĕn*, " the eyes of people ", or *ṭeṭṭ nĕ bnâḍĕm*, " the eye of people ". Of a person who has cast an evil eye upon another they say *flan iqû'iṭ*.

The belief in the evil eye is obviously rooted both in the expressiveness and the uncanniness of the look, which makes the eye appear on the one hand as an instrument of transmitting evil wishes, and on the other hand also as an original source of injurious energy emanating from it involuntarily.[1] Bacon said, " There seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye ".[2] In

[1] For the idea that a person may cause injury by the glance of his eye without malevolence or even against his will *cf.* Pallary, ' La main dans les traditions juives et musulmanes du nord de l'Afrique ', in *Association française pour l'avancement des sciences, Compte rendu de la 20me session*, 1891, pt. ii. (Paris, 1892), p. 651 (Algeria) ; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 391 ; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 213 ; Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 773 ; Chémali, ' Naissance et premier âge au Liban ', in *Anthropos*, v. (Wien, 1910), p. 742 ; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. (Haag, 1889), p. 122 ; Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 161 (Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier between Afghanistan and Hindustan) ; Jahn, ' Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten ', in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Classe*, xvii. (Leipzig, 1855), p. 34 *sq.* ; Margaret Hardie, ' The Evil Eye in some Greek Villages of the Upper Haliakmon Valley in West Macedonia ', in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, liii. (London, 1923), p. 160 *sq.* ; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1900), § 220, p. 163 ; Feilberg, ' Der böse Blick in nordischer Überlieferung ', in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xi. (Berlin, 1901), p. 305 *sq.* ; Hemmer, *Det onda ögat i skandinavisk folktro* (Helsingfors, 1914), p. 2 *sq.* ; Burjam, *Den skandinaviska folktron om barnet under dess ömtålighetstillstånd i synnerhet före dopet* (Helsingfors, 1917), p. 186 *sqq.* ; Frommann, *Tractatus de fascinatione novus et singularis* (Norimbergae, 1675), p. 10 ; Bartels, *Die Medicin der Naturvölker* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 43 ; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* (London, 1895), p. 8 *sq.* ; Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*, i. (Berlin, 1910), pp. 3, 4, 65 *sq.*

[2] Bacon, *Essays*, ix.—' Of Envy '.

Morocco the danger is considered to be particularly great when the look is accompanied with speech. There is not only an evil eye, but an evil mouth; in many cases, as we shall see, magic influence is attributed to the spoken word. The evil mouth is alluded to in the expression *fih l-kélma*, though it is considered to belong to *l-'ain*. The worst of all persons is he who has a black heart and a joking mouth. But jocular, allegorical, or laudatory speech, when combined with a look, is feared even though there is no feeling of ill-will or envy. As instances of this may be quoted the following stories, which I heard among the Jbâla of Andjra.

A party of men were sitting together near a place where black lambs belonging to one of them were playing. A man of the party who had the evil eye said to the others, "Look at those ravens, how they have pounced upon corpses". This was said merely as a joke, without any evil intention. Nevertheless on the following night the lambs began to die, and after some time not one of them was left. Their owner, who also possessed the evil eye, decided to take revenge. One afternoon, when he saw the other man riding on a white mare, he said to the people, "Look, that funeral is coming alone and there is nobody with it". On the same night the mare got stomach-ache, and on the next day she was dead. The owner thought of accusing the man who had caused the death of his mare, but he refrained from doing so because, if he did, the other man might accuse him of killing his lambs.

A man had an enemy in his village, whom he tried to injure by his look, but without success. He then went to a neighbouring village to fetch another man, who was known to have very dangerous eyes, so as to achieve his aim with his assistance. When they came near the enemy's village the other man said, "Now I am going to shut my eyes, tell me when we arrive at the house of your enemy". By closing his eyes he wanted to give greater efficacy to his evil look, the first glance always being the most powerful. When they came to the house the man who had fetched him said jokingly, "Now set loose those greyhounds", meaning that

he should open his eyes and cast an evil look upon the enemy, just as a greyhound is let loose on its prey. But as the man who uttered these words also possessed an evil eye, the result was that the eyes of the other one fell out. "You are worse than I am", the latter said; "you brought me here and caused my eyes to fall out".

There was a man whose eyes were so terrible that he killed all his children as soon as they were born, by looking at them. He therefore decided to go away when his wife again became pregnant. A boy was born, and the father did not see him for years. At last, however, the father's longing for his son became so strong that he returned to his home; but in order to avoid hurting the son by a sudden glance he entered his house backwards. When the boy saw him coming stooping through the door, he exclaimed, "Look how he is entering like a sickle (*mĕn^{d}jel*) in a bag" (*aqrab*, bag of palmetto leaves in which the sickles are kept). The father turned round and, looking at the boy, replied, "In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate, the eyes you have are like guns". Then he fell down dead, and so did the son also; they had mutually killed each other involuntarily by their looks.

The following stories were told me by a Berber from Glawi. Two men came to a place where a young man was washing his clothes. One of them said to the other, "Look at that boar (an expression denoting a strong man) how he is washing!" The other man pointed out to him that it was his own son, whom he had not recognised. The father at once told the son to cover his head with the bucket; and at the next moment the glances of his eyes hit the bucket and made two holes in it. A man saw a boy whom he had not seen for some time, and said, "Look how fat and big he is; he used to be quite thin and small". In the same minute the boy dropped dead to the ground.

When the look of a person is accompanied with words of praise the danger is considered so great that it is always necessary to add, as a precaution, the phrase *t^{s}bārk ălláh*, "May God be blessed". If this phrase is omitted the person who has been subject to the praise says some words

like these :—*Ṣálli 'ăl ån-nbi, qûl t'bārk ălláh*, " Pray for the Prophet, say ' may God be blessed ' " (Fez) ; or, *Gul tbārk llah, llah ya'ṭêk lą̂-'ma fi l-'áinīn*, " Say ' may God be blessed ', may God make your eyes blind " (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). There may even be danger in being praised without being looked at, as when somebody speaks of another person's children in their absence. One reason why words of praise or admiration are considered so dangerous [1] is no doubt that they are often connected with envy ; but this cannot be the only reason, since evil effects are expressly attributed to them even in cases where the person who speaks is entirely free from any such feeling.[2] The superstition in question seems to be akin to the fear, so common among ourselves, of praising one's own health or prosperity. In accordance with one of the laws of the association of ideas, which generally play such an important part in magical beliefs, namely, the law of association by contrast, the praise or admiration of something good readily recalls its opposite—

[1] For the danger of praise or admiration *cf.* Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 321 ; Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 194 ; *Idem*, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 258 *sq.* ; Eijūb Abēla, ' Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien ', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. (Leipzig, 1884), p. 102 ; Tallqvist, *På helig och ohelig mark* (Helsingfors, 1918), p. 114 *sq.* (Lebanon) ; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 48 *sq.*, and Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 214 (Palestine) ; d'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desart* (London, 1718), p. 241 (Carmel) ; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 376 *sq.* ; Lady Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, ii. (London, 1879), p. 218 ; Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs* (Edinburgh & London, 1896), p. 220 ; Ella C. Sykes, ' Persian Folk-Lore ', in *Folk-Lore*, xii. (London, 1901), p. 268 ; Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. (Westminster, 1896), p. 5 ; Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), p. 534 (Malays of the Malay Peninsula) ; Jahn, *loc. cit.* p. 38 *sq.* (classical antiquity) ; Maclagan, *Evil Eye in the Western Highlands* (London, 1902), p. 76 *sqq.* ; Holmberg, ' Tron på onda ögon i svenska Österbotten ', in *Album utgivet av Åbo avdelning*, i. (Helsingfors, 1910), p. 206 *sq.* ; Frommann, *op. cit.* pp. 49, 56 ; Elworthy, *op. cit.* pp. 16, 17, 32 *sq.* ; Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 3.

[2] A father or a mother may injure his or her own child even by looking upon it with admiration (Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 391 [Upper Egypt] ; Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 200 [Palestine]).

the more so as the future is always uncertain and fortune is not to be relied upon.

Everybody, however, has not the power of the evil eye, and some people have it in a much higher degree than others. Persons with deep-set eyes and those whose eyebrows are united over the bridge of the nose [1] are considered particularly dangerous. The same is the case with one-eyed persons (Dukkâla, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Sádděn, Demnat).[2] Fair eyes inspire much fear among the Arabs of the plains and the Jbâla, as also in Fez, where such eyes are rare and consequently make an uneasy impression,[3] but not among the Berbers of the Great Atlas and Sūs, where fair persons are more numerous. During my stay in the mountain tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb and in Dukkâla I was told that I had very bad eyes; and the former assert that if a blue-eyed person looks at you it is just as if he killed you. The Ait Waráin and Aiṭ Sádděn say that if such a person (*ázĕrwal*) calls you by name in the morning you must not answer, nor turn round to look at him; and if he persists in calling you it is necessary that you should return instead of proceeding to the place where you intended to go. In Aglu an angry and wrinkled face is

[1] *Cf.* Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Strassburg i. E., 1898), p. 153; Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 201 (Palestine); Wuttke, *op. cit.* § 220, p. 163 (Germany); Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 75 (various European countries).

[2] *Cf.* Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* (Alger, 1888), p. 216; Jacquot, 'Contribution au folk-lore de l'Algérie', in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xxvii. (Paris, 1912), p. 258; Burton, in his translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. (London, 1894), p. 307 n. 2; Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 78 (Cairo); Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 3 (Northern India).

[3] For the fear of blue eyes *cf.* Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 200; Baldensperger, 'Peasant Folklore of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893* (London), p. 211; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 48 *sq.*, Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 213, and *Idem*, *The Witness of the Wilderness* (London, 1909), p. 197 (Palestine); Chémali, *loc. cit.* p. 742, and Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 114 (Lebanon). Fair peoples, on the other hand, are afraid of dark eyes (Wuttke, *op. cit.* § 220, p. 163 [Germany]; Hemmer, *op. cit.* p. 1 [Swedes in Esthonia]; Nikander, 'Gamla seder och bruk i Helsinge', in *Hembygden*, i. [Helsingfors, 1910], p. 44, and Holmberg, *loc. cit.* p. 200 [Swedish Finlanders]).

feared on account of its eyes. A man from the same place told me that persons who are reputed to have the evil eye are often misers who seldom eat meat—such persons are naturally apt to be envious. People who neglect their religion have baneful eyes.[1] An incantation which is used in Andjra when a person is suspected of having been hurt by the evil eye contains the following passage :—*A'ûḏu bi llâh mĕn l-'ain z-zárqa u mĕn l-'ain l-ǧárqa u l-'ain ĕḏ ma latṣallí ši 'ăla rasûlû llah*, "I take refuge with God from the blue eye and from the deep-set eye and the eye which does not pray for the apostle of God". The evil eye is frequently hereditary in certain families.[2]

The eyes of women, especially old ones, are more feared than those of men.[3] At feasts the women are allowed to eat first, since otherwise they might injure the men with their evil eyes. Once when I was sitting at my writing-desk, one of my servants rushed into my room and quickly closed the window-shutters ; and when I, somewhat surprised, asked him why he thus shut out the light from me, he answered that some women had come to fetch water from the garden outside my cottage, and that he could not allow me to be exposed to their glances while I was writing. The glance of the bride is held to be injurious to others. In the Ḥiáina it is believed that misfortune would befall any person or animal the bride looked at before she has seen her husband on her arrival at his house ; and the Tsūl and the Aiṯ Nḏēr maintain that if she looked at anybody on her way to the bridegroom's place, there would be fighting and manslaughter at the wedding that very day.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 160 :—"As a man grows older or becomes a better Musulman, his eyes lose their evil influence" (peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan).

[2] *Cf.* Anderson, 'Medical Practices and Superstitions amongst the People of Kordofan', in *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum* (London, 1908), p. 282 ; Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 169.

[3] *Cf.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 97 *sqq.* ; Burjam, *op. cit.* p. 187 (Scandinavians).

[4] Among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar the bride is not allowed to look at the *fantasia* of the horsemen, because, "si, par malheur, elle regardait un des cavaliers, celui-ci tomberait et un accident se produirait"

I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz) and *vice versâ* (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Aiṭ Wäryâġer).[1] It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him.[2] This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.[3]

The first glance is considered particularly dangerous ;[4] indeed, if a person who has the evil eye comes to an assembly of people, he can injure only one of them with his look. Exceptional efficacy is ascribed to the look in the morning, when it is still fresh. In Andjra, if a person then meets another who is reputed to have the evil eye, he says to himself, *Bismillâh r-raḥmân r-râḥîm, ḥâḍa ṣ-ṣvaḥ menḥûs ḍĕ t'laqît fih ḥâḍa l-mél'ōq, ḫamsa û ḫamsa 'ăla 'áiněk,* " In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, this morning is unfortunate when I met this unlucky man, five and five on your eye ".

As there are certain persons whose eyes are particularly dangerous to others, so also certain persons, animals, and objects are particularly liable to be hurt by the evil eye. This is the case with children—the younger they are the greater the danger,[5]—with women in child-bed,[6] brides and bridegrooms,[7] horses [8] and greyhounds, milk, corn, and

(Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* [Alger, 1908], p. 15). In ancient India the bridegroom had to protect himself against the evil eye of his bride (Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* [Berlin, 1894], p. 503).

[1] Seligmann says (*op. cit.* i. 86) that Muhammadans believe that all infidels have the evil eye.

[2] *Cf. infra*, ii. 305, 309.

[3] von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, iii.-iv. (Wien, 1890), p. 64.

[4] *Cf.* Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 200 (Palestine) ; Elworthy, *op. cit.* p. 142 *sq.* (generally). In Syria a person who believes that he is possessed of the evil eye must look at his own nose before he looks at any of his friends (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 108).

[5] *Infra*, Chapter XIX. *Cf.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 190 *sqq.*

[6] *Infra*, Chapter XIX. *Cf.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 194.

[7] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), 'General Index', *s.v.* Evil eye.

[8] *Cf.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 213 *sqq.* ; Elworthy, *op. cit.* p. 9.

vegetable gardens. As we have noticed above, it is a characteristic of *baraka* to be susceptible to all sorts of supernatural evil influences, and anything enviable is of course especially exposed to an envious glance ; but with regard to infants and lying-in women we have also to remember their delicate condition,[1] while the supernatural dangers threatening bride and bridegroom are closely connected with the new state of life into which they are about to enter, and with the particular character of the act by which marriage is consummated.[2] Anybody who is afraid of the evil eye is on that account considered more liable to be hurt by it. This is in accordance with the general belief that fear is a cause of misfortune. If you think of an illness you will have it, and if you buy a mule and suspect that it is bad it will soon cause you trouble ; but if you yourself are convinced that the animal you buy is good, whatever other people may think of it, your expectation will be fulfilled. In Andjra I was even told by wise people that fear of the evil eye is necessary to make anybody a victim of it, and that the immunity of Christians is due to their ignorance of it and their consequent lack of fear. One of the natives made the objection that little children are very often hurt by the evil eye although they know nothing about it, but this was met by the argument that their mothers are afraid on their behalf. The danger of being affected by the evil eye is also very great while eating.[3] To take food in the presence of some hungry looker-on is like taking poison ; *l-ḅaṣ*, or the evil, then actually enters into the body with the food. At Fez it is said that such a person eats the poison of the other one's eyes. If somebody passes a party of people who are eating and salutes them by the usual phrase *s-salâmû 'álikum*, " Peace be on you ", he casts an evil eye upon them, his greeting being considered equivalent to a wish to eat with them (Ḥiáina).

[1] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*, v. 7. 1. 4.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 47, 388. *Infra*, ii. 9.

[3] *Cf.* Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), p. 161 *sq.* ; Elworthy, *op. cit.* p. 426 *sq.* The Egyptians say that " in the food that is coveted (or upon which an envious eye has fallen) there is no blessing " (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 160).

Many different methods are resorted to in order to escape or counteract the dread influence of the evil eye. The safest precaution is of course to avoid exposure altogether. Infants, especially boys and twins, are not allowed to be seen by persons whose glance may be dangerous to them. Windus states that for fear of the evil eye the famous sultan Mûlăi Ismā'īl kept a little son of his, who was fair and handsome, from being exposed for many years.[1] In his book on Upper Egypt Klunzinger rightly suggests that " even the seclusion in which women are kept is the result, not merely of Mohammed's commands or of idle jealousy, but arises from the fear lest the evil eye may injure the beloved beings ".[2] If a person has a very good hunting-dog he avoids using it in company with other people so as to avoid the risk of their envious glances (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). In the Ḥiáina, if a mare foals, both she and the foal must for a similar reason remain in the stable for seven days.[3] It is a common rule that when a cow has calved its milk must not for some days be carried out of the house or tent, lest the cow should be affected by the evil eye ;[4] and if a sheep has lambed or a goat has kidded, its milk is subject to a similar taboo, though only for a day.[5] So also, when the first butter of the year is made neither the butter nor the buttermilk must be taken outside for a certain number of days, and the reason for this was said to be fear of the evil eye or witchcraft.[6]

A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Iglíwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place ; and among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man.[7] Attempts are also made to escape the

[1] Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez* (London, 1725), p. 61.

[2] Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 391.

[3] For similar rules relating to a cow which has calved or to the calf, see *infra*, ii. 292.

[4] *Supra*, p. 244. [5] *Supra*, p. 245. [6] *Supra*, p. 245 *sqq.*

[7] An Arab proverb says, " Remove the gate of thy stable to another side ". Commenting on this saying, Burckhardt observes (*Arabic*

danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (*aṯmun*) of the household. Among the Iglíwa, when a man is accused before his governor of having the evil eye, he has not only a bridle put into his mouth but also a pack-saddle put on his back, and after he has thus for a while been treated as a beast of burden he is supposed to be cured for the future. Among the Aštûkĕn in Sūs the daughter of a man who was known to have the evil eye was once asked by the people to put a bridle into her father's mouth while he was asleep; but when she did so the man woke up and said, "You are the daughter of a boar", and she died on the spot. A native explanation of the curative effect attributed to the bridle is that by being treated as a mule the man will also become as harmless as a mule.

If a person is going to the market and meets on the way somebody who has the evil eye, the simplest method of avoiding the effects of it is to turn back (Dukkâla). For fear of the evil eye the Moors are in many cases unwilling to speak of their intentions; they have a saying that "into a closed mouth no fly can enter"—*L-fûmm l-měšdûd ma ddăḫlû debbâna*. In other circumstances less convenient methods have to be adopted to escape the evil glance. If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die.[1] A scribe from the Aiṯ Wäryâġer

Proverbs [London, 1830], p. 57) that "if a house is reputed of evil omen, the owner usually walls up the gate and opens one at another side, by which he hopes to avert the baneful consequences of the evil eye of his enemies".

[1] Of the natives of Upper Egypt Klunzinger says (*op. cit.* p. 391) that "the readiness with which an object is handed to the person that

told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it. So also, if anybody refuses to lend his camel to some other man in the village who wants it for a day's work, the camel will become ill or die; and if the owner of a well prohibits other people's animals from drinking from it, the well will dry up (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). On the other hand, if a person asks anybody to buy a thing from him, it is profitable to buy it; for "in everything offered there is good"—*Kull ma'rûḍa fîha l-ḫēr*. Everywhere in Morocco it is the custom for a person who sells an animal, like a horse, mule, donkey, camel, bullock or cow, to deduct a small sum from the price agreed upon or to return to the buyer a small portion of the money paid by him. This sum is called *bāḇ ălláh*, "the gate of God"; among the Aiṯ Sádděn *lbäb r rábbi*. Its amount is not fixed, but varies according to the price of the article; it may be only a peseta, but if the price is a hundred dollars it may be as much as four dollars. In many parts of the country, at least, this custom is also observed at the sale of other valuable things besides animals, such as houses, gardens, and guns, and in Andjra the *bāḇ ălláh* may even be claimed when the article is only a fowl. The buyer may have to ask for it; but his reason for doing so is not merely or principally an economic one. The *bāḇ ălláh* is supposed to bring good luck and, especially, to prevent misfortune; it is a sign that the article is sold with an ungrudging eye.[1] I have also been told that its object is to make both parties satisfied, by conferring a blessing both on the article and on the money

admires it" is based on the fear of the evil eye. In Palestine, according to the Rev. C. T. Wilson (*Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 271), "if a person is wearing a new garment, or has any new thing with him, and another congratulates him about it, he will sometimes reply with the words 'Alalhabl îdak' (your hand is on the rope), as much as to say, 'It is at your disposal'; and should the other reply, 'Hâtt' (give), he would be obliged to give it him". In the Western Highlands of Scotland it is considered dangerous to refuse a request on account of the evil eye; "people should give when asked" (Maclagan, *op. cit.* p. 48 *sqq.*).

[1] *Cf.* Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, 'Les tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs', in *Archives marocaines*, vi. (Paris, 1906), p. 258 *sq.*

paid for it; but it is certain that the buyer is more anxious to receive it than the seller to give it.

To avoid the danger of eating in the presence of somebody else the latter is asked to partake of the food,[1] or is at any rate offered a morsel. If he refuses the invitation there is little danger of eating in case he is a friend, but a stranger is hardly allowed to refuse. *Li yąkul wáḥĕd mgâblŭ ji'ân ăglă' lih llah rázqŭ mĕn d-dúnya*, "He who eats before a hungry person, may God deprive him of his goods in the world" (Ulâd Bŭ'ăzîz); or if one person eats and another looks on, the year will be barren—*L-'ām l-mekšûf wáḥed kayąkul w aḥor kaišûf* (Tangier). Some people, however, think that they are sufficiently protected from the evil eye by the *bismillāh* they say before commencing the meal, at least if they turn their back to the person who is present. To eat at a market-place is considered very bad, and only insane people eat in the street. As already said, even a dog or cat which is present when a person is eating should have some food given to it. When a person carries food he keeps it covered;[2] if he omits this precaution he is obliged to give a little of it to any person he happens to meet, especially if it be a woman. I was told in Andjra that a transgression of this rule would make the woman angry and in consequence expose her to being attacked by *jnūn*, and that it might also lead to the birth of a monster looking like the fish or rabbit or other thing which she saw the other person carrying. Among the Ulâd Bŭ'ăzîz I found the belief that the person to whom nothing is offered will become ill if the carried food consists of meat, whereas if it consists of milk or honey it is the one who carries it who will have to suffer if he does not observe the rule. It is generally considered necessary that the person to whom milk is offered shall accept the offer or at least dip a finger into the milk, putting then the finger into his mouth or touching his forehead with it;[3] and I was

[1] *Cf.* Wallin, *Reseanteckningar från Orienten åren 1843–1849*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1866), p. 23 *sq.*; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 160; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, p. 391.

[2] In Upper Egypt (Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 391) and Nubia (Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, ii. [London, 1873], p. 326) food is likewise carefully concealed while being carried.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 223, 243.

expressly told that both this rule and the custom of covering up the food serve as a protection against the evil eye.

There are other cases in which the evil glance is avoided by covering. After the first threshing and winnowing the wheat is, in some tribes, shovelled into a hollow, which is covered with sheaves or clothing so as to keep off the evil eye; and the heap of ready threshed corn is for the same reason very frequently covered with clothing, at least in part.[1] The bridegroom has his hood pulled over the face and his *ḥâyĕḳ* over his mouth; and although bashfulness may from the outset have had something to do with this custom, the fear of the evil eye has probably the greater share in it.[2] In early Arabia very handsome men veiled their faces, particularly at feasts and fairs, in order to preserve themselves from the evil eye.[3] That the Arabian women veiled their faces is testified by Tertullian;[4] and the same custom is extensively, though by no means universally,[5] observed in the Muhammadan world. In Morocco it prevails in towns and among the Jbâla, whereas among the Arab-speaking tribes of the plains, the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas, the Brâber of Central Morocco,[6] and the Rifians,[7] the women do not generally veil their faces There can be little doubt that the custom in question is not merely due to masculine jealousy but serves the object of protecting the women from the evil eye;[8] in Andjra I was told that they

[1] *Infra*, ii. 232 *sq.*

[2] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Bridegroom. For other instances see *infra*, ii. 418 *sqq.*

[3] Quatremère, 'Proverbes arabes de Meïdani', in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. iii. vol. v. (Paris, 1838), p. 242; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 196.

[4] Tertullian, *Liber de virginibus velandis*, 17 (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, ii. [Parisiis, 1844], col. 912).

[5] See Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i. (London, 1921), p. 311 n. 1.

[6] *Cf.* de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc* (*1899–1901*) (Paris, 1903), p. 136.

[7] *Cf. ibid.* pp. 30, 48.

[8] *Cf.* von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. (Wien, 1877), p. 253; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 196.

cover their faces partly for fear of the evil eye and partly out of modesty. The bride has her face well covered up [1] or is, in some parts of the country, transported to the bridegroom's house in a box ; [2] she is thus herself sheltered from the evil eye, and at the same time her own look cannot cause harm to others.

At Fez the bride, on her way to the bridegroom's house, is accompanied among others by some women relatives who are dressed like herself so that no one can distinguish between them, and this was said to protect her from witchcraft and the evil eye.[3] In some country places she imitates the appearance of a man by wearing her shawl thrown over her left shoulder, or leaving her old home clad in a man's cloak, or having designs resembling whiskers painted on her face.[4] These customs may perhaps, like that of dressing up the young man as a bride,[5] be explained in accordance with Mr. Crawley's theory of "inoculation", the bride or the bridegroom assuming the dress of the opposite sex in order to lessen the sexual danger by wearing the same kind of clothes as "the loved and dreaded person" ; [6] but they may also have been intended as means of protection against dangerous spirits and, especially, against the evil eye. Disguise is used for the purpose of averting the evil eye from children. Among the Ait Waráin, if a person has had several sons who have died early and their death is supposed to have been caused by the evil eye, the next son is said to be a daughter, and when his head is shaved a fringe (*taúnza*) is left over the forehead just as if he were a girl.[7] With the same object in view they give to their children names which are commonly given to slaves. In the same tribe a newborn infant is wrapped up in swaddling-clothes which have been collected from several different houses, so that it shall

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Bride.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 166-168, 189.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 165.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 27, 152, 153, 163, 174, 187 *sq.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 25.

[6] Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 371 *sq.*

[7] In Egypt (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 71) and India (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 221) some mothers dress their young sons as girls, as a protection against the evil eye.

not look too tidy and thereby fall a victim to the evil eye.[1]

There is a symbolic burning of the evil eye. In the Ḥiáina it is the custom that if a stranger enters a house in which there is a new fine carpet (*zarbîya*) recently finished, the woman who made it burns a little piece of its border so as to burn the evil eye ; and among the Ait Waráin the same is done when a new rug (*taḥläst*) is taken to the market to be sold. In case there is a suspicion that a person has been injured by the evil eye, it is a very frequent practice to burn a piece of alum and let the patient inhale the smoke or let it pass underneath his clothes as well. The form assumed by the heated alum is supposed to show whether the suspicion was justified or not, and, if justified, to indicate the sex of the person whose glance was the cause of the illness, or even to give more detailed information about that person.[2] In Aglu the burned alum is pounded, a line is drawn with the powder over the patient's forehead from one temple to the other, and the rest of it is applied to his legs just above the knees, the soles of his feet, and the palms of his hands ; while the coals on which the alum was burned, together with the ashes, are put underneath the water-jar of the household. The person who puts it there says, *Sṣem lḥălqad anĕmḍl ddu ṯḥibîtad urd l'áfit anĕmḍl*, " The poison of this person we bury under this water-jar, not fire do we bury ". Among the Beni Ăḥsen the burned alum is put underneath a water-jar or a goatskin used for the carrying of water or into the ear of a dog ;[3] at Marráksh it is thrown into water and then

[1] In the East young children are often kept dirty and shabbily clad in order to be preserved from the evil eye (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 71 ; *Idem, Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 193 ; Conder, *Heth and Moab : Explorations in Syria* [London, 1885], p. 294 ; *Idem, Tent Work in Palestine* [London, 1885], p. 312 ; Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 211 [Palestine] ; Lady Blunt, *op. cit.* ii. 214 [Bedouins of the Euphrates] ; Ella C. Sykes, *loc. cit.* p. 268 [Persia] ; Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 222 *sq.*).

[2] For very similar practices in the East see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 259 *sq.* ; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 49 *sq.* ; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 214 ; Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 378 (Moab).

[3] In Egypt the burned alum is " pounded, put into some food, and given to a black dog to be eaten " (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 259 *sq.*).

put in a place where nobody will walk over it; and another method of disposing of it among towns-people is to throw it into the drain. At Tangier everybody in the house has to spit on it before it is thus disposed of.[1] The use of alum is due to the bubbles or holes which appear on its surface when it is burned; at Salli I was told that the evil glance goes into them, but according to another explanation they represent the evil eye (Fez, Tangier) or the evil mouth (Tangier), which is thus burned together with the alum.

Very frequently harmel is burned with the alum and the smoke of it inhaled. At Rabat and Casablanca the midwife, on the birth of a child, burns alum, harmel, and coriander seed[2] to ward off the evil eye; and to catch it and take it away she calls in a dog and puts a piece of the burned alum into its ear. In the Shāwîa, if a little child is crying much and consequently believed to have been injured by the evil eye, its mother takes it three times round her right knee, saying the *bismillāh*, and moves it three times over the smoke of alum and harmel. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a baby is in similar circumstances fumigated with alum and gum-juniper.[3] In Aglu a pair of new slippers are protected from the evil eye by the smoke of alum and harmel, and

[1] Among the Jews of Morocco, in the case of an illness attributed to the evil eye, some member of the patient's family goes about with a glass and asks anybody who may possibly be supposed to have caused the illness to spit in it; the sick person is then smeared with the saliva or is made to taste it. For spitting as a means of preventing or counteracting the effects of the evil eye *cf.* Bel, 'La Djâzya', in *Journal asiatique*, ser. x. vol. i. (Paris, 1903), p. 364 *sq.* (Algeria); Vassel, *La littérature populaire des israélites tunisiens avec un essai ethnographique et archéologique sur leurs superstitions* (Paris, 1905–1907), p. 129 (Tunis and Egypt); Lyon, *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa in the Years 1818, 1819, and 1820* (London, 1821), p. 52 (Tripoli); Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands*, p. 773; Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 22 (Northern India); Elworthy, *op. cit.* pp. 412, 413, 419 *sqq.*

[2] In Egypt, if anybody is supposed to have been affected by the evil eye, a mixture of coriander seed and certain other ingredients is thrown upon some burning coals, "and the smoke which results is generally made to ascend upon the supposed sufferer" (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 260 *sq.*).

[3] In various parts of Europe juniper-wood or juniper-berries are used in some way or other as a protection against evil influences (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 89).

new clothes by the smoke of sulphur [1] and garlic.[2] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer benzoin. Various of these substances are also carried as charms against the evil eye. At Fez people protect themselves from it by means of alum [3] and harmel wrapped up in silk underneath their *bed'âia* (waistcoat) or *qâfṭān*, and the *jdîdu*, which for the same purpose is tied round a boy's right ankle after his circumcision, contains a similar charm. In Aglu the animals which are used for ploughing are protected from the evil eye by a charm consisting of alum, harmel, sulphur, and a small piece of rock-salt,[4] enveloped in a black rag tied up with a red string; and when a cow has given birth to a calf a bag containing the same substances is fastened to its tail. Among the Iglíwa an exactly similar charm is tied round the neck of the cow or on its forehead. In Andjra persons who are afraid of being

[1] The ancient Romans fumigated their herds with sulphur to protect them from the evil eye (Tibullus, *Carmina*, i. 5, 11; Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 38).

[2] Garlic is used as a prophylactic against the evil eye in Algeria (Hilton-Simpson, 'Some Algerian Superstitions noted among the Shawia Berbers of the Aures Mountains and their Nomad Neighbours', in *Folk-Lore*, xxvi. [London, 1915], p. 230) and Palestine (Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 208), and so it has been used in Europe since the days of classical antiquity (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 69 *sqq.*; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* [Cambridge, 1910], p. 14 [modern Greece]; Bent, *The Cyclades* [London, 1885], p. 186; Hemmer, *op. cit.* p. 16 [Scandinavians]; Landtman, *Nyländsk folktro* [*s.d.* and *l.*], p. 3 [Swedish Finlanders]).

[3] For the use of alum as a protection against the evil eye *cf.* Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 362 *sq.* (Algeria); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 260; Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 94 (Syria); Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 208, and Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* pp. 211, 217 (Palestine); Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 31 *sq.*

[4] For the use of salt as a preservative against the evil eye *cf.* Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 362 *sq.*, and Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 232 (Algeria); Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 510, and von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 63 (Egypt); Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 208, and Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 211 (Palestine). For the use of salt as a protection against evil influences, including the evil eye, in Europe, see Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 33 *sqq.*; Bent, *op. cit.* p. 186 (Cyclades); Lawson, *op. cit.* p. 13 (modern Greece); Margaret Hardie, *loc. cit.* p. 162 (Macedonia); Hemmer, *op. cit.* p. 17 (Swedish Finlanders).

hurt by the evil eye carry with them a little alum and gum-ammoniac[1] enveloped in calico.[2]

Some other methods of counteracting the evil eye by burning may still be mentioned. In the Ḥiáina, if anybody is supposed to have been injured by the evil eye of a person whose eyebrows are united over the bridge of the nose, he procures a few hairs of that person's eyebrows and beard and burns them, letting the smoke pass underneath his clothes. In Aglu the victim of the evil eye may try to get hold of parings of the offender's nails or a piece of his clothes,[3] which he burns, inhaling the smoke; he then

[1] For the use of gum-ammoniac as a charm against the evil eye *cf.* Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 209 (Palestine); Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 121 *sq.* (Mecca).

[2] See also *infra*, Chapter XIX., in which various charms against the evil eye are mentioned among rites connected with childbirth and early childhood.

[3] In Egypt "the parents, when they see a person stare at or seem to envy their young offspring, sometimes cut off a piece of the skirts of his clothes, burn it with a little salt (to which some add coriander seed, alum, etc.), and fumigate with the smoke and sprinkle with the ashes the child or children. This, it is said, should be done a little before sunset, when the sun becomes red" (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 259). To obviate the supposed effects of the envious eye, the Egyptians prick a paper with a needle, saying at the same time, "This is the eye of such a one, the envier", and then burn the paper (*ibid.* p. 260)—a very obvious instance of a symbolic burning of the evil eye. In Moab, "si le mauvais œil tombe sur un troupeau qui dépérit rapidement, le propriétaire du bétail coupe le borde du vêtement de celui qu'il soupçonne et va le brûler au milieu de ses brebis ou de ses chameaux; le mal est ainsi conjuré" (Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 378). Among the peasantry of Palestine "the safest cure for the stroke of the 'evil eye' is to take a bit of clothing from the man or woman through whom the pernicious element passed, and burn it below the person struck. The fumes will immediately remove the ill effect" (Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 214; Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 211; for a similar cure at Libanon see Chémali, *loc. cit.* p. 743). They have also the following method of counteracting the effects of the evil eye on a child: it is placed on the floor, and some dust is collected from each of the four corners of the room and thrown on the fire with the exclamation, "Fie on thee, evil eye!" (Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 214). Among the Muhammadan peasants inhabiting the frontier region between Afghanistan and Hindustan "some old women have a practice of waving three red chillies in succession several times round the affected person's head, and each time saying, 'Herewith I draw off the eye, be it man's or

throws the fire out of the house, saying some words to the effect that he now gives back to the other person his poison. In the same place, if any one suspects another person, with whom he is sitting, of having cast upon him an evil glance, he takes some fire or water and spills it on that person as it were accidentally; it was said that the object of this is to make the latter angry and thereby cause his dangerous look to fall back upon himself, but the use of fire or water [1] may also have arisen from an idea of burning or washing away the evil influence. This, however, is not the only instance in which I have heard that a person who has the evil eye is made angry in order to become innocuous: my informant from Aglu told me that another method of provoking his anger is to show him one's buttock. With reference to this

woman's or spirit's.' Then each pod is put into the fire" (Thorburn, *op. cit.* p. 161). In modern Greece, in the case of an illness caused by the evil eye, something belonging to the evil-doer, such as a piece of his clothing or even a handful of earth from his doorway, is burned and the patient is fumigated with the smoke (Lawson, *op. cit.* p. 15). Among the Western Highlanders of Scotland a piece of the clothing of a person suspected of the evil eye is burned to prevent mischief (Maclagan, *op. cit.* p. 125). For the use of fire as a means of counteracting evil influences, including the evil eye, in Europe, see also Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 314 *sqq.*; Feilberg, *loc. cit.* p. 326; and Hemmer, *op. cit.* p. 17 *sq.* (Scandinavia).

[1] According to a Muhammadan tradition the Prophet enjoined a person who had looked at another with a malignant eye to pray for blessings on him and then wash his own limbs and pour the water upon the other person (*Mishkāt*, xxi. 1. 3, English translation by Matthews, ii. [Calcutta, 1810], p. 378). For the use of water as a means of counteracting the effects of the evil eye see Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 307 *sqq.*; Feilberg, *loc. cit.* p. 328 (Scandinavia); Landtman, *op. cit.* p. 3 (by crossing a brook running northwards; Helsinge, in the south of Finland). I was told that among the Jews of Mogador, if some misfortune happens in a house soon after there has been a visitor, an attempt is made to get hold of a little piece of his clothes, which is to be burned, together with a lump of charcoal and some salt, at the place where he has been sitting. Water is thrown over the ashes, and the inhabitants of the house wash their faces and hands and subsequently the floor of the room with the water. In the work *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, i. (Paris, 1915), p. 210, it is said that if a person suspected of having an evil eye appears at a feast, "on allume un réchaud, et . . . un des assistants saisit un charbon allumé et le jette dans l'eau en disant: 'Que les yeux d'Un Tel s'éteignent comme s'éteint ce charbon! Que ses paroles retombent sur lui!'"

protective my scribe from Glawi remarked that it is like the custom of making cuts in the bark of a fig tree before one lies down to sleep underneath its branches, so as to prevent it from causing sickness.[1] The suggestion has been made that the gesture in question, which is also found elsewhere,[2] is a method of throwing back the malignant glance.[3]

There is also a symbolic blinding of the eye. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina when commencing the ploughing squeeze a pomegranate on one of the oxen's horns so that the juice shall go into any evil eye looking at the animals and thereby make it harmless. Among the same people the man who is going to measure the grain after the corn has been threshed and winnowed, immediately before he begins his work, moves a shovel once round the heap from right to left, takes with it some grain into his left hand, pours the grain thence into his right hand, and finally throws it over the blanket covering the heap ; he throws it into the evil eye, I was told, blinding it, as it were. Among the Iglíwa and the Aiṭ Wäryâġer some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye ; and among the Aiṭ Mjilḍ unmarried girls hang round their necks little bags filled with earth taken from a place where three roads meet, for the purpose of soon getting a husband and keeping off the evil glance.[4] The use made of thorns, bristles, and needles for the purpose of preventing or counteracting the influence of the evil eye is also, presumably, based upon the idea of blinding it. For this purpose the people of Andjra on Midsummer day hang on their apple and pear trees thistles (*ámġil*) taken from a market-place. In the Faḥṣ and the Sáḥel some *šūkt*^{s} *mġêla* is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye ; and the Aiṭ Wäryâġer

[1] See *supra*, p. 282. [2] Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 206 *sq.*

[3] Hemmer, *op. cit.* p. 20.

[4] In Algeria "the town-dwelling Arabs are in the habit of throwing a handful of earth behind a known caster of the 'evil eye' when such a person passes by" (Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 236). In the same country, "among both the Shawia and the Ouled Ziane small pieces of white crumbling stone or of 'plaster' are worn as charms against the 'evil eye'", with the idea—Mr. Hilton-Simpson was told—that they would enter into the eye and blind it (*ibid.* p. 234). *Cf. infra*, ii. 378.

carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm. At Demnat the bristle of a hedgehog, together with a written charm, is likewise worn as an amulet against the evil eye,[1] and it is perhaps partly on account of the bristles of this animal that elsewhere (Andjra, Aiṭ Nḍēr) its jawbone is used for the same purpose. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi I was told by an old woman that a needle and some salt are put into the right slipper of the bride as charms against the evil eye.[2] In Andjra children are protected from it by a charm consisting of a needle which has been broken in three pieces, a piece of steel, and some blue put together in a bit of bamboo which has been sealed with wax. The needle may be an amulet, not merely because it is made of steel, but because it is supposed to prick the eye. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr the nail of a horse-shoe is worn as a charm against the evil eye [3] The horse-shoe, as we shall see, is itself used as a charm for a similar purpose, presumably on account of its shape, and a nail which has been thrust into it may therefore be looked upon as a particularly suitable instrument for the blinding of the evil eye. The dangerous look may also be cut off in advance. In the Ḥiáina, when the mane and the tail of a young horse are clipped, seven clippings are ceremonially made in the hair above the tail.

Another method of averting the evil glance is by turning it off. In Andjra, when a young man, dressed in his best clothes and with his gun on his shoulder, goes out to a feast and on the road meets somebody who is likely to envy him his treasures, he places his hands on his back, stretches out

[1] In Algeria Mr. Hilton-Simpson (*loc. cit.* p. 232) was informed "that the town-dwelling natives of Aïn Touta put aside a little salt upon the twenty-seventh day of the month preceding Ramadan, and when a person thinks that the 'evil eye' has been cast upon him he puts a little of it, with some hedgehog's bristles, on the fire and jumps across the fire seven times while these substances are burning".

[2] At the time I thought that she gave this explanation because she was afraid of mentioning the *jnūn* (see my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 150 n. 1), but she may have been right after all, although salt and needles are also used as safeguards against these spirits. For the use of needles see Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 14 *sq.*

[3] In Macedonia a nail is used as a charm against the evil eye (Margaret Hardie, *loc. cit.* p. 162).

the middle finger of the right hand in the direction of the palm of the left, turns the tongue backwards in the mouth, and whispers, *Ălláh iṭîyar 'áinĕk*, "May God let your eye fly". To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi) or with the mouth open (Marráksh, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

In other instances some object, often of a hideous appearance, is used as an amulet to attract to itself the first glance. For this purpose the skull or some other bone of an animal, such as a donkey or mule, is set up in vegetable gardens and orchards.[1] In Aglu six lines are painted with soot lengthways and six crossways on the foreside of the cow's or donkey's skull, which is hung up on a stick in the orchards, partly, no doubt, to make it more conspicuous. The Ait Waráin thrust into the stack of unthreshed corn a stick with the skull of a horse or mule or some other dead animal at the top of it. The Ulâd Bů'ăzîz set up in their vegetable gardens the black picture of a Christian[2] or a cooking pot

[1] In Algeria Mr. Hilton-Simpson (*loc. cit.* p. 235) was told by a sheikh that "the sight of the skulls of large animals, mostly of mules, that are hung upon date palms and other trees in the orchards of his tribe to protect them from the 'evil eye' causes injury at some future time to the giver of the admiring glance". Richardson states (*Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa*, i. [London, 1853], p. 111) that in the neighbourhood of Mourzuk, in Fezzan, "to avert the evil eye from the gardens, the people put up the head of an ass, or some portion of the bones of that animal"; and he adds that "the same superstition prevails in all the oases that stud the north of Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic". See also Jacquot, *loc. cit.* p. 258 (Algeria); Voinot, *Le Tidikelt* (Oran, 1909), p. 109; Hamilton, *Wanderings in North Africa* (London, 1856), p. 258 *sq.* (Sîwah). In pre-Muhammadan times the Arabs wore bones of animals round the neck as charms against the evil eye (Quatremère, *loc. cit.* p. 242). For the use of skulls and bones as a protection against the evil eye see also Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 141 *sq.*

[2] In Northern India some hideous figure, such as the caricature of a European with his gun, is often painted as a charm on the posts or arch of the door (Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 10), or put up in a newly-built house (Mahadeva Sastriar, 'The Evil Eye and the Scaring of Ghosts', in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, lxviii. [Calcutta, 1899], p. 58).

(*ǧédra* or *bórma*), painted with white stripes. To exhibit old and sooty pipkins or pots in vegetable gardens and orchards as charms against the evil eye seems to be common everywhere in Morocco, and sometimes a black pot is hung on the wall of a new house when it is building (Iglíwa).[1] Other black things are used for a similar purpose. The Aiṯ Sádděn set up in their vegetable gardens the skull of an animal which has died a natural death, an old broken pot (*lmaʿun* or *ṯalmaʿunt*), or a piece of old tent-cloth (*aḥläs* or *ṯaḥläsṯ*). The Iglíwa hang in the top of the highest tree of an orchard either a black pot or some other black object, and they like their children to have something black in their dress.[2] Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz parents who are not afraid of the colour black tie the end of a black goat's-tail to the hair-lock (*garn*) of their boys. The Ait Temsâmän not only hang a black pipkin (*ṯaqnušṯ*) in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâǧer the bridegroom must wear a black cloak (*ájǧ^{dd}jaḇ*), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.[3] In Aglu the camel on which the bride is taken to her new home is led by a black man.[4] The prophylactic quality so frequently ascribed to the colour black[5] may be partly due to some vague belief that it has a darkening effect on the dangerous glance,[6] or to its gloominess or ugliness;[7] but I have

[1] The Shawia of Algeria "are in the habit of placing a cooking pot in as conspicuous a position as possible upon a corner of the roof of a new house, where it cannot fail immediately to attract the attention of the passer-by, to protect the building against the 'evil eye'" (Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 229). For a similar custom at Sîwah see Hamilton, *op. cit.* p. 258.

[2] The Bedouins of the Euphrates dress "their children in black, and keep them unwashed for fear, they say, of the evil eye" (Lady Blunt, *op. cit.* ii. 223).

[3] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 114, 124.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 184.

[5] See Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 243 *sqq.*

[6] In Northern India it is believed that a person whose eyelids are encircled with lampblack is himself incapable of casting the evil eye (Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 4).

[7] *Cf.* Gurdyal Singh, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. (Allahabad, 1883–84), p. 76; Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 243 *sq.*

been told that black objects are used as charms because they are apt to attract the first glance of the onlooker's eye.

For the same reason a sickle or a dagger is thrust into the top of the heap of ready threshed corn (Dukkâla, Andjra, Demnat) and a lump of earth is put on the heap (Dukkâla, Demnat, Iglíwa, Aglu), although the two former objects are also, and perhaps principally, meant to keep off the *jnūn*, and the lump of earth is perhaps supposed to make the grain big and heavy.[1] Among the Ait Támĕldu, on the southern slopes of the Great Atlas range, the dried fruit and bread which the bridegroom sitting on the roof or upper floor of his house throws down on the blanket held over the bride when she walks into the house, are said to serve the object of averting the evil eye, as the things thrown would attract the looks of the people.[2] The display at the circumcision of a boy is supposed to have a similar effect.[3] In Andjra a birth-mark (*tˢĕmnîya*, in Tangier called *zbîba*) is regarded as a natural charm against the evil eye, presumably because it attracts attention.[4] Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz a ram with four horns protects the other sheep from the evil eye, as I was told, because it diverts the glance from them; and at Fez a cock with two combs (*dīg fárōq*) is not killed but preserved as a valuable charm against the evil eye. In Andjra stone weights which have been stolen from a market-place are on Midsummer day suspended from apple and pear trees as charms against the evil eye; having been gazed upon by numerous eyes, they seem to have acquired a tendency to catch people's glances.

[1] *Infra*, ii. 232 *sq.*

[2] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 213. In Syria (van Kasteren, 'Aus dem "Buche der Weiber",' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xviii. [Leipzig, 1895], p. 49) and Palestine (Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 208) the throwing of grain and salt at a wedding is likewise looked upon as a charm against the evil eye.

[3] *Infra*, ii. 418 *sqq.*

[4] Dr. Crooke (*op. cit.* ii. 3) mentions the existence of a similar belief in Northern India and observes that the theory "that the glance may be neutralised or avoided by some blot or imperfection is the basis of many of the popular remedies or prophylactics invented with the object of averting its influence".

Silver coins, shells,[1] corals,[2] and pieces of cornelian,[3] mother of pearl,[4] amber,[5] or blue are tied to the hair or round the ankles of children, or are threaded on a string which is slung over their shoulder, to safeguard them from the evil eye. Some of these objects, at least, are supposed to do so by attracting to themselves the malignant look. This was expressly said to be the case with the shell tied to the *garn* of boys and the silver coin hung on the forehead of girls among the Ulåd Bů'ăzîz; but at the same time I was told that silver has a neutralising influence on the evil eye,[6] and the prophylactic virtue ascribed to cowries (see Fig. 60) is probably in the first place due to their resemblance to an eye.[7] Blue is used as an amulet, evidently because blue

[1] Shells were favourite amulets among the ancient Arabs (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 165; von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 63 *sq.*) and were also worn in classical antiquity. Nowadays they are used as charms against the evil eye both in Italy and in the East (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 126 *sq.*; Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 314 [Arabia Petraea]; Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 17 [Northern India]). For their use as such charms see also Jackson, *Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture* (Manchester, 1917), p. 127 *sqq.*

[2] For the widespread use of corals nowadays and in ancient times see Pallary, *loc. cit.* p. 655, and Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 230 (Algeria); Vassel, *op. cit.* p. 170 *sqq.* (Tunis); Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 115 (Lebanon); Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 314 (Arabia Petraea); Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, xxxii. 11; Kunz, *The Magic of Jewels and Charms* (Philadelphia & London, 1915), pp. 131, 339 (ancient and modern Italy); Hildburgh, 'Notes on Spanish Amulets', in *Folk-Lore*, xvii. (London, 1906), p. 460; *Idem*, 'Notes on some Contemporary Portuguese Amulets', in *Folk-Lore*, xix. (London, 1908), p. 217; Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 32 *sq.*

[3] For the use of cornelian *cf.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 30; Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 233 *sq.*

[4] *Cf.* Doughty, *Travels in Arabia*, i. (Cambridge, 1888), p. 149:— "The little girls wear a round plate of mother-of-pearl suspended at the breast, their heads are loaded with strings and bunches of small silver".

[5] For the use of amber against the evil eye in classical antiquity see Jahn, *loc. cit.* p. 43 *sq.*

[6] The ancient Arabs hung silver plates on their horses (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 165). For the use of silver as a charm see Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 7 *sq.*

[7] In ancient Egypt "cowries, from their resemblance to semi-closed eyelids, were often inserted into the orbits of mummies to represent the eyes" (Elliot Smith, 'Introduction' to Jackson's *Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*, p. xix).

eyes are considered dangerous.[1] In Andjra children have lines or spots painted with blue on their foreheads, or wear some blue in a cover as an amulet; and at Tangier mothers, when washing, often make a blue spot on the crown of a child who happens to be present.

In all parts of the country boys are seen with a ring (in Arabic generally called *ḫórṣa* or *ḫórsa*, in Shelḥa *taḫorst* or *taḫorṣt*) of silver or some other metal, often of a considerable size, in the right ear, which is said to protect them from the evil eye or, which is practically the same, to preserve their health or their life.[2] The custom is often hereditary in certain families; but on the other hand, if worn by a boy of another family, such a ring is supposed to be very dangerous to him (Iglíwa, Aiṭ Sádděn). Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the ring (*ṭiwîněṣṭ*) is worn at the same side as the lock (*ṭajṭṭûiṭ*, in Arabic *garn*), which is left when the boy is shaved, as a rule on the right but sometimes on the left side. Among the Ait Waráin, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (*ḏḫorsiṭ*), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother. In Dukkâla I was expressly told that the ring in the boy's right ear, which is there called *mĕftel*, serves the object of attracting the first glance. A similar ring is in the same province put in the ear of a favourite horse. Finger rings are also frequently worn as charms against the evil eye, as well as for other reasons. In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (*ḫâtˢem*) of silver

[1] The colour blue is regarded as a protective against the evil eye in Greece, Turkey, and the East in general (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 246 *sq.*; Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* pp. 94, 104 [Syria]; Chémali, *loc. cit.* p. 742 [Lebanon]; Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 206 *sq.*, Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* pp. 211, 216 *sq.*, Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 49 *sq.*, Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 214 *sq.*, and *Idem*, *Witness in the Wilderness*, p. 191 [Palestine]; Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic* [London, 1908], p. 90 [Mesopotamia]; Ella C. Sykes, *loc. cit.* p. 268 [Persia]; Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 19 [Northern India]).

[2] The ancient Arabs wore ear-rings as amulets (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 165 n. 6).

round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against *jnūn* and the evil eye. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women. Among the Iglíwa the men have a ring of copper or steel round the little finger of the left hand and the women round the ring-finger of the same hand, and in either case the ring is said to be an amulet against the evil eye. The same is the case with the silver or brass ring which at Demnat is worn round the little finger of the left hand; but on the governor's little son I noticed a broad silver bangle round his right wrist and was told that he was still too young to have a ring on his finger. The magic efficacy of rings as charms against the evil eye may depend, not only on their capacity for attracting to themselves the malignant glance, but, as we shall see, on their round shape and also on the material of which they are made. Besides silver, gold [1] is said to counteract the evil look, and so are copper,[2] brass, and steel,[3] although I have also heard different opinions expressed with regard to these substances. The efficacy ascribed to shining metals, however, may itself be ultimately due to their tendency to catch the eye,[4] though the idea of throwing back the *bạ̈s* has also perhaps something to do with it.

There are other substances besides those already spoken of that are used as protectives against the evil eye. In Andjra people insure their ploughs against this danger by making some part of them of laurel wood.[5] For similar purposes they put oleander twigs between the horns of their ploughing oxen and at the bottom of their stacks of reaped corn, and at Midsummer they hang such twigs in their fig

[1] *Cf.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 6 *sq.*; Pliny, xxxiii. 25. The ancient Arabs hung golden plates on their horses (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 165).

[2] *Cf.* Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 230 (Algeria); Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii 18.

[3] *Cf.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 8 *sq.*

[4] *Cf. ibid.* ii. 6; Vassel, *op. cit.* p. 131; Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (Philadelphia & London, 1913), p. 42.

[5] Laurel branches or leaves were used as charms in ancient Rome and Greece (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 76). According to Aelian (*De natura animalium*, i. 35), the pigeons put laurel sprigs in their nests to protect their offspring from the evil eye.

trees. Shortly before Midsummer day they take oleander branches into their houses, where they are kept under the roof as charms against the evil eye ; and in cases of sickness supposed to have been caused by the evil eye the leaves are burned and the patient lets the smoke pass underneath his clothes, inhaling it as it comes through. For such purposes they particularly make use of the so-called " sultan of the oleanders ". The ploughman also carries a twig of it in his bag, and other people likewise keep in their bags oleander leaves as charms against the evil eye ;[1] and the *'ammāṛîya*, or box in which the bride is transported to the bridegroom's house on the back of a mule, is for the same reason made of oleander branches. The Aiṭ Nḍēr put some rue underneath their stacks of corn to keep off both *jnūn* and the evil eye, and also protect their persons by carrying rue.[2] In the Faḥṣ the people carry a small piece of tamarisk wood as an amulet against the evil eye.[3] The Iglíwa write charms against it with the blood of a hare[4] and saffron ;[5] and dried blood of

[1] For the use of the oleander as a charm against the evil eye in Arabia Petraea see Musil, *op. cit.* iii. 314.

[2] " No plant had more virtues ascribed to it in ancient times than rue, and the belief in these has continued down to the present day " (Elworthy, *op. cit.* p. 346 ; see also Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 285, ii. 80 *sqq.*, and Vassel, *op. cit.* p. 131, 160 *sq.*). Aristotle (*Problemata*, xx. 34) speaks of it as an amulet against fascination.

[3] Among the Muhammadans of Palestine, if a person is supposed to have been struck by the evil eye, a piece of tamarisk wood and a pinch of salt or alum are placed in a pan on the fire, and the patient walks round it seven times ; as soon as a crackling sound is heard the spell is broken (Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 211 ; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 214).

[4] *Cf.* Quatremère, *loc. cit.* p. 242 :—" Les Arabes antérieurs à l'islamisme suspendaient au cou de leurs enfants et des autres personnes qui leur étaient chères des os de charognes, des têtes de lièvres et des ordures ". The Greeks in Turkey use the head of a hare as a protective against the evil eye (Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-Lore*, i. ' The Christian Women ' [London, 1890], p. 146). Dr. Seligmann suggests (*op. cit.* ii. 122) that the hare is particularly apt to serve as a protector against the evil eye on account of the belief that it sleeps with its eyes open.

[5] The Brahmans of Canara make use of saffron at their weddings as a charm against the evil eye (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 101). For the use of saffron at weddings in Morocco see Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, ' General Index ', *s.v.* Saffron.

a hare, together with a written charm, is used for the same purpose at Demnat. Saffron is said to be a charm against the evil eye on account of its colour; yellow, the colour of gold, is an even more effective prophylactic than black. Hence a person who wears clean yellow slippers has little to fear from other people's glances (Tangier).

Another colour which produces a similar effect is red.[1] It is partly for this reason and partly on account of its *baraka* that henna is used as a preventive against the evil eye, as well as against other evil influences.[2] The mountaineers of Andjra, when afraid of being hurt by it, paint spots of henna on the tops of their heads. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, when an infant has become forty days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas, lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them. The shereefs of Wazzan are known to protect their greyhounds from the evil eye by smearing their heads and feet with henna. As will be seen subsequently, certain figures which are regarded as protectives against the evil eye are painted with henna.

The magic efficacy of *baraka* is in many other forms used to counteract the influence of the evil eye. To protect their heaps of threshed corn against it the people of Andjra sprinkle them with rain-water which has fallen on 27th April (*l-mā ḏě lâisän*), on account of the *baraka* ascribed to such water; and to avert the evil eye from their fig trees they paint on Midsummer day a ring with cow-dung and red earth mixed with *l-mā ḏě lâisän* round the trunk of every tree in their orchards.[3] On the same day they also, for a similar purpose,

[1] *Cf.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 248, 250 *sqq.*; Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* pp. 230, 247 (Algeria); Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 115 (Lebanon); Margaret Hardie, *loc. cit.* p. 162 (Macedonia). The use of red in marriage rites (see Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii. [London, 1921], p. 447 n. 1), however, may be a method of ensuring defloration (see *ibid.* ii. 466 *sq.*).

[2] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 'General Index', *s.v.* Henna.

[3] *Infra*, ii. 179.

burn straw in their orchards, and in places where there are bees they burn cow-dung, partly to prevent them from being harmed by the same enemy.[1] The Ait Temsâmän burn the gall-bladder of the animal which has been sacrificed at the Great Feast and fumigate their children with the smoke, to safeguard them from the evil eye;[2] and among other tribes the larynx of the sacrificed animal ⟨Aiṯ Sâddèn⟩ or the barley and salt which remain in its mouth after it has been killed ⟨Ait Warain⟩ are used as a charm against similar influences.[3] Among the Ait Warain and in Andjra a piece of the larynx of the sheep or goat slaughtered when a child is named is used for the same purpose.[4] Among the Ulâd Bû'âziz a small bag containing earth from a shrine is tied round the right wrist of a new-born infant or round the neck of an older child, as a safeguard against the malignant glance, while a grown-up man ties such a charm to his bag or turban and a woman to her belt ⟨*ḥârziya*⟩. In various parts of Morocco the ploughing ox is likewise sheltered from the evil eye by earth from a saint's tomb wrapped up in a rag which is hung between the horns or round the neck or at the tail of the animal.[5]

Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.[6] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks ⟨Fez, Aiṯ Wäryâġer⟩. At Fez I was told that the same portions of the Koran as are supposed to drive away the *jnūn* are also used as a protection against the evil eye, namely, the 250th verse of the second chapter called the *âyatu 'l-kursī*, and the 72nd, 112th, and 113th chapters. A Tetuan lad who was in my service wore a small leather bag

[1] *Infra*, ii. 183. [2] *Infra*, ii. 123. [3] *Infra*, ii. 124, 126.
[4] *Infra*, ii. 390, 392. [5] *Infra*, ii. 218.

[6] Sentences from the Koran and other written charms are used universally in the Muhammadan world against the evil eye either before or after its influence falls (see, *e.g.* Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 340, ii. 341 *sqq.*; Elworthy, *op. cit.* pp. 124, 341, 389; Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 235 *sq.* [Algeria]; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 257; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, p. 391; Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i. [Berlin, 1879], p. 447 [Tedâ]; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 50, and Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* pp. 202, 220 *sqq.* [Palestine]).

containing the 112th chapter (*sūratu 'l-iḫlāṣ*) written one hundred times; this charm against the evil eye should be written by a boy who has not yet attained the age of puberty, who is his father's and mother's first-born child, and whose name is Mûḥámmed or Ḥmed (Andjra, Tangier).[1] A blessing, as we have seen, is a regular precaution against the evil eye, and prayers and incantations are resorted to when persons are believed to have been injured by it. In Andjra the person who recites the incantation mentioned above[2] puts his right hand on the patient's forehead; or if a woman recites this or some similar incantation she is all the time rubbing his body with a kerchief on which she has made a loose knot, and goes on doing it until the knot unties. A Berber from Glawi told me the following story. A man belonging to his tribe once asked a scribe to write for him a charm to protect his mule from the evil eye. The scribe answered, "No charm can be written for this purpose, but if you meet on the road a person carrying a heavy load put it on your mule, or if you meet a tired wanderer ask him to mount the animal and ride on it". These offices were evidently supposed to avert the evil eye on account of their charitableness; but my informant added that it is not known to many people that they have such an effect.

A looking-glass is used as a charm against the evil eye,[3] no doubt because it is supposed to throw back the malignant glance. A similar effect, though in a different way, is ascribed to the gesture of stretching out the fingers of the right hand towards the person who is suspected of having the evil eye, a gesture which is often accompanied with the phrases *ḫámsa fî 'áiněk*, "Five in your eye", or *ḫámsa 'ăla 'áiněk*, "Five on your eye". The stretching out of the right hand's fingers may be followed by a similar gesture made with the left hand, in which the words *ḫámsa ŭ ḫmîsa*, or *ḫámsa ŭ ḫómmis*, "five and little five", or *l-ḫmâmĕs*, "the

[1] For the use made of this chapter against the evil eye *cf.* von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 64.

[2] *Supra*, p. 420.

[3] See *infra*, ii. 381 *sq.* A looking-glass is also used against the evil eye in Tunis, Tripoli, and Spain (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 276, 278).

fives", are used instead of *ḫámsa*. I was expressly told that the object of these gestures is to throw back the *baṣ*, or evil influence, emanating from the eye. At the same time the phrase "Five on your eye" suggests the idea of shutting out the dangerous glance; and so does the gesture of an uplifted hand, which is also practised. The phrase "Five in your eye", again, may imply the notion of putting out the eye. In Algeria Mr. Ḥilton-Simpson was in fact told by a native that the gesture in question "implies that the giver of the admiring glance should have the fingers and thumb of the hand thrust into his eyes"[1] The same idea is suggested by the use of two fingers only, one for each eye—a gesture which I have not seen or heard of in Morocco but which is reported from other parts of North Africa[2] and is represented on pottery from the Rīf (see Fig. 70). In the Ḥiáina the phrase *ḫámsa fĭ l-'áinīn*, accompanying the gesture with the hand, is followed by the words: *'Áinu fĭ l-berrîya lā mäl lā derrîya*, "His eye at the wild olive tree (which gives no eatable fruit), neither money nor children". I was told that this will cause the *baṣ* to affect the person who has the evil eye and not the one whom he looks at. In Andjra I also heard of another gesture intended as a safeguard against the same danger: when a person sees some one who is supposed to be possessed of the evil eye he stealthily stretches out the middle finger of his right hand and counts up to ten, *'ášra*, and when pronouncing this word he quickly pushes the finger forward. In counting, *'ášra* is sometimes followed by the words *fĭ 'áinĕk*, "in your eye".

The phrases "five in your eye" or "five on your eye" are also said without any gesture with the hand. There are other expressions used in a similar manner, such as: *Ḫámsa 'ăla 'áinĕk u sĕttˁa 'ăla qálbăk*, "Five on your eye and six on your heart" (making eleven, which is an odd and therefore lucky number); *Ḫámsa ŭ ḫámsīn bîna*, "Five and fifty between us"; *Ḫăna 'ášra bîna (hum) ṣḥāb n-nbi*, "We are ten between us, (they are) the friends of the Prophet" (Tangier). At Fez, if a person is looking at another or at

[1] Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 234. [2] Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 326.

something belonging to him and admiringly cries out *ā'*, the latter averts the danger by saying, *Ḥámsa ů ḫmasṭâš*, " Five and fifteen ". The number five has thus by itself become a charm against the evil eye. On a journey which lasts for five days or five years you are in some measure protected by the number of the days or yeàrs. The term for Thursday, the fifth day of the week, *nhār l-ḫmīs*, likewise possesses protective efficacy. If you fear that somebody is injuring you by his look you may ward off the evil by the phrase *Ḥámsa ů l-ḫmīs*, " Five and Thursday ", or by saying *Nhār l-ḫmīs ḫălâqtˢ*, " On a Thursday I was born ". So also, if anybody is speaking of your child in a way which might affect his health or welfare, you may prevent it by passing the remark that he was born on a Thursday.

To such an extent has the number five been associated with the idea of the evil eye that it is considered improper to mention the word for it in conversation with a government official, or even to mention any number reminiscent of it, like fifteen, twenty-five, or fifty Instead of these numbers you should say " four and one ", " fourteen and one ", " twenty-four and one ", " forty-nine and one ", or also, for example, " twenty-six less one ".[1] If *ḫámsa* is used the angry answer will be, *Ḥámsa 'ăla 'ain š-šîṭan*, " Five on the devil's eye ". Another way of avoiding the word *ḫámsa* is to say *yḛ́ddăk*, " your hand ", an expression which is also used in conversation between women. If, for instance, at Fez a woman asks another woman how many loaves of bread she put into the oven, the answer will be *yḛ́ddăk*, in case they were five. When the grain is measured after it has been threshed, the Arabs of the Ḥiáina say *u árbʿa*, " and four ", instead of five, *u arbáʿṭaš*, " and fourteen ", instead of fifteen, and so forth ; while the Berbers of the Aiṯ Yúsi say *hā ů rbʿa*, " here and four " instead of five, but do not avoid the words for fifteen, twenty-five, or other numbers containing five. In the Ġarbîya I heard the counting *hâdi ḫámsa f 'ain yíblis*, " here is five in the eye of the

[1] *Cf.* Höst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* (Kiobenhavn, 1779), p. 208 ; Jackson, *An Account of the Empire of Morocco* (London, 1814), p. 165.

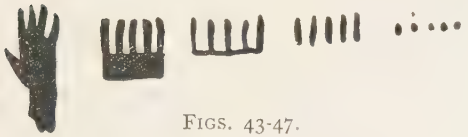
devil", and I was told that a similar expression is used by the Aiṭ Nḏēr.[1] At Fez the number five is even avoided in the giving of presents; it would be objectionable to make a person a present of five loaves of sugar, or five fowls, or five dollar pieces. This tabooing of a number which is itself used as a charm against evil influences is no doubt due to unpleasant associations and that uncanny feeling which is so readily produced by anything possessed of magic energy.

As the hand and its fingers offer protection against the dangerous look, the same is naturally the case with every representation of them. In magic the difference between reality and image disappears, and little or no importance is attached to the likeness of the image. Small flat images of hands made of silver are very popular charms. At Fez women hang at each of their temples a so-called *lwêḥa*, consisting of a little silver or sometimes golden hand; and among the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ṣĕfru an ear-ring, with a hand called *amḥămmḏi*, is worn by boys in their right ear. I noticed that this hand, which is made by Jews, may have six fingers instead of five. At Fez I saw small charms in the shape of a hand made of beads, either black, which is considered the most effective colour, or blue or white; such a hand is called *ḥámsa* (at Tangier *mḥámmsa*), even though it, as sometimes happens, has as many as seven "fingers". It was said that as there are seven days created by God and you cannot know on what day the evil glance will be cast upon you, it is best to be provided with a charm for each day; and I was also told that while the *ḥámsa* with five fingers only turns off from you the malignant look, that with seven fingers throws it back upon the person who cast it. In some towns, for instance Marráksh, there is hardly a house, and least of all a shop, on the wall or door of which the five fingers are not represented in some way or other. Sometimes there is the rough image of a hand with outstretched fingers; sometimes only the forepart of a hand, highly conventionalised; sometimes five "fingers" united by a horizontal line; but most commonly merely five isolated lines, longer or shorter, which occasionally dwindle almost

[1] *Infra*, ii. 239 *sqq*.

into dots. Figs. 43-47 represent a series of these various types. Not infrequently the five "fingers" are provided with a common shaft, as appears from Figs. 48-50.

The figures in question are painted with tar, red earth,



Figs. 43-47.

Figs. 48-50.

henna, or blue; at Fez impressions of hands are made on walls and doors with tar, whilst five marks are commonly painted there with henna. In these cases also, the number of "fingers" may be more than five, as appears from Figs. 52-57, representing various modifications of hands which I found on Jewish houses at Alcazar. Among the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Fez it is the custom for women to have a mark like Fig. 49, though without dots, tattooed with blue on their right upper arm, as a charm against the evil eye. Fig. 58 represents a design which I saw tattooed on the tip of the nose of a lad among the Aiṭ Yúsi, and Fig. 59 a tattoo mark on the noses of women belonging to the same tribe. In the Shāwîa, when a person buys an animal, five vertical lines are for a similar purpose painted with henna on some wool which is tied round one of its legs if it is a horse, mule, or donkey, and round its tail if it is a bullock or a cow; this, however, should be done not by the new owner himself but by a neighbour, by preference a wealthy one, who also should keep the animal for the first day so as to give it *baraka* from his own animals.

Figs. 51-57.

Fig. 58.

Fig. 59.

The number five is in various ways made use of in amulets against the evil eye. A common charm is a bean-pod containing five beans (Fez, Demnat), or five beans which have been found together in a pod containing no more beans and

then sewn up, each separately, in a small cover of cloth or leather (Shāwîa, Aiṭ Nḍēr). Figs. 60-61 represent two amulets which I picked up among the Arab tribe of the Mnáṣăra on the Atlantic coast. One (Fig. 60) consists of five shells attached to a small piece of cloth, the other (Fig. 61) consists of glass beads in five different colours, grouped in two circular series. Another representation of five used as a charm against the evil eye is a pentacle, or five-pointed star, drawn on a paper without lifting up the pen (Fig. 62).

Fig. 60.

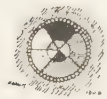


Fig. 61

Figs. 63-64 represent two amulets called *mḥámmsa* (like the amulet in the shape of a hand). The amulets are made of silver, and their protective power depends on their five conspicuous knobs, partly impressions in the plate, partly small pieces of coloured glass, which form together two fives, one larger and the other one smaller, with the piece of glass in the centre common to both. On these amulets the knobs are grouped in the form of a cross, and the knobs of the inner five are actually joined by a cross. A combination of a five and a cross also occurs in Figs. 65-67,

Fig. 62.

Fig. 63.

Fig. 64.

Fig. 65.

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.

Fig. 68.

representing parts of ornaments worn by women—ornaments which at the same time serve as charms against the evil eye. In the centre of Fig. 65 there is a circular knob surrounded by four drop-like figures in the form of a cross. In Figs. 66-67

there is in the middle a circular knob surrounded by eight engraved petals or stripes, which form together two crosses, one larger and one smaller. Here the cruciform petals or stripes, together with the knob in the centre, obviously represent the two fives which in Figs. 63-64 are represented by round knobs or pieces of glass.

A cross, consisting of two lines intersecting each other at right angles, without a particularly marked centre, is also used as a charm against the evil eye. Thus Fig. 68 represents such a charm which I have seen painted with henna on the head of a greyhound at the time of the Great Feast; and a similar design I saw tattooed on the cheeks of women at the market of Sĕfru. Women have small crosses tattooed on their faces, and both men and women have a cross or only a small vertical line tattooed on the tip of the nose. A man from the Ait Waráin, whose nose was thus decorated with a cross, told me that the tattooing had been done in his infancy because his two elder brothers had died shortly after birth, and that this was one of the methods prevalent in his tribe of preserving the life of a child if the previous children had died; but the same charm may in similar circumstances be tattooed underneath the lips instead. Persons of either sex are seen with a little cross tattooed on the forefinger of the right hand. This, however, is considered hateful to God; a person who has such a cross should not be allowed to preach in the mosque, nor is an animal killed by him good for eating, and after his death the cross will be obliterated in Paradise. This view may be due to the fact that the cross is a Christian symbol. Some writers maintain that the use of the cross as a charm among the Berbers of Northern Africa is a survival from the times when Christianity was spread among them.[1] But the cross is much older than Christianity,[2] and among the tattoo-marks seen

[1] See Bazin, in *L'Anthropologie*, i. (Paris, 1890), p. 573 *sq.* On the great prevalence of the cross among the Tuareg see Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara* (Paris, 1864), p. 414.

[2] *Cf.* Montelius, 'Solens hjul och det kristna korset', in *Nordisk tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri*, 1904 (Stockholm), pp. 1-16, 149 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Det latinska korset', *ibid.* 1907, p. 1 *sqq.*

on the Libyans represented on old Egyptian monuments occur cruciform devices.[1] I have heard that the object of the cross as a charm is to attract the first glance; but a deeper idea connected with this charm, as also perhaps a reason why the five is so frequently represented in the form of a cross, seems to be to disperse the evil energy emanating from the eye to all the quarters of the wind in order to prevent it from injuring the person or object looked at.[2] Among many peoples crosses, also in the form of cross-roads, are evidently regarded as dispersers of evil influences of some kind or other.[3] At Fez, if a little child is in the habit of making water in its bed at night, an onion is put between its legs close to the urinary organ and in the morning, before sunrise, thrown at a cross-road (*măfráq ṭ-ṭárqān*).

The number five is used to protect not only men and animals but also lifeless objects against the malignant glance. Figures containing this number are frequently found on guns, pottery, trays, bags, rugs, carpets, and so forth. Such figures often lose their magic character and become genuine ornaments; but that they originally had a practical aim is obvious not only from their similarity to charms, but particularly from the fact that they are still in very many cases regarded more or less in the light of charms, even though they be at the same time spoken of as ornaments. Some reproductions of designs found on various objects will give the reader an idea of the extent to which the protective gesture with the hand, "five in your eye", is at the bottom of the decorative art of Morocco.

The pottery of the Rīf Berbers presents numerous instances of paintings of hands (Figs. 69-70), and in many instances other parts of the body also have been added for the sake of completeness, although Muhammadanism prohibits the representation of human bodies. The idea is in

[1] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), pp. 187, 208 *sq.*

[2] Mr. Y. L. Taneja, a Hindu student of mine, informs me that this idea is attached to the cross used as a charm among his own people in the Punjab.

[3] See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), p. 256 *sq.* n. 2.

PLATE

fact pre-Muhammadan. Human figures with the arms extended are found on Phœnician and Punic monuments (see Figs. 71-73); and a similar design is still used as a tattoo in Tunis.[1] Fig. 70 shows, bęsides a double pair of hands, two pairs of outstretched fingers. In these paintings it is impossible to draw the line between magic and art. They

Fig. 69.

Fig. 70.

are made by the women, who are particularly versed in the secrets of magic.

The brass hands from which the Jews of Southern Morocco suspend their lamps (see Plate, Nos. 2 and 3) are charms and decorations at the same time. Nos. 4 and 10 on the Plate represent two daggers. They are both protected and embellished by five figures in relief on the sheath and the handle. In one case, a dagger from the Rīf (No. 4), these figures consist of three small squares and two round "eyes"; on the other dagger (No. 10) the figures consist

Fig. 71.

Fig. 72.

Fig. 73.

of five very conspicuous elevations. Of this latter type, which is prevalent among the Berbers in the eastern part of the Great Atlas, I have seen numerous copies, and the elevations have invariably been five. The natives themselves told me that their object was to protect the dagger against the evil eye.

Fig. 74 is a hand pattern, which is embroidered on the

[1] Stetson, 'Tattooing in Tunis', in *The American Anthropologist*, vi. (Washington, 1893), p. 282.

edge of a drapery (Plate, No. 1). Its resemblance to one of the charms painted on the outside of houses (Fig. 49) is obvious. Fig. 75 represents an ornament which is embroidered on a saddle- or horse-cloth from Glawi in the Great Atlas (Plate, No. 8). Fig. 76 is from a Berber gun.

Fig. 74.

Fig. 75.

Fig. 76.

In Fig. 77 the same pattern is doubled. That this design, which is very frequent on metal-work, represents two fives with a common centre, is proved by the fact that each alternate petal is dulled while the others are burnished. The eight-petalled rosette, with or without a common well-marked centre, and with the petals embroidered in different colours, is a frequent ornament on bags. Two of the bags reproduced on the Plate, Nos. 5 and 6, show typical instances of this ornament. Fig. 78 represents a design on another bag

Fig. 77.

Fig. 78.

Fig. 79.

Fig. 80.

(Plate, No. 7), which is something intermediate between an eight-petalled rosette and a double-cross with a well-marked centre. Figs. 79-80 are patterns painted on leather pouches. They suggest that round spots and lines in the form of a cross may represent the same idea, the number five.

If now Figs. 75-80 are compared with Figs. 63-68 the similarity between them is striking. The figures with which the Moors decorate their objects are thus largely identical, or almost identical, with those figures representing the number five by which they protect themselves or their animals from the evil eye of their fellow-men. And in most, if not all, of the cases referred to the aim of the design is not

only to embellish, but also to protect, the object on which it is painted, embroidered, or engraved. This is the case both with the simpler figures and with the eight-petalled rosette, which is found as a charm on both sides of entrance gates.

From the double-cross and the eight-petalled rosette, however, new figures have been evolved. By joining the extremities of the two lines which form each of the two crosses a new design has arisen, a double-square (at Fez called *ḫâtˁem slimânîya tˢmânîya*), which is very common on metal- and wood-work, as also on embroidery. Figs. 81-82 are designs from the same embroidery (Plate, No. 1), where they occur side by side with each other. That Fig. 81

Fig. 81.

Fig. 82.

is regarded as a double-cross appears from the fact that the two single crosses are embroidered in different colours; and many circumstances indicate that the two intersecting squares have developed out of a double-cross. When the artisan has to paint these squares on a wooden plate he first draws a double-cross, which he afterwards paints over. In Fig. 82 we also find that one of the crosses has been partially preserved within the squares; and besides, those points in which the two crosses would have intersected the sides of the squares, if they had been preserved, are still clearly marked. That the sides of the squares are only to be regarded as lines joining the extremities of two crosses which consist of radii in a circle, is moreover proved by the circumstance that the same points are sometimes joined, not by straight lines but by curves, which of course give to the figure a different appearance. Figs. 83-84 are designs which are found in the middle of two metal trays. Both of them are derived

from the same figure, a double-cross. In Fig. 83 the lines joining the extremities of each cross are straight, in Fig. 84 they are curved.

It may be asked why the extremities of each cross have been joined at all. Perhaps the desire for variety is a sufficient explanation; but I believe that there may also be a deeper motive. It will be shown that not only the hand and the number five, but also the image of an eye or a pair of eyes are used as charms against the evil eye, and that these preventives are very frequently combined with each other As appears from the "eyes" on the dagger from the Rīf (Plate, No. 4) and from certain amulets against the evil eye, the eye is also represented in the shape of a square[1] It therefore seems to me by no means improbable that the two intersecting squares represent a pair of eyes. It is certainly worth noticing that the intersecting squares themselves, either alone or drawn on a paper together with some magic words or signs, are used as a charm against the evil eye; such a figure is, for example, found on the covers of written amulets and was expressly said to me to serve as a protection from malignant looks. The intersecting squares also occur as the main figure on one of the amuletic brass hands reproduced on the Plate, No. 2, while on other similar hands we find two intersecting triangles, which are still more

FIG. 83.

FIG. 84

[1] In Palestine door-posts are marked either with a square or a circle (Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 217).

likely to represent a pair of eyes. The intersecting squares have given rise to the empty octagon, which is frequently found on wood-work, either painted or cut out. By painting over all the lines which fall within the squares, the artisan produces an empty octagon, and so also by hollowing the two squares. Wooden plates containing a great number of such holes are used as windows.

In the intersecting squares the joined extremities, or the angles of the octagon, are at the same distance from the centre; in other words, the two crosses from which the intersecting squares and the octagon are derived consist of radii in a circle. But it may also be that the extremities of the two crosses are at different distances from the centre. Fig. 85 represents a silver amulet against the evil eye, con-

FIG. 85.

FIG. 86.

FIG. 87.

taining three fives with a common centre, grouped in the form of crosses of varying lengths. If the four side-knobs in each five are joined by straight lines, there arise three squares of different sizes, as is seen in Fig. 86. This figure, which is thus based on the number five, is also used as a charm against the evil eye. That the four corners of each of the three squares, together with the common centre, represent the number five is the more obvious as those of the largest square are specially marked. We are led to the same conclusion by Fig. 87, a design occurring on a Moorish fan which consists of a larger and a smaller square, the one inscribed in the other, exactly as two of the squares in Fig. 86, but with all the eight corners well marked—in other words, it is a double-five and a double-square at the same time.

As appears from the above figures, there is a general tendency to produce the number five doubled both on charms and ornaments—as a double-five, a double-cross, a double-

square, or an eight-petalled rosette. The reason for this may be that the protective gesture with the hand, which is the origin of the magic efficacy ascribed to the number five, is performed both with the right and the left hand. Such a supposition is supported by the fact that the inner five on the amulets of this type is called by the same name as the left hand's fingers in the formula accompanying the gesture with the hand, namely *ḫmîsa* or *ḫómmis*. But as appears

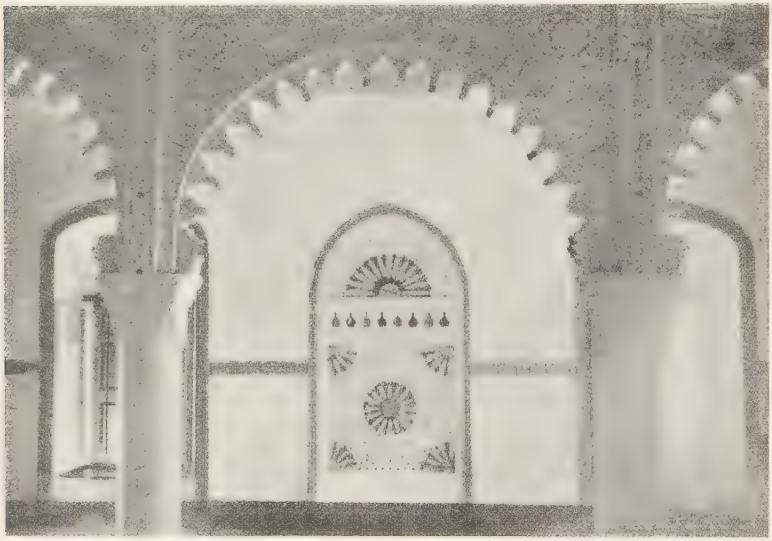


FIG. 88.

from sóme of the amulets reproduced, it may happen that the number five is represented not only doubled but tripled; and the same tendency to multiplication occurs in the decorative art proper. Thus the eight-petalled rosette has developed into a twelve- and a sixteen-petalled rosette (see Figs. 83-84). The design in the centre of Fig. 84, in particular, indicates that two petals have evolved out of each of the original eight. On Fig. 88, which represents the interior of a Moorish house outside Tangier, there is a twelve-petalled rosette in each of the two double-squares on the central arch, while a sixteen-petalled rosette occupies the

centre of the large ornament on the wall. The latter rosette is itself the central figure in a five, the four other parts of which consist of hands. The sixteen-petalled rosette is expressly said to be a charm against the evil eye.

Besides the fingers of the hand there is another frequent means of throwing back the baneful power which emanates from the evil eye, namely, the image of an eye. If baneful energy can be transferred by the eye, it can obviously also be thrown back by the eye. The image of an eye or a pair of eyes, or anything resembling an eye, is therefore very frequently used as a charm. Sometimes even the actual eye of some bird is used for this purpose—at Fez the eye of a hoopoe and at Demnat that of an owl attached to a string which is worn by a child round the neck.

The most faithful image of an eye among all charms I have seen is the gem called *'ain l-horr*, " cat's-eye ", a white convex stone with a dark spot on the top, which is worn in a ring of silver or gold.[1] *Baraka* is ascribed to it; if it is wrapped up in a little piece of cloth and held over fire the cloth is not burned by the flame, and if a man wears such a ring round his finger when he has conjugal intercourse with his wife and turns the stone towards the next finger, no offspring will result from the connection. But there can be no doubt that the use made of this stone as a charm is in the first place due to its close resemblance to an eye. It is a rare and expensive charm; the one I saw at Fez had cost its owner ten dollars.

Figs. 89-90 represent two paintings which I found on the interior wall of a small Moorish coffee-house. They are charms consisting of images of hands and eyes. In Fig. 90 one eye is made in the form of a square and inscribed in the other, a circumstance which seems to give additional strength to my previous conjecture that the intersecting squares, also, are meant to represent a pair of eyes.

Figs. 89-90.

Fig. 91 is a pattern from a drapery (Plate, No. 1). The " hand " is of a type which we have already met with

[1] This gem is also used as a charm against the evil eye in Algeria (Robert, *Voyage à travers l'Algérie* [Paris, *s.d.*], p. 229).

among the charms painted on walls (Fig. 49). Figs. 49-50 are likewise a combination of hand and eye, the round dots representing eyes. They are placed in such a way as to suggest that they are intended rather to illustrate the gesture "five in your eye" than to represent eyes which throw back the baneful power of the evil eye.

Fig. 91.

Fig. 92.

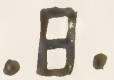


Fig. 93.

Fig. 94.

Fig. 92 represents the middle part of a charm made of glass beads of varying colours. The charm contains altogether five pairs of eyes of which only two pairs are seen in the figure. The girls in the tribe of the Mnáṣăra from whom I received the object drew my attention to the eyes and their magic efficacy, telling me that they protected the person who wore it from the evil eye; and it is probable that the piece of glass in the centre is also intended to imitate an eye. The two small squares in Fig. 93, a design which I saw painted in red on the back of a white horse at Fez, are also presumably a conventionalised pair of eyes. Fig. 94 represents a painting which I found on the outside of a small box in which people keep their gold. The painting is undoubtedly in the first place intended to protect the box and its contents from the malignant glance. Eyes of a similar type are painted on pottery from the Rīf (see Figs. 69-70).

Fig. 95.

A very striking design, which in all probability may be traced to the belief in the evil eye, is embroidered on the cloaks worn by the Berbers of the Great Atlas (Fig. 95).

Almost the whole back of the cloak (*aḥnif*) is covered by a colossal eye, generally orange-coloured, with an elaborate embroidery in the middle, presumably representing the pupil.

Fig. 96.

Fig. 97.

Fig. 98.

Fig. 99.

It is no doubt an excellent idea thus to avert dangers threatening from behind. The Jbâla of Northern Morocco have gaudy "eyes" embroidered on their *ʲjɛ̣lâlɛ̌b*, or cloaks, professedly to safeguard them against the evil eye.

Fig. 100.

Figs. 96-99 represent pairs of eyes of different types. The originals are of bone inlaid on Berber guns from the south of Morocco, and are evidently meant to serve as charms. Of particular interest is the conventionalised head of a man in Fig. 99, which is put there on account of its eyes. These bear some resemblance to an Ionic capital, and so do in a still higher degree some of the pairs of eyes which are found on the upper part of a leather bag from Northern Morocco illustrated by Fig. 100.

Fig. 101.

Fig. 101 is a design painted on a small brass box in which the Moor sometimes keeps his prayer-book. The round piece of glass in the middle is light blue; blue eyes, as already said, are especially apt to transfer, and therefore also

to throw back, *l-bạs*. The design is a combination of eyes and a double-five. Round the eye in the centre there are four pairs of eyes, which, together with the centre, form a five; and there are moreover four single eyes, which together with the centre make a "little five". And all these figures are placed within a big eye. Many of the figures reproduced above present a combination of the five and the eye. In Figs. 63 and 64 the double-five consists of eyes, of which the blue piece of glass in the centre particularly attracts our attention. In Fig. 61 there are two eyes made of glass beads. Figs. 65-67, 76-78, 83-84, 86-87, and the ornament on the wall in Fig. 88 have an eye as their centre. Figs. 76, 78, 79, and 80 represent an eye. The bag which is reproduced on the Plate, No. 7 is protected by many eyes, each of which contains a double-five inside (see Fig. 78). The five shells in Fig. 60 are charms against the evil eye not only on account of their number; for shells are by themselves used as charms, presumably because they have the form of an eye. Just as the number five has come to represent the five fingers of the hand as a charm against the evil eye, so anything round or curved may become a charm on account of its resemblance to an eye.

At Fez so-called *mûzûnạt*^{s} *bén zkri*, that is, quite small and thin plates of a circular shape made of tin in Europe, are, fastened to some black wool, worn by children in their hair as charms against the evil eye. The efficacy ascribed to silver coins and rings as amulets against the evil eye is also, most probably, partly due to their roundness. Chénier states that women have "ear-rings in the form of a crescent, five inches in circumference, and as thick as the end of the little finger"; [1] and the Jews in Morocco make silver charms in the shape of a crescent. At Fez horse-shoes are seen hanging in shops, houses, or gardens, as charms against the evil eye; and there can be little doubt that they are used as such on account of their form, though the iron of which they are made also, no doubt, has something to do with the

[1] de Chénier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (London, 1788), p. 151 *sq.*

magic efficacy attributed to them.[1] The curved jaw-bone of a tortoise or some other small animal, with its teeth remaining, or the claw of a lion or a leopard,[2] is for a similar purpose tied to the *garn* of a boy or worn underneath or over the clothes. The Ait Waráin hang the neb of a raven round the neck of a little child, and tie the foot of the same bird, with its claws, to a churn to keep off the evil glance. The crooked tusk of a wild-boar is a charm against the evil eye; both Arabs and Berbers hang it round the neck of a horse,[3] and the Ait Waráin on a churn. But among certain tribes a small piece of the skin of a wild-boar is used in the same way and for the same purpose,[4] and it is a very widespread custom to keep a live wild-boar in a stable. It is said to protect the horses or other animals in the stable from the evil eye by attracting to itself the first glance, or its smell is said to be good for them by removing from them *l-baṣ* or making them strong as wild-boars.[5]

It may be that the strength and ferocious qualities of the boar and certain other beasts of prey have contributed to the efficacy of their tusks or claws as charms against the evil

[1] For the use of the horse-shoe as a charm against the evil eye *cf.* Daumas, *La vie arabe et la société musulmane* (Paris, 1869), p. 517, Jacquot, *loc. cit.* p. 258, and Bel, *loc. cit.* p. 360 (Algeria); Vassel, *op. cit.* p. 131 (Tunis); Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 116 (Lebanon); Margaret Hardie, *loc. cit.* p. 162 (Macedonia); Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 12 (Italy), 13 (Bombay). Elworthy (*op. cit.* p. 225) thus explains the magical use of the horse-shoe: "First, it is a handy representation of the powerful amulet the crescent; and next, its power is greatly reinforced by its material" (*cf.* Ridgeway, 'The Origin of the Turkish Crescent', in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, xxxviii. [London, 1908], p. 251; Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 10 *sq.*). For horse-shoe superstitions in general see Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe* (London, 1898), *passim.*

[2] The Prophet is reported to have said that tying to the necks of children the nails of tearing animals is of the way of the polytheists (*Mishkāt*, xxi. 1. 1 [English translation, vol. ii. 376]). Lion's claws are used as charms in many parts of Africa, tiger's claws in India (Ridgeway, *loc. cit.* p. 249), wolf's and tiger's claws in Persia (*Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia, and their domestic Superstitions*, translated by James Atkinson [London, 1832], p. 62 *sq.*), and copies of claws made of glass and mounted in metal sockets in Portugal (Hildburgh, in *Folk-Lore*, xix. 217).

[3] *Infra*, ii. 314. [4] *Infra*, ii. 315. [5] *Infra*, ii. 314.

eye. The Aṯ Ubáḫṯi protect their sheep and goats from its baneful influence by hanging round their necks a small bit of a jackal. They also wear a little piece of skin taken from a hyena's head with some words from the Koran written on it as a charm against the evil eye and *jnūn*; while the Shlöḥ of Glawi and Aglu hang on their animals a piece of the same animal's skin to counteract malignant looks.[1] The prophylactic virtue of the hyena, however, may also be connected with its vacant stare; and so the tusk or claw of an animal may on account of its shape have imparted to other parts of the animal's body the power of neutralising the dangerous glance. This is suggested by some other cases of a kindred character. We have seen that the eye of an owl is used as a charm; and I have heard that a gun which has killed an owl will never be hurt by envious looks (Aiṯ Nḏēr). A chameleon, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is kept in a house or worn by a person as a charm against the evil eye (Tangier); and when a horse or mule or donkey is believed to have been injured by the evil eye a dried chameleon which has been caught on the *'āšûra* day is burned underneath the animal's nostrils so that it may inhale the smoke (Ḥiáina). It is probable that the prophylactic or curative power which in these cases is ascribed to the chameleon is due to its conspicuous and strange-looking eyes, which are perfect hemispheres, projecting from the head and moving in different directions.[2] The dried body of a hoopoe is also used as a charm against the evil eye, as well as its eye, and this may be accounted for by the wonderful perspicacity attributed to the eyes of this bird.[3] At Fez land-tortoises are kept on the roofs of houses as charms against the evil eye, and the reason for this may be the eye-like shape of their shells.[4]

[1] *Infra*, ii. 319. For a similar charm elsewhere in Morocco see *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, i. 209.

[2] In Algeria "the head of a chameleon is worn suspended round the neck by the children of the Ouled Ziane against the 'evil eye'" (Hilton-Simpson, *loc. cit.* p. 231). The negroes of the Senegal believe that the look of a chameleon brings misfortune (Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 133).

[3] *Infra*, ii. 339.

[4] The Arabs of Tunis, too, often keep a live tortoise as a safeguard

The eye is often represented in the form of a triangle. Fig. 102 is a design which I found on a gun-bag of leather, and there can be little doubt that it is intended to represent an eye. In this case the triangular form lends itself best to the material. The Jbâla also have big triangular designs on their bags, side by side with small circular "eyes" simply impressed in the leather with a round instrument. But if the eye is thus conventionalised into a triangle, we may suppose that the two intersecting triangles with a small round figure in the centre are a conventionalised pair of eyes with a common pupil. This figure, called *ḫât'em slimânîya sdâsîya* is very prevalent. It occurs, for instance, on Moorish coins (Fig. 103), and, drawn on a paper and provided with inscriptions from the Koran, it is used as a charm against the evil

Fig. 102.

Fig. 103.

Fig. 104.

Fig. 105.

eye. Sometimes a small "eye" is added outside each point of the triangles, as is shown by Fig. 104, representing a charm which is used at Fez. One of the brass hands from Jewish lamps, reproduced on Plate, No. 3, contains not only two intersecting triangles, but in the middle of the hexagon formed by them there is an interesting image of an eye.

Fig. 105 shows another type of the eye: a round spot representing the eye and above it a conventionalised eyebrow. I found this design tattooed on the arm of one of my servants, a lad from the Shāwîa, and he told me that similar tattooings are common in his tribe. An almost identical design and others of the same type, though somewhat different, I saw tattooed above the bridge of the nose on a

against the evil eye (Vassel, *op. cit.* p. 163). For the belief that tortoises or tortoise shells counteract the influence of the evil eye see also Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 130.

girl at Mazagan (Fig. 106) and on Berber women belonging to the tribes of the Aiṯ Yúsi (Figs. 107-112) and the Aiṯ Nḏēr (Fig. 113). The reason why in these cases the eyebrow

Fig. 106.

Fig. 107.

Fig. 108.

Fig. 109.

Fig. 110.

is made in the shape of the two sides of an angle is not difficult to find: it is easier to incise into the skin two straight lines than a curve; yet the latter is also done, as appears from Fig. 114, representing a tattooing made on the

Fig. 111.

Fig. 112.

Fig. 113.

Fig. 114.

same part of the face among women from the Aiṯ Sádděn. There is an obvious resemblance between Figs. 105-110 and Fig. 115, the last of which is a design embroidered on a saddle- or horse-cloth from Glawi, in the Great Atlas (see

Fig. 115.

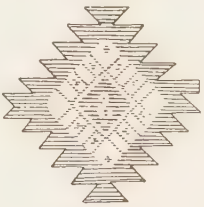


Fig. 116.

Fig. 117.

Plate, No. 8). The eye itself is here triangular, whereas the eyebrow has exactly the same shape as that tattooed on the arm or on the forehead. Fig. 116, found on a carpet, has the same design doubled. In a somewhat simpler form it occurs as an extremely frequent pattern on Berber rugs, arranged in rows (Figs. 117-118). It undergoes a variety of combinations and simplifications. Thus by placing two rows of

" eyes " and " eyebrows " opposite each other a design is produced in which not the triangle but the square is the most conspicuous figure (see Plate, No. 9). A process of multiplication, again, has led to the design shown in Fig. 119. On the other hand, it seems that the single zigzag line (Figs. 120-121) is a row of conventionalised eyebrows. Fig. 120 in particular is exactly similar to the eyebrow line in Fig. 117, the only difference between the designs being that in Fig. 120 the

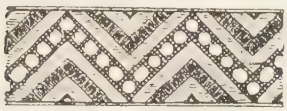


FIG. 118.

FIG. 119.

eye itself has been left out. This pattern occurs on the very same carpets or cloths where the fuller design is found.

The eyebrow design is also found in architecture. If we compare the designs carved out on the arches shown in Fig. 88 with Fig. 115 we notice a similarity between the designs

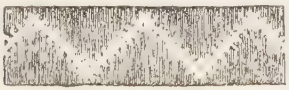


FIG. 120.

FIG. 121.

which is so great that we must regard them as variants of the same type. And the same is the case with the eight figures placed in a row inside the large wall ornament, above the " five " and underneath the upper eye.

The objection will perhaps be raised that I have here tried to explain widespread designs by beliefs, gestures, and charms prevalent in Morocco. A certain design might, quite independently of its origin, have come to be used as a charm against the evil eye if it could be interpreted in accordance with popular beliefs, or simply because it for some reason or other was used as such by another people from whom it was borrowed. This, for instance, may have been the case with the cross. But, on the other hand, the

cross is a figure which may easily have a different origin in different cases, and one idea primarily underlying it may have been that of dispersing evil influences. The pentacle, or five-pointed star,[1] and the four- and eight-petalled rosette with an eye in the centre, are also very widespread and ancient figures. The rosette was a very frequent design in ancient Egypt[2] and Chaldea,[3] and is found in abundance on Cypriote, Melian, Rhodian, Naukratic, and so-called Corinthian vases;[4] and Carthaginian inscriptions contain the four-, eight-, or sixteen-petalled rosette side by side or

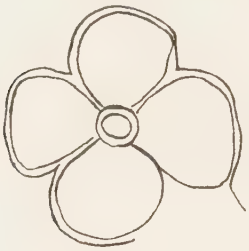


FIG 122.

FIG. 123.

alternating with a hand or an eye (see Figs. 122-124),[5] which certainly looks as if it was used as a charm against the evil

[1] Tuchmann, 'La fascination', in *Mélusine*, ix. (Paris, 1898–99), p. 127 *sq.*; Lawson, *op. cit.* p. 112 *sq.*; Hildburgh, in *Folk-Lore*, xix. 220; Blomstedt, 'Ett ord om symboliska tecken', in *Finskt Museum*, 1894 (Helsingfors), p. 186; Kaustinen, 'Från Vörå', in *Hembygden*, iii. (Helsingfors, 1912), p. 57; Holmberg, *Några grupper av magiska föreställningar och bruk hos den svenska befolkningen i Österbotten* (Helsingfors, 1911; reprinted from *Svenska Litteratursällskapets Förhandlingar och Uppsatser*, vol. xxiv.), p. 33 *sq.* (Swedish Finlanders).

[2] Goodyear, *The Grammar of the Lotus* (London, 1891), p. 101 *sqq.*; v. Sybel, *Kritik des ägyptischen Ornaments* (Marburg, 1883), pp. 12, 13, 17 *sq.*; *Idem*, *Weltgeschichte der Kunst im Altertum* (Marburg, 1903), p. 63; Riegl, *Stilfragen* (Berlin, 1893), p. 53 *sq.*

[3] Riegl, *op. cit.* p. 54; Goodyear, *op. cit.* p. 101.

[4] Goodyear, *op. cit.* p. 149 *sq.* See also Martha, *L'Art étrusque* (Paris, 1889), Fig. 155, p. 199.

[5] The Carthaginian designs are reproduced from Euting's works *Punische Steine* (*Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St-Pétersbourg*, ser. vii. vol. xvii. no. 3; 1871) and *Sammlung der carthagischen Inschriften*, i. (Strassburg, 1883).

eye.[1] The rosette has been supposed to be a lotus-motive ;[2] but even if the shape of the figure has been suggested by a flower, the number of the petals surrounding the eye in the centre is not explained thereby. It may owe its origin to the same idea as that which in Morocco is associated with the rosette as a charm against the evil eye, that is, the belief in the prophylactic virtue of the number five on account of the five fingers. For representations of a hand with its five fingers extended are found on buildings or tombs in ancient Egypt, Babylon, Phœnicia, Carthage, and India,[3] and hand-

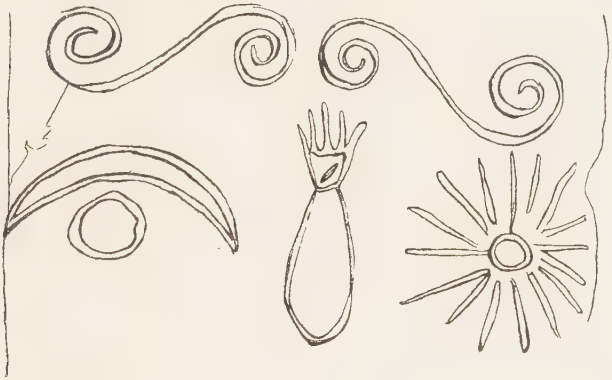


FIG. 124.

shaped amulets were used by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans ;[4] and we have reason to believe that these representations of the hand, in many cases

[1] Mr. B. Franklin Perera, a Sinhalese student of mine, informs me that the Sinhalese have a charm against the evil eye which consists of nine gems arranged in the shape of an eight-petalled rosette with a gem in the centre.

[2] Goodyear, *op. cit.* p. 103 ; Riegl, *op. cit.* p. 52.

[3] MacCulloch, ' Hand ', in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vi. (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 495 ; Elworthy, *op. cit.* p. 243.

[4] Elworthy, *op. cit.* pp. 241-245, 254 ; MacCulloch, *loc. cit.* p. 495 ; Schäfer, ' Die Wirkung der Skarabäen mit einem Krokodil und einer Hand ', in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, xxxix. (Leipzig, 1901), p. 87 *sq.* (Egypt) ; Jahn, *loc. cit.* p. 53 *sqq.* (Greece and Rome) ; Bellucci, *Parallèles ethnographiques. Amulettes. Libye actuelle : Italie ancienne* (Pérouse, 1915), p. 14 *sqq.* (ancient Italy).

at least, were charms against the evil eye. This is suggested by the strong belief in it, and the great fear of it, which since very ancient times have prevailed among the peoples of the Mediterranean basin and farther east, and in particular by the occurrence of an open hand together with representations of the eye on Punic remains. As for the hand amulet in the earlier days of Muhammadanism, it may be sufficient to refer to the large upright hand on the keystone of the outer Moorish arch over the great gate of the Alhambra,[1] and as for the eight-petalled rosette with an eye in the centre to its occurrence on certain buildings or monuments at Cairo.[2] At the present day representations of the hand are in some way or other used as charms against the evil eye all over Northern Africa,[3] and in Syria and Palestine,[4] Persia,[5] India,[6] and Southern Europe.[7] The gesture with

[1] *Cf.* Goldziher, 'Die Zahlen im mohamedanischen Volksglauben', in *Das Ausland*, lvii. (Stuttgart & München, 1884), p. 329.

[2] Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire*, i. Planches (Paris, 1877), xliv., liv. &c.

[3] Daumas, *op. cit.* p. 120; Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle*, i. (Paris et Alger, 1884), p. 159; Jacquot, *loc. cit.* p. 258 *sq.*; Pallary, *loc. cit.* p. 651 *sqq.*; Pommerol, *loc. cit.* p. 530 *sqq.*; Shaw, *Travels or Observations, relating to several Parts of Barbary and The Levant*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1808), p. 436; Graham and Ashbee, *Travels in Tunisia* (London, 1887), p. 26 *sq.*; Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori* (London, [1914]), p. 174 (Tunis); Lyon, *op. cit.* p. 52 (Tripoli); Bellucci, *op. cit.* p. 11 *sqq.*; Crossland, *Desert and Western Gardens of the Red Sea* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 44; Tuchmann, in *Mélusine*, viii. (Paris, 1897), p. 58 *sq.*; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 326 *sq.*

[4] Rouse, 'Notes from Syria', in *Folk-Lore*, vi. (London, 1895), p. 174; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 283 *sq.*; Palmer, *The Desert of Exodus* (Cambridge, 1871), p. 466; Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 217 (Palestine); Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 49 *sq.*; Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 215. In Palestine the same representations of the hand as are shown in Figs. 48 and 50, though without dots, are used as charms against the evil eye and are called "the hand of the Prophet" (Noetling, 'Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte missverstandener Ornamente', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. [Leipzig, 1885], p. 336).

[5] Campbell Thompson, *op. cit.* p. lxii; Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 170.

[6] Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 170 *sq.*; MacCulloch, *loc. cit.* p. 495.

[7] Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 176; MacCulloch, *loc. cit.* p. 495; Hildburgh, 'Notes on Spanish Amulets', in *Folk-Lore*, xvii. 458 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Notes on some Contemporary Portuguese Amulets', *ibid.* xix. 214 *sq.*

the five outstretched fingers is used against the evil eye in Algeria, Tunis, Syria, and Palestine, among the Sennaarese [1] and the Kabābīsh [2] in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and in modern Greece ; [3] and in the four first-mentioned countries it is accompanied with the phrase " Five in your eye ", or " Five on your eye ",[4] or " Five on you ",[5] or " Five in the face of the enemies ".[6] The ancient Romans seem to have used a similar gesture, accompanied with the words, *Ecce tibi dono quinque*.[7] And on other grounds M. Bellucci arrives at the conclusion " que le nombre *cinq* doit avoir eu une signification magique, aussi en Italie, pendant le premier âge du fer ".[8]

Like representations of a hand, so also representations of an eye or a pair of eyes were frequent among the ancient Mediterranean peoples—Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans.[9] In the museum at Carthage, for instance, there are among the objects found in ancient tombs, numerous examples of the head of an animal in blue pottery, having a very large eye at the side of

[1] Beltrame, *Il Sènnaar e lo Sciangàllah*, i. (Verona & Padova, 1879), p. 193.

[2] Seligman, 'The Kabâbîsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe', in *Harvard African Studies*, ii. (Cambridge, 1918), p. 157.

[3] Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople, en Albanie*, i. (Paris, 1805), p. 260 ; *Idem*, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, iv. (Paris, 1820), p. 409 ; Lawson, *op. cit.* p. 14. In Greece, as in Northern Africa (for Tunis see Vassel, *op. cit.* p. 130), it is also considered uncivil to mention the word for five (Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée*, i. 260 ; *Idem*, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, iv. 410). Ibn Batuta states (*Voyages*, trans. by Defrémery, and Sanguinetti, i. [Paris, 1853], p. 146) that in a certain place near Aleppo the inhabitants never mention the word for ten, but say " nine plus one " instead.

[4] Pallary, *loc. cit.* p. 651 (Algeria).

[5] Vassel, *op. cit.* p. 128 (Tunis).

[6] Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 212 (Palestine) ; Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 115 (Lebanon).

[7] Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée*, i. 260.

[8] Bellucci, *op. cit.* p. 16.

[9] Elworthy, 'Evil Eye', in Hastings, *op. cit.* v. (Edinburgh, 1912), p. 612 ; Euting, *op. cit. passim* (Carthage) ; Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Serie I. Text (München, 1904), p. 218 *sq.* (Egypt and Greece) ; Jahn, *loc. cit.* p. 63 *sqq.* (classical antiquity) ; Martha, *op. cit.* Figs. 12, 33, pp. 51, 54 (Etruscans).

the head, and these were all provided with eyelets for suspension ;[1] and, as already said, the Punic inscriptions contain, besides hands and rosettes, representations of eyes (Fig. 125). The ancient Egyptians wore as amulets eyes in pairs, looking fully to the front and pierced with the usual hole for the string ;[2] and among the amulets covering their mummies eyes were the most frequent ones.[3] In Italy, Cyprus, Asia Minor,[4] and Palestine,[5] eye-like amulets of glass are worn against the evil eye ; and "Arab amulets at the present day bear the figure of the thing against which they exert their virtue, and all oriental practices in this line come down from immemorial antiquity ".[6] If, then, objects or figures more or less resembling an eye are used by Mediterranean peoples as charms against the evil eye, we may suppose that they are so used on account of that resemblance, as I have suggested to be the case with similar charms in Morocco.

FIG. 125.

Sir William Ridgeway has tried to show that the crescent, which has long been and still is a widespread amulet against the evil eye in Mediterranean countries and South-Eastern Europe, has evolved from boars' tusks, which have likewise since ancient times been used for the same purpose in those countries ; and he has undoubtedly adduced instances of crescents of metal which look like imitations of tusks.[7] I

[1] Elworthy, *op. cit.* p. 127.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 134, 136.

[3] Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (London, 1907), p. 144. He makes the curious remark, " To the eye, the amulet that occurs most frequently, it is impossible to assign a meaning ; is it the eye of Horus, the model of all good gifts ? "

[4] Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 158 *sq.*

[5] Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 49.

[6] Elworthy, *op. cit.* p. 133. The eye of an animal is also used as a charm in the East, *e.g.*, in Asia Minor and Persia (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 164 ; Ella C. Sykes, *loc. cit.* p. 268).

[7] Ridgeway, *loc. cit.* p. 241 *sqq.* The crescent was used as a charm against the evil eye among the ancient Greeks and Romans (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 138), and is at present used as such in Italy (*ibid.* ii. 140 ;

believe, however, that the crescent may also have an independent origin—quite apart from its traditional connection with the moon, to which I attach no more importance than does Sir William. It may be an eye-design, a representation of the eyelid; and, as I have indicated above, the efficacy attributed to wild-boars' tusks—whether single or two joined together forming a crescent—seems in the main to have a similar origin. That the two crescents of a Punic inscription which are shown in Fig. 126 represent eyelids is proved by the irises connected with them; and there is a similar eyelid,

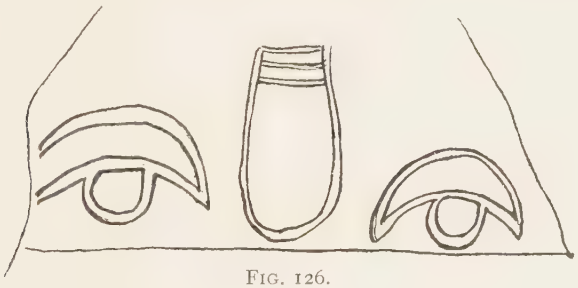


FIG. 126.

with the iris disassociated from it, in Fig. 124.[1] In the same figure there are two other designs which somewhat resemble those in Fig. 100 taken from a Moorish leather bag; they may be two pairs of eyes highly conventionalised. And together with eye- and other designs we also find among the Punic

Bellucci, *op. cit.* p. 39 *sq.*), Turkey (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 140), Syria (Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 115 *sq.*) and Palestine (Lydia Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 206), Tripoli (Bellucci, *op. cit.* p. 35 *sq.*), Tunis (Vassel, *op. cit.* pp. 130, 167), Algeria (Pallary, *loc. cit.* p. 655), etc. (Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 140; Elworthy, *op. cit.* ch. vi.). For the use of boars' tusks as charms against the evil eye see Seligmann, *op. cit.* ii. 132; d'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 178 (Carmel); Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 116 (Lebanon); Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 94 (Syria); von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 64 (Syria and Egypt); Vassel, *op. cit.* p. 130 (Tunis). In Persia it is the custom not only to hang a boar's tusk round the horses' necks but also to keep a boar in the stables to protect the horses from the evil eye (Ella C. Sykes, *loc. cit.* p. 269). In the tumuli which have been opened in various places in England have been found "crescents made of the wolf's teeth and boars' tusks which were perforated and worn as charms" (Elton, *Origin of English History* [London, 1890], p. 145).

[1] A similar disassociation may have led to the crescent and star.

inscriptions representations of the Ionic capital (Fig. 127), which strengthens my suspicion raised by certain Moorish designs that it was originally a charm against the evil eye. It certainly bears a strong resemblance to a pair of eyes with their brows united ; in the centre of either eye there is often a well-marked pupil,[1] which sometimes contains an eight-petalled rosette,[2] and the frequent depression in the centre of the lines connecting the volutes [3] may be due to the shape of the eyebrows. I have seen no previous explanation of the Ionic capital which can satisfy me ; neither a lotus [4] nor a lily nor, as Von Luschan suggests, the foliage of a date-palm [5] has the faintest resemblance to it. And it seems more reasonable to look upon it as a charm against the evil eye from the beginning than to suppose that it was merely adopted afterwards as a charm on account of its resemblance to a pair of eyes.

FIG. 127.

The triangle, again, is used as an amulet in Mediterranean countries, Arabia, and India.[6] D'Arvieux states that Turks and Arabs fold written talismans in a paper made triangular and put them in a leather purse of the same figure, and then hang them about their horses' necks " to hinder the effect of envious eyes " ; [7] and Doughty found in a village in the Ḥejāz a triangular sign on the street doors, " often stained in red ochre or coaled with charcoal ", and with a Koran verset written above.[8] In Tunis people guard their horses and mules from the effect of the evil eye by hanging round their necks a talisman consisting of two small triangular cushions, made of velvet or stuff, embroidered with metal,

[1] Puchstein, *Das ionische Capitell* (Berlin, 1887), *passim*.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 11.
[3] See also Goodyear, *op. cit.* p. 271.
[4] See *ibid.* ' Index,' *s.v.* Ionic capital.
[5] von Luschan, *Entstehung und Herkunft der Jonischen Säule* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 7 *sqq.*
[6] Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 39.
[7] d'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 177.
[8] Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 143.

and connected with cords, finished off with knobs or tassels in gay colours.[1] The double triangle forming a six-pointed star is a very popular charm in Northern Africa ;[2] and in Syria[3] and Palestine[4] Moslems mark their houses with it.

If I am right in my view, the belief in the evil eye has thus exercised a profound influence on the decorative art of the Muhammadan world, and largely through the Arabs and Moors on that of Europe as well, although, so far as I know, this influence has hitherto almost completely escaped the attention of students.[5] In general support of my theory I may say that nothing seems more natural than that people who have a strong belief in the evil eye should to the best of their ability endeavour to protect themselves and their property from the dreaded enemy. One method of doing so was to draw, paint, engrave, tattoo, stitch, weave, or in some other way represent figures which, owing to their resemblance to, or associations with, the hand or its five fingers or the eye, were supposed to possess the magic virtue required for the purpose ; and these representations were naturally influenced by considerations of convenience, the nature of the material, the measure of skill, æsthetic feelings, the taste for change, and other factors, which account for the great variety of the designs. And when certain figures had once been introduced for protective purposes they continued to be used for embellishment and gradually underwent innumerable modifications and complications, which often led to designs so different from the original figures that it would be impossible for us to trace their origin if we did not know the charms from which they were evolved. As instances of this may be mentioned the amazing ornamentation of the Alhambra and the abundance of patterns on old Moorish carpets. At the same time the overwhelming preponderance of geometrical figures in Muhammadan art is also, no doubt, largely due to the interdiction of decorations composed of animal or human figures.

[1] Graham and Ashbee, *op. cit.* p. 27. [2] Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 157 *sq.*
[3] Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 294. [4] Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 21.
[5] It was first pointed out by me in a paper on 'The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxxiv. (London, 1904).

The belief in the evil eye and the practices relating to it among the Moors are connected with their Islamic culture. The Koran recognises the evil eye as a fact :—" Say, ' I seek refuge in the Lord of the daybreak, from the evil of what He has created ; . . . and from the evil of the envious when he envies ' ".[1] According to the traditions the Prophet, being asked whether spells might be used against the baneful influences of an evil eye, answered, " Yes ; for the eye has a complete influence ; because verily, if there was a thing to overcome fate, it most certainly would be a malignant eye ".[2] But the Prophet's belief in the evil eye was a heritage from his Arabic ancestors, who shared this belief with other Semitic peoples. The Jews, who were much addicted to it, regarded Babylon as its native country ;[3] in the Babylonian Talmud it is said that ninety-nine persons die of the evil eye for one who dies naturally.[4] And in Assyrian incantations the evil eye is frequently mentioned among the possible causes which have rendered the patient sick.[5] It is highly probable that Jewish, Phœnician, and Carthaginian beliefs and practices relating to the evil eye have exercised a considerable influence upon the Muhammadans of the Mediterranean. But non-Semitic influences have also undoubtedly made themselves felt.

From the footnotes attached to the present chapter it appears that the superstitions of the evil eye in Morocco and North Africa generally present very great similarities to those prevalent, not only in the Muhammadan countries of the East, but in ancient and modern Europe. The belief in the evil eye is known to have existed among Aryan peoples since very early times. It is often spoken of in the Vedas,[6] the Zendavesta,[7] the literature of the ancient Greeks, Romans,[8]

[1] *Koran*, cxiii. 1, 2, 5.
[2] *Mishkāt*, xxi. 1. 2 (English translation, vol. ii. 377).
[3] Blau, *op. cit.* p. 153 *sqq.*
[4] Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 295.
[5] Campbell Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 88.
[6] Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 482, 502 *sq.* ; Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 38.
[7] *Vendîdâd* (Oxford, 1895), xix. 6. 45 (141) ; xx. 3 (12).
[8] Jahn, *loc. cit. passim.*

and Scandinavians.[1] It occurs among the Slavs,[2] and in the British Isles it has been, and still is, particularly prominent among Celtic people.[3] Its existence among the Etruscans is suggested by amulets found in their tombs, and in the Egyptian hieroglyphs there are direct references to it.[4] In any case we may safely assume that the present belief in the evil eye in North Africa has descended not only from Asia but also from Berber antiquity,[5] although we cannot know whether or how far it contains elements of genuine Berber origin. Isigonus and Nymphodorus, cited by Pliny, state that there were in Africa "certain families of enchanters (*familias quasdam effascinantium*) who by means of praise (*laudatione*) could cause cattle to perish, trees to wither, and infants to die".[6] On the authority of the same writers Aulus Gellius speaks of families of men in Africa "who had the power of fascination in their speech; who, if by chance they extravagantly praised beautiful trees, plentiful crops, lovely infants, excellent horses, cattle which were fat and well fed, all of these suddenly died from this and no other cause".[7] In these statements it is the question of "the evil mouth" rather than "the evil eye", but the two superstitions go hand in hand.

Generally speaking, the Semitic, Aryan, and Mediterranean beliefs and practices relating to the evil eye are so similar, both in details and in point of strength and importance, that they look like a single complex in which it is impossible to distinguish the influence of one race or another. We have no right to assume that they have descended from one centre only. The belief in the evil eye has been found to be more or less prevalent among a large number of

[1] Feilberg, *loc. cit. passim.*

[2] Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* (Stuttgart, 1878), p. 41 *sqq.*

[3] Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 25 *sqq.*; Maclagan, *op. cit. passim.*

[4] Gardiner, 'A *Shawabti*-figure with interesting names. The evil eye in Egypt', in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xxxviii. (London, 1916), p. 129 *sq.*

[5] *Cf.* Bates, *op. cit.* p. 180 *sq.*

[6] Pliny, vii. 16.

[7] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, ix. 4.

Africans—Hamites, Negroes, and Bantus,[1] as also the Bushmen ;[2] among the Chinese and Tibetans and other Asiatic peoples who are neither Semitic nor Aryan ;[3] in the Malay Archipelago[4] and Polynesia ;[5] among some Australian aborigines ;[6] and among various aboriginal tribes and peoples in North, Central, and South America.[7] A superstition which is so widely spread cannot without strong evidence be regarded as the outcome of one particular people, especially as it can be traced to a psychological cause of so general a character as that underlying the belief in the evil eye.

[1] Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 18 ; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar* (Alger, 1908), p. 63 ; Beltrame, *op. cit.* p. 193 *sqq.* (Sennaarese) ; Seligman, *Report on Totemism and Religion of the Dinka of the White Nile* (Khartoum, *s.d.*), p. 35 ; Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), p. 90 ; *Idem, The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), p. 315 ; Andree, *op. cit.* p. 38 (Negroes) ; Felkin, 'Notes on the Waganda Tribe of Central Africa', in *Proc. Roy. Soc. Edinburgh,* xiii. (1886), p. 760 ; Hobley, 'Further Researches into Kikuyu and Kamba Religious Beliefs and Customs', in *Jour. Roy. Anthrop. Institute,* xli. (1911), p. 433 *sq.* ; *Idem, Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), p. 177 *sqq.* (Kikuyu) ; Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country* (London, 1883), p. 317 ; Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), p. 276 ; Minnie Cartwright, 'Folklore of the Basuto', in *Folk-Lore,* xv. (London, 1904), p. 246.

[2] Bleek, *Brief Account of Bushman Folklore* (London, 1875), pp. 10, 14.

[3] Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 42 *sq.* ; Andree, *op. cit.* p. 39 *sq.*

[4] Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 43 *sq.*

[5] Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders,* i. (London, 1840), p. 269 ; Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand* (London, 1878) ; Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 23.

[6] Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (Melbourne & Sydney, 1880), p. 248 *sq.* ; Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 46 *sq.*

[7] Seligmann, *op. cit.* i. 44 *sq.* ; Andree, *op. cit.* p. 35.

CHAPTER IX

CURSES AND OATHS

Closely related to the evil eye and to the evil mouth, of the kind spoken of in the preceding chapter, is the curse. It differs from them by being always an intended cause of injury, as also by the way in which the evil wish is expressed. Its form is generally verbal, although there are acted curses as well; but the words are nasty and straightforward, not laudatory or allegorical. The realisation of the evil wish is brought about either directly through the mysterious power of the curse itself, or by the aid of a supernatural being invoked in it. In the former case the curse is purely magical, in the latter case it is a kind of prayer. But no sharp distinction can be drawn between these two forms of curses. The name of a supernatural being may be brought in simply to give the curse that mystic efficacy which the plain word lacks.

A curse may be categorical or conditional. I shall first speak of the categorical curse, which is the curse in the ordinary sense of the word. In the Arabic of Morocco it is called by different names. *Ḥṭā* and *t'ĕzbîla* are general terms for a curse. *Dá'wa*, which literally means "call" or "invocation", is used both for a blessing and a curse, and the case is similar with the verb *d'a* (written *da'ā*); but if anybody has cursed another it is said of him that he *d'a fih*, whereas if he blessed him it is said that he *d'a m'ah*. A *dá'wa* has generally the form of an appeal to God, although this is not always the case. A *ná'la* (instead of *la'na*, which is used by scribes in writing but not in ordinary speech) is a

curse which begins with the words *Ălláh yẹn'ál*, "God damn". The term *saḥṭ*, which literally means "anger", is particularly used for a parental curse; of parents who have cursed their son it is said that they *sáḥṭū 'ălih*, and the son is thereby *mĕsḥôṭ* (*msḥōṭ*) *l-wālîdīn* (*l-wăldīn*) or simply *mĕsḥôṭ* (*msḥōṭ*). *Ġḍab* (written *ġaḍab*) also means "anger" or "wrath" and is used for a curse from God, such as a famine or drought; and of a person who is cursed by God it is said *Ălláh ġḍab 'ălih*. In the Berber of the Aiṯ Sádděn a curse is called *ṯarggiṯ*.

The object of a curse is not necessarily a human being. Few curses are so often heard as *Ălláh yẹn'ál š-šíṭan*, "God damn Satan", and there are yet other curses of which the devil is the victim.[1] In Andjra, if there is a thoroughfare in a field, the farmer, in sowing the roadside with corn, pronounces a curse to the effect that any animal which is going to eat of the crops shall die. Lifeless objects and places may likewise be cursed.

The curse has often the actual form of a wish, and in such cases the wish is mostly expressed in an appeal to God. He may be simply invoked to curse the other person or some of his relatives. The following curses, most of which are from Fez, may be quoted as instances of this.

Lá'nat^{s} *ălláh 'ălik*, "The curse of God be upon you" (said to a liar).

Ălláh ínzzel 'ălik s-sáḥaṭ, or *l-ġâḍab*, "May God send down on you a curse".

Ălláh yẹná'lek, "God damn you".

Ălláh yẹn'ál bŭk, "God damn your father".

Ălláh yẹn'ál yímmaḳ, "God damn your mother".

Ălláh yẹn'ál wăldik, "God damn your parents".

Ălláh yẹn'ál di rŏbbăk, "God damn the one who educated you".

Ălláh yẹn'ál jḍddăk, "God damn your grandfather".

Ălláh yẹn'ál jḍddăk u jẹdd jḍddăk u jẹdd mel lä yẹn'ál jḍddăk, "God damn your grandfather and the grandfather of your grandfather and the grandfather of him who will not curse your grandfather".

[1] *Supra*, p. 411.

Ălláh yẹn'ál jẹ́drăk, áṣlak, or *'árqak,* " God damn your origin ".

Ălláh yẹn'ál a'rôq a'rôqăk, " God damn the roots of your roots " (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz).

Ălláh yẹn'ál slåfăk, " God damn your ancestry ".

Ălláh yẹn'ál génsĕk, " God damn your people ".

Ălláh yẹn'álha qbîla, " God damn [your] kin ".

As appears from these instances, it is common for a person to call down the curse of God upon the parents, ancestors, or kin of the one with whom he is angry. This, however, does not mean that that person himself is exempt from the curse ; on the contrary, it only extends it to other persons besides him, since a curse upon ancestors is understood to involve their descendants as well.[1] Moreover, as we shall soon see, to such a curse is often added another which has direct reference to the person to whom it is said.

There are further curses in which God is invoked to inflict on the victim some particular evil, specified in the curse. For example :—

Ălláh yá'ṭek blā, " May God visit you with calamity ".[2]

Ălláh yá'ṭek z-zạlṭ, " May God make you destitute " (said to a niggard who refuses a request for money).[2, 3]

Ălláh yá'ṭek jẹnn imá'kek, " May God make a *jẹnn* shake you ".[2]

Ălláh yá'ṭek l(ă)-hbâl, " May God make you foolish ".[2]

Ălláh yá'ṭek l-ḥmaq, " May God make you mad ".[2]

Ălláh yá'ṭek lạ́-'ma, " May God make you blind ".[2]

Ălláh yá'ṭek l-'ăwâra, " May God make you blind " (said to a person who looks too closely at a thing which does not belong to him).[3]

Ălláh yá'ṭek l-'áinīn, " May God give you a disease of the eyes " (said to a person who is too curiously looking round).[3]

Ălláh yá'ṭek ṭá'ūn, " May God give you the plague ".[2]

[1] For instances from other countries see Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* i. (London, 1912), p. 60 *sq.*

[2] From Fez. [3] From Tangier.

Ălláh yá'ṭek bůglib (*bůgleib*), or *l-kůllêra*, "May God give you cholera".[1, 2]

Ălláh yá'ṭek j-jḗdri, "May God give you small-pox".[1]

Ălláh yá'ṭek l-ḥákka, "May God give you the itch".[1]

Ălláh yá'ṭek ûja', "May God give you stomach-ache".[1]

Ălláh yá'ṭek d-dras, "May God give you toothache" (said to a person who is talking too much).[2]

Ălláh yá'ṭek lĕ-hrés, "May God make you break [some part of your body]".[1]

Ălláh yá'ṭek ġárqa fḗ l-bḥar, "May God cause you to be drowned in the sea" (said to a member of the family who wants to make a sea voyage against the wishes of the others).[2]

Ălláh ijá'lĕk ṭ-ṭēḥ fḗ l-wād, "May God make you fall into the river" (said to a member of the family who wants to make a journey by land against the wishes of the others).[2]

Ălláh iréfdĕk mẹn hād l-blād, "May God remove you from this country" (said to one of the family who is the cause of trouble or annoyance).[1, 2]

Ălláh iqát'lĕk be l-bârûd, "May God kill you by being shot" (on the road; said to a debtor who wants to go away without paying his debt).[2]

Ălláh iṭáiyar móḥḥåk, "May God let your brain fly", that is, "May God let you fall down from a height".[1]

Ălláh ínzzel 'ålik l-hämm, "May God send down on you trouble".[1]

Ălláh ikúbb 'ålik nār, "May God pour on you fire".[1]

Ălláh ma irâbbḥåk, "May God let you make no gains".[2]

Ălláh íšṭ'et' šémlek, "May God disperse your family".[1]

Ălláh yéḥlik, "May God make you destitute of everything".[1]

Sometimes, however, the curse has an optative form without containing an appeal to God. For example:—

Sīr a flạ̄n bġäit lik lạ̄-'ma, "Go away, O So-and-so, I wish you blindness" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz).

[1] From Fez. [2] From Tangier.

Sīr lă ḥlā dār būk, "Go away to the emptiness of your father's house" (Fez).

A curse may also consist in giving the other person a bad name, which is looked upon not as a mere insult, but as bad *fäl*; in other words, it is meant to cause him misfortune, and in some cases even to make him that which the name indicates. The following invectives are curses which I heard at Fez:—

Ā la-'dîm, "O pauper".
Ā lĕ-mkéffes, "O dirty fellow".
Ā l-ihûdi, "O Jew".
Ā l-bġal, "O mule".
Ā j-jmel, "O camel".
Ā l-ḥallûf, "O pig"
Ā l-'áfrīt^{s}, "O *'áfrīt^{s}*".[1]
Ā l-qáuwạd, "O pimp".
Ā l-qárran, or *râjĕl l-qáḥba*, "O husband of a whore".
Ā z-zą́mel, or *m-mefsûd*, "O boy prostitute".
Ā l-ḥássạs, "O pederast" (passive and grown-up).
Ā kérräi s-sqaf, "O letter of rooms for fornication".
Ā wẹld l-qáḥba, "O son of a whore".
Ā wẹld d-dellâla, "O son of a pedlaress".
Ā wẹld ṭ-ṭabbâla, "O son of a female musician".
Ā wẹld 'ášra u l-kelb ḥdaš, "O son of ten [men] and a dog as the eleventh".
Ā ben d-dráwi l-aḥor[2], "O son of another man from the Drā".
Ā ben l-ḥarṭâni l-aḥor, "O son of another mulatto".
Ā ben š-šéffar l-aḥor, "O son of another thief".
Ā ben l-ḥmār l-aḥor, "O son of another donkey".
Ā bel l-kelb l-aḥor, "O son of another dog".
Ā llĭ ma 'ăráf ši bâbäh škūn hûwa, "O the one who does not know who is his father".
Ā l-maṣiûb bīn z-znâqi, "O foundling from the streets".
Ā t^{s}râbi j-jō', "O the one who has grown up in hunger".
Ă t^{s}râbi lă-ġla, "O the one who has grown up in dearth"

[1] See *supra*, p. 263. [2] Pronounced *laḥor* or *laḥôr*.

Ā lli yímmaḥ waḥda u bâbäh arbá'ṭaš, " O the one who has one mother and fourteen fathers " (Tangier).

In many cases a curse of the last-mentioned type is added to one which has the form of an invocation. The following instances of this are from Tangier, with the exception of the three first ones, which I heard at Fez.

Ălláh yená'lek ā weld l-qauwâda, " God damn you, O son of a pandress ".

Ălláh yen'ál 'árqak ā weld l-ḥram, or *weld z-znā*, " God damn your origin, O bastard ".

Ălláh yen'ál būk ā l-méjdam, " God damn your father, O leper ".

Ălláh yen'ál būk ā z-zébbäl, " God damn your father, O street-cleaner ".

Ălláh yen'ál būk ā râ'i l-bqar, " God damn your father, O cow-herd ".

Ălláh yen'ál būk ā qêmet^s l-mélḥa, " God damn your father, O you who are [only] worth salt " (said to a negro).

Ălláh yen'ál būk ā lli yímmaḥ qáḥba, " God damn your father, O you whose mother is a whore ".

Ălláh yen'ál būk ā weld l-ḥâdem, " God damn your father, O son of a negress ".

Ălláh yen'ál būk ā bne l-mâṣnan, " God damn your father, O son of one who stinks " (said to a negro).

Ălláh yen'ál bâbak ā bĕl l-ihūdi l-aḥor, " God damn your father, O son of another Jew ".

Ălláh yen'ál bâbak ā bne l-kelb l-aḥor, " God damn your father, O son of another dog ".

Ălláh yen'ál bâbak ā bĕn l-kâfer l-aḥor, " God damn your father, O son of another infidel ".

Ălláh yen'ál bâbak ā weld ^ĕd-d^járwa, " God damn your father, O son of a bitch ".

Ălláh yen'ál bâbak ā weld l-ḥămára, " God damn your father, O son of a she-ass ".

Ălláh yen'ál bâbak ā weld ^ĕd-d^jĕdâda ^d-d^jéifa, " God damn your father, O son of the carcass of a hen ".

Ălláh yẹn'ál bâbạk ā wẹld l-qáhba, or *l-pûta*, " God damn your father, O son of a whore ".

Ălláh yẹn'ál bâbạk ā wẹld l-'ammâla, " God damn your father, O son of a tribade ".

Ălláh yẹn'ál bâbạk ā wẹld l-bū̆wậla, " God damn your father, O son of a woman who makes water in her bed ".

Ălláh yẹn'ál bâbạk ā wẹld l-bĕššâša, " God damn your father, O son of a woman who makes water in the street in the presence of others ".

Ălláh yẹn'ál bâbạk u bạ̄ bâbạk ā bne l-ḥárrai l-aḥor, " God damn your father and your father's father, O son of another dunger ".

A curse generally calls forth another curse in reply, and then the two parties may go on cursing each other to the best of their abilities. A person who does not return a curse is called a Jew, unless it be the curse of a parent, teacher, or governor, not to speak of that of the Sultan ; such curses should not be returned. The answer is generally founded on an association of ideas by similarity, and is often of a more serious character than the curse which provoked it. As Sir Thomas Browne observed, a revengeful mind " holds no rule in retaliations, requiring too often a head for a tooth ".[1] If a person says to another, *Ălláh yẹn'ál jẹ́drăk*, the latter is heard to reply, *Ălláh yẹn'ál áṣlăk*, or *'árqăk*. If A. says, *Ălláh yẹn'ál jẹ́ddăk*, B. returns the curse by answering, *Tặrmêha 'åla jẹ́ddăk ăḥtta yẹ́rgud fệha jẹdd jẹ́ddăk*, " Throw it over your grandfather so that your grandfather's grandfather will go to sleep on it " (Ulåd Bû'ăzîz). A. says, *Ălláh yẹn'ál bū̆k ā l-'ŏryạ̄n*, " God damn your father, O naked one " ; B. answers, *Ălláh yẹn'ál bū̆k ā l-máqmäl*, " God damn your father, O lousy fellow ". A. says, *Ā l-máḥkäk*, " O itchy fellow " ; B. answers, *Ā l-méjdạ̄m*, " O leper ". A. says, *Ā l-qáuwạd*, " O pimp " ; B. answers, *Ā l-qárran*, " O husband of a whore ". A. says, *Ā tˢrâbi s-sōq*, " O the one who has grown up in the market-place " (that is, who feels shame before nobody) ; B. answers, *Ā*

[1] Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals* (Cambridge, 1716), p. 94.

z-zą́mel, "O boy prostitute" (the former curse, however, may also be said in answer to the latter, which in Morocco is not considered so terrible as it would be in Europe). Or A. says, *Ā z-zą́mel*, and B. answers, *Ā tˢrâbi l-gúrna*, "O the one who has grown up in the cow-pen". A. says, *Ā bîą' l-fḥam*, "O seller of charcoal"; B. answers, *Ā bîą' l-lben*, "O seller of sour milk". A says, *Ălláh yá'ṭek l-ḥómma*, "May God give you fever"; B. answers, *Ălláh yá'ṭek s-sḫâna bla 'raq*, "May God give you fever without perspiration". A person says to a beggar, *Ălláh yęddik nĕ š-šarq*, "May God take you to the East"; and the beggar answers *Ălláh yęddik ne l-ḥâra de l-męjdâmīn*, "May God take you to the quarter (or Ḥâra) of the lepers" (a village outside Marráksh).[1] If a woman wishes her female neighbour something bad, the latter replies, *Di ḥábbetˢ j-jâra l jártˢha iṣbáḥ lha 'ăla dŭwártˢha*, "May that which a woman neighbour wishes her woman neighbour fall on her [own] belly in the morning" (Fez).

The spoken curse is often accompanied with a gesture, and a curse may also consist in a gesture alone. Acted curses are in fact looked upon as even more dangerous than merely spoken ones. A man quarrelling with another may curse him by pulling his own beard, saying, *Hā hîya fīk* (Fez). It is a bad curse to stretch out the middle finger of either hand towards the other person, or to stretch out the five fingers towards him—a gesture which is not merely used as a protection against the evil eye. In the former case it is said that the curser *a'ṭah* (*bĕ*) *ṣ-ṣba'*, in the latter case that he *a'ṭah* (*bĕ*) *l-ḫámsa*. A very serious curse is to knock one's clenched fist against the palm of the other hand, then push it forwards, and, with the other hand supporting the forearm, move it up and down in the direction of the other person—a most indecent gesture. At Fez the term for this is that the curser *a'ṭah bĕ l-kâzi*, at Tangier that he *a'ṭáh l-fâṣṣ*—an expression which at Fez is used for a curse consisting of an improper sound produced with the lips. An even more dangerous curse is to lift up one's clothes in front

[1] All these curses and answers, with one exception specially indicated, are from Tangier.

of the other person; the curser then *'árra 'ălih ḥwáijŭ, găffaṭ ḥwáijŭ 'ălih*, or *sfäh 'ălih*.

Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, when forty days have passed after a wedding and the newly-married couple take two mules loaded with meat and bread to the wife's parents, they must give a loaf of the bread to every group of people and half a loaf to every single person whom they meet on the road. Should they refrain from doing so, the people they met would make a cairn, thrust a cane with a flag into it, and dung over the stones; this is looked upon as a powerful curse, which will probably make the couple childless.[1]

Curses are in many cases embodied in stones. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi it sometimes occurs that, at the departure of a bride from her old home, some person who is angry with her throws after her seven stones in succession, saying, "May God prevent you from coming back"; or when the body of a dead person is carried out of the house some enemy throws seven stones after it as a curse. In the north of Morocco, if a muleteer buys a new mule, the other muleteers of the place ask him to give them an entertainment, and if he refuses they make a cairn asking God to send misfortune on the mule which he has bought. In Dukkâla and in various parts of the South (Demnat, Glawi, Aglu) it is a common custom among scribes to make a cursing cairn for a wealthy man whom they have in vain asked for a present. They pile up stones either outside his door or somewhere else, read over it some passages of the Koran or even the whole of it, and, with the palms of their hands turned downwards—the so-called *fâṭḥa măqlûba*, or "reversed *fâṭḥa*"—pronounce a curse upon the niggard, invoking God to deprive him of his wealth or calling down on him some other misfortune. In Aglu, in Sūs, each of the scribes takes a stone from the cairn which they have made and throws it away, saying, in Shelḥa, *Ġîkad lli ńšttit takărkŏrtad afillasíšttit răbbi ġaílli tísfărḥăn*, "As we dispersed this heap of stones, so may God disperse for him that which makes him happy". That this curse may produce terrible effects is shown by what happened once when a man

[1] *Cf. infra*, ii. 289.

who was the owner of three hundred sheep was asked by a band of scribes to give them his largest ram and he only gave them a small one: they made a cursing cairn and dispersed the stones, and within eight days every one of the sheep was dead. The unfortunate man then made eight times *'ār* on the scribes by sacrifices, and at last they bought for him a ewe and a she-goat and blessed his sheep-fold (*asâräg wúlli*) by reading and making *fâṭḥa* in it, with the excellent result that he gradually got even more animals than he ever had before. The Aglu man who told me this story rapped at the table when he related it, saying that it was a bad story. In Dukkâla the scribes say that the cairn is "the grave of So-and-so", and recite the Koran at it in imitation of the funeral rite; or, without making any cairn, they say that So-and-so is now dead and then recite, as at a funeral, the *ṣalāt* (vulgarly *ṣlāt*) *l-mîyit* on behalf of the poor *msḫōṭ ṭ-ṭúlba*, "the one cursed by the scribes". At Demnat the scribes sometimes dig a grave, recite the Koran at it, and make the "reversed *fâṭḥa*", saying, "Now we have dug the grave of So-and-so, may God not let him be late". Among the Iglíwa they perform the funeral ceremony over seven little stones which they have wrapped up in a rag, and then bury the parcel in the grave they have dug, saying that now So-and-so is dead. In Andjra the scribes plunge a knife into the ground, cover it with white clothing representing the shroud of a corpse, and sitting round it recite the Bůrdah, just as at an ordinary burial. Sometimes the *fâṭḥa mǎqlûba* is used as a curse by angry schoolboys.[1]

The effect of a curse is influenced, not only by the nature of the wish and the manner in which it is expressed, but also by the personality of the curser. No curses are considered more terrible than those which parents hurl at their children. There are three classes of persons who are said to be infallibly doomed to hell, namely, those who have burned corn, every grain cursing him who burns it, those who have been cursed by their parents, and those who have been guilty of unlawful homicide—*l-ḥårĕg z-zra'*, *msḫōṭ l-wạ̈ldīn*, *l-qâtĕl mĕn ġēr š-šra'* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). The curses

[1] *Infra*, i. 601, ii. 375.

of parents are more powerful than those of saints. It is said :—*Di hărrsuh ṣ-ṣāléḥīn tʿäijúbbrûh l-wälîdīn u di hărrsuh l-wälîdīn ma ijúbbrûh ṣ-ṣāléḥīn*, " He who has been broken by the saints is repaired by his parents, and he who has been broken by his parents will not be repaired by the saints " (Fez) ; or, *Li hărrsuh ṣ-ṣálḥīn ijábbrûh l-wạ́ldīn li hărrsuh l-wạ́ldīn ma ijábbrû ḥad*, " He who has been broken by the saints will be repaired by his parents, he who has been broken by his parents will not be repaired by anybody " (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). At Fez there was a man who had become blind through the curse of a living saint with whom he had a quarrel ; but afterwards his parents gave him back his eyesight by means of their blessings and prayers. A person who has been cursed by his parents will have all sorts of troubles : he will be disliked by everybody, he will have many quarrels, he will become a glutton, he will suffer from poverty, or he will fall dangerously ill. Yet the parents may themselves make their curse ineffective by a subsequent blessing,[1] saying, for example, *Yā rắbbi la tqbel mḗnna 'ắla ulidâtna síwa dá'wĕt l-ḥạir*, " O God, don't hear us, may it be on our children only a blessing " (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). It should be added that a mother's curse is held to be still more frightful than a father's ; and that the curses of parents, as well as their blessings, become even more effective after their death than they were during their life.

In another work I have discussed the question why, among so many peoples, the curses and blessings of parents are supposed to possess extraordinary power.[2] One reason is no doubt the mystery of old age and the nearness of death ; among the ancient Arabs great efficacy was attributed to the curse of a dying person,[3] and among the Hebrews the father's mystic privilege of determining the weal or woe of his children was particularly obvious when his days were manifestly numbered.[4] But at the same time parental

[1] *Cf. Judges*, xvii. 2.

[2] *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. (London, 1912), p. 626 *sq.*

[3] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 139, 191.

[4] Cheyne, ' Blessings and Curses ', in Cheyne and Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. (London, 1899), p. 592.

imprecations and benedictions possess a potency of their own owing to the parents' superior position in the family and the respect in which they are naturally held. The influence which such superiority has upon the efficacy of curses is well brought out by various facts,[1] and among others by the belief commonly held in Morocco, that the curse of a husband is as potent as that of a father :—" *Lli sḥaṭ 'ălêha rajĕlha bḥal lli sḥaṭ 'ălêha bäbâha* " (Fez).

The curses of saints and shereefs are, of course, more dangerous than those of ordinary persons.[2] I was told that the curse of a shereef cannot be removed even by himself, just as spittle which has left the mouth cannot come back ; yet, as already said, the curse of a saint can be removed by a parent. To be cursed by a shereefa is even a greater calamity than to be cursed by a shereef. This is in agreement with the general belief that the curses of women are worse than those of men. It is said, *Ila ḥálfů fik r-rjāl bāt^{s} nâ'as u íla ḥálfů fik n-nsa bāt^{s} gâlĕs* (or *fâyaq*), " If men have cursed you spend your night sleeping, and if women have cursed you spend the night sitting " (or " awake " [Tangier]) (Fez). The belief in the great efficacy of women's curses, and in the magic power of women generally, has given them privileges and influence. The authorities prefer having nothing to do with women, and in times of fighting and uproar they are left in peace ; a woman is *ḥórma*—she must not be touched. The Shlöḥ say, *Tamġart zud agurram*, " A woman is like a saint ". She may serve as an asylum : a person who takes refuge with a woman, placing himself in her *'ār*, is for the moment safe from his pursuer and must afterwards be protected by her husband or family. I have found this custom among the various groups of Berber-speaking people, among the Jbâla of Northern Morocco, and in some of the Arabic-speaking tribes of the plains, for instance, among the Beni Ăḥsen and in the Ḥiáina ; whereas in others of these tribes it is dying out.[3]

[1] See Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 626 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, p. 153 *sqq.*

[3] Among certain Asiatic Bedouins, those of the Shammar, " a woman can protect any number of persons, or even of tents " (Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* [London, 1853], p. 318).

The dangerous character of a woman's curses—like other baneful influences attributed to her—is no doubt connected with the notion of her uncleanness.[1] There is a saying, *Dá'wĕt^{s} (dá'wĕt) mengûs (mĕndûs) mḍa mĕn mūs*, "The curse of an unclean person is sharper than a knife" (Fez, Ulâd Bû'ăzîz; I have heard a similar saying at Tangier). In Dukkâla this was said to mean that the curses of persons like drunkards, professional singers, and prostitutes are very dangerous. But at Fez I was told that it has reference to Jews only, whose curses are, generally speaking, more fearful than those of Muhammadans; and of prostitutes it was even said that their curses are of little consequence:—*D'áwi l-qḥāb ma iġárrqû s-sfūn*, "The curses of prostitutes do not sink ships".

The efficacy of a curse is influenced by the guilt or innocence of the person who is subject to it. He is not hurt by an undeserved curse,[2] which, on the contrary, generally falls back on him who uttered it.[3] *D-dá'wa blā̤ s-sbāb ma t^{s}qṭa' ši l-bāb*, "A curse without causes will not pass through the door" (that is, it will remain with the curser) (Tangier); or, *Dá'wa blā d-dnūb fi ras mulâha ddūb*, "A curse without sins will melt on the head of its master" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz; at Tangier I have heard *kaddûb*, "melts"). And if an undeserved curse is pronounced on the father, grandfather, etc., of the cursed person, it will affect the corresponding relative or relatives of the curser—*Men sébba âbä n-nās fáqad sébba âbäh* (Fez). Yet there are certain exceptions to these rules. The curses which parents pronounce on their children and shereefs on persons who are not shereefs can never, however undeserved they be, fall back on themselves; on

[1] *Infra*, ii. 5 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf. Proverbs*, xxvi. 2:—"The curse causeless shall not come".

[3] So also among the old Arabs (Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. [Leiden, 1896], p. 38 *sq.*) and Hebrews (*Ecclesiasticus*, xxi. 27) there was a belief that a curse, especially if it was undeserved, might fall back on the head of the person who uttered it. The same belief prevailed, or still prevails, in ancient India (*Atharva-Veda* [Oxford, 1897], ii. 7. 5) and among the Irish (Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, ii. [London, 1902], p. 57 *sq.*). According to an English proverb, "curses, like chickens, come home to roost". *Cf.* Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iv. (London, 1888), p. 1690.

the other hand, they become blessings for anybody comprised in the curse. But the case is different if a shereef unjustly curses another shereef: such a curse will fall upon his own head (Fez).

An oath is a curse in the wider sense of the term; it is a conditional self-imprecation, a curse by which a person calls down upon himself some evil in the event of what he says not being true. In the Arabic of Morocco it is called *ḥälf*, plur. *ḥlūf*, or *ḥluf*, plur. *ḥlufāṭ*^{s} (Fez). A solemn oath taken at a mosque or shrine or on a book of religious learning is also called *yåmīn*, plur. *yämīnāt*^{s} (*ibid.*).[1] When a person wants another to make an oath he says to him, *Ḥlef li*, or *Tåḥlĕf lîya*; or, *A'ṭĕni* (or *t*^{s}*a'ṭêni*) *ḥaqq ălláh*, "Give me the truth (or "right") of God"; or, *A'ṭêni l-yåmīn*, "Give me the oath"; or, if he wants him to take the oath *Ůˇ lláh l-qâsam*, *Qåssam b lláh*. The Ait Waráin call an oath *tijílla*, the Shlöḥ *tagallit*, the Ait Temsâmän *ṯjä*^{dd}*jī*^{t}.

In many cases the person who takes an oath simply gives thereby an assurance that he speaks the truth and makes no mention at all of the punishment which is supposed to befall him if he perjures himself. In other cases he gives his oath the actual form of a curse, calling down upon himself some evil if his statement is false. But in all cases he swears *by* something so as to give efficacy to his oath. He generally swears by something which has *baraka* or for some other reason is regarded as more or less dangerous. He often gives to it an unusual name or refers to it in a circumlocutory manner; and by preference he swears by something which is on the spot and places himself in bodily contact with it. I shall now give some instances of oaths which I have heard in Morocco, grouping them according to the objects sworn by.

The Moors swear by God:—*Ůˇ* (or *wa*) *lláh*, or, *Bi lláh*, "By God"; *Ůˇ lláh l-'aḏīm*, "By God the great"; *Ůˇ lláh*

[1] According to the *Hidāyah* (vi. 2, English translation by Hamilton, vol. i. [London, 1791], p. 495), *yamīn* "is constituted by the use of the name of Almighty God, or of any of those appellations by which the Deity is generally known and understood".

l-qâsam, "By God the distributor"; (*Ů*) *ḥaqq*[1] *llâh* (*t'a'âla*), "(By) the truth of God (be he exalted)". When the other party is a Jew or a Christian they say, *Ḥaqq lláh li ḥlaq l-mślĕm mślĕm u l-ihûdi ihûdi u n-nṣrâni nṣrâni*, "By (literally, "the truth of") God who created the Muhammadan Muhammadan, and the Jew Jew, and the Christian Christian" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz).

If the other party is a Jew they also say:—*Ḥaqq lli fraq dîni 'ăla dînek*, "By that which distinguishes my religion from your religion" (Fez); or, *Ḥaqq li fărăq dînna 'ăla dînkum*, "By that which distinguishes our religion from your religion" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); or, *A ulîdi* (instead of *ihûdi*) *ḥaqq mĕn farráq lĕ-dyân*, "O Jew, by that which distinguishes the religions" (Tangier, &c.). Other oaths which have reference to the Muhammadan religion are:—*Ila ddīt hād l-ḥâja râni dîni 'ăla dīn l-ihûd*, "If I took this thing, look my religion is upon the religion of the Jew" (that is, my religion will abandon me and I shall be a Jew); *Ila ddīt hād l-ḥâja râni nṣrâni ma nâ ši mślĕm*, "If I took this thing, look I am a Christian not a Muhammadan"; *Ila ddīt hād l-ḥâja râni mä nšahād ši bĕ ń-nbi*, "If I took this thing, look I shall not profess the religion of the Prophet" (Dukkâla). The Brâber of the Aiṭ Sádděn swear:—*Hâṭin ddînînu ḥ wiw wûḍäin*, "Look, my religion is upon that of the Jews". This is considered a very dangerous oath, since, in the case of perjury, he who takes it will no longer remain a Muhammadan, but his religion will join that of the Jews.

The Moors swear with the Koran in the left hand and the right hand kept upon it:—*Ḥaqq hād l-Qorân*, "By this Koran"; or, *Ḥaqq hād l-kt'äb*, "By this book" (Fez). Or they say, in swearing on the Koran:—*Ḥaqq hâda mṣḥāf lláh l-krîm*, "By this holy book of God the generous one" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). They swear with the right hand on a pile of writing-boards (*lwāḥ*, sing. *lôḥa*) used by the schoolboys in the mosque:—*Ḥaqq hād lĕ-mṣâḥăf*, "By these holy books" (*ibid.*). Or a person swears on a writing-board, or, standing in front of the mosque with a bundle of writing-

[1] The word *ḥaqq* in the beginning of an oath may always be preceded by an *ů* (*wa*).

boards on his back :—*Ḥaqq ḥâdi smäit lláh*, " By these names of God " (*ibid.*). A Berber from the Aiṯ Sádděn swears with a writing-board in his hand :—*Oḥǎqq ṯällwáḥṯa ḏ mäi ḏiḥs íllän*, " By the truth of this writing-board and what is on it ".

Oaths are taken on any book of religious learning (*lǎ-ktˢáb de l-ʿilm*) ; and when a person is sitting together with an *ʿálem* he may swear :—*Ḥaqq l-ʿilm di f sédrek*, " By the learning which is in your chest " (Fez). A very dangerous oath is to say, in the presence of a band of ambulating scribes, *Ḥaqq ḥâd lě-msâfrīn*, " By these travellers " (Ulâd Bůʿăzîz). Another dangerous oath is to swear by the schoolboys who are coming from the mosque where they have been studying ; he who takes this oath moves his right hand in the direction of them, saying, *Ḥaqq ḥâd lě-mḥâḍar*, " By these schools " (*ibid.*). A person may swear by the rosary (*tsbēḥ*) which he keeps in his hand :—*Ḥaqq ḥâd mîätˢ šâhed* (Fez), or, *Ḥaqq ḥâdi miät šâhěd* (Ulâd Bůʿăzîz), " By these hundred witnesses " ; or, *Oḥǎqq mäi ḏa ḏ mîyät šâhed*, " By the hundred witnesses that are here " (Aiṯ Sádděn). If he swears by another person's rosary, he says, *Ḥaqq dik mîätˢ šâhed*, " By those hundred witnesses " (Fez). The expression " hundred witnesses " stands for " hundred beads " (*mîätˢ ḥâbba*), though the number of the beads may also be ninety-nine.

The Moors swear by the holy month of Ramaḍān :—*Ḥaqq hād š-šhar lě-mbárak*, " By this blessed month " (Fez) ; or, *Ḥaqq hâda rămḍān lláh yěngůṣ faṭṭárti . . .* , " By this Ramaḍān, may God diminish my *fěṭra* (that is, the alms given after the fast) if I did this or that (Ulâd Bůʿăzîz) ; or, *Oḥǎqq ramḍâna nnǎ illän gʸ eqůmánneḥ*, " By this Ramaḍān which is in our mouths " (during the fast). The oath, *Ḥaqq hād š-šhar lě-mbârak*, is also taken in the month of l-Můlůd (Fez). The Ulâd Bůʿăzîz swear at a religious feast :—*Ḥaqq hād l-ʿīd lě-fḍîl*, " By this most excellent feast ". The people of Fez swear on a Friday eve :—*Haqq hād l-líla lě-fḍéla*, " By this most excellent night ". The Aiṯ Sádděn swear on the eve of a holy day (*nhār ʿarafa*, [the day preceding the Great Feast], the first day of the Great or the Little

Feast, the 1st, 15th, or 27th of Ramaḍān, or a Friday) :— *Oḥǎqq ûḍa ámqqŏran ġur rǎbbi*, " By this night which is great with God ". An oath taken on a Friday is looked upon as particularly dangerous. One of my servants who was accused of cattle-lifting was ordered to swear to his innocence on three successive Fridays, in accordance with a judicial practice frequently resorted to in serious cases.[1] It is also more than usually dangerous to swear on the *nhār 'arafa*, on the 26th of Ramaḍān, and on the night following (Tangier).

The Moors swear standing with the face turned towards Mecca and moving the right hand in the same direction :— *Ḥaqq hād l-qábla*, " By this direction of Mecca " (Fez) ; or, *Ḥaqq hād l-qábla l-mûḥammädîya*, " By this Muhammadan direction of Mecca " (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz) ; or, *Oḥǎqq lqbélṭa hätáya*, " By this direction of Mecca, this one " (Aiṭ Sádděn) They also swear by a pilgrim (*ḥajj*) who has recently come back from Mecca :—*Ḥaqq hậda mǎġfôr d-dnūb*, " By this one who has been forgiven his sins " (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz) ; and by one who has returned from his pilgrimage long ago :— *L-ḥajj ḥaqq li šĕddîti mĕn šubbîkŭ*, " Pilgrim, by his grating which you took hold of " (that is, the Prophet's window-grate in Medina) (*ibid.*).

Oaths are taken at mosques. The swearer may stand just outside the door, moving his right hand with its middle and forefinger stretched out towards the interior ; or he may stand inside the mosque in front of the *mäḥrāb*, or niche which marks the direction of Mecca, moving his hand—the accuser decides where he shall stand. In either case he says :—*Ḥaqq hād l-baraka . . .* , " By this holiness, I did not do this or that " ; or, *Ḥaqq hậd bīt*^{s} *lláh . . .* , " By this room of God, I did not do this or that ". Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, whose mosques are tents, the swearer stands at the entrance of the tent, touching either the vertical pole supporting it or the tent-cloth with his hand, and says :— *Ḥaqq hậda beit lláh* ; or, *Ḥaqq hād l-msjīd*, " By this place of prayer " ; or, *Ḥaqq hậda sîdna Jebrîl*, " By this our lord

[1] See Vassel, *Über marokkanische Processpraxis* (*Sonderabdruck aus den Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, vol. v. pt. ii. Westasiatische Studien [Berlin, 1902]), p. 16.

Gabriel ".[1] In Fez oaths are very rarely taken at any other mosque but the Qarwîyin. In Mequinez there is a mosque called Lálla Jâ̤ma' z-Zárqa, where the swearer rubs his eyes with the door-ring, with the result, it is said, that he will become blind in a few days if his oath is false. In the Ḥiáina oaths of great importance are often taken at the *jâ̤ma' ähl Wa̤zzâ̤n*, a mosque which was built by a Wazzan shereef and is considered to have much *baraka*; and in the same tribe there is another mosque, called *jâ̤ma' lŭmmw̃álda*, to which persons from the neighbouring tribe of the Ait Sáddĕn frequently go to swear in cases of gravity. Among the Ait Waráin there are two old "mosques" to which accused persons are taken to swear on account of the exceptionally great risk they run by perjuring themselves at these places. One is an old wooden house at the pass Tántatart, at the foot of Búilblän, which is nowadays used for no other purpose; and the other is the *tamzgîda u"zġar*, "the mosque of the plain", in the district of Tímzzrei, where the perjurer is said to die or go mad on the spot. Among the Ait Seġrúššĕn there is the *ṯamzgîda ṯáberša̤nt*, "the black mosque", which is a famous place for oath-taking; it consists of a large tent and is the *záwia* of a saintly shereef, Mûläi S'āīd, who was alive at least some fifteen years ago and lived in the village close by.

Very frequently oaths are taken at saintly shrines. In Fez the accuser may require the swearer either to stand outside the shrine with his hand on its door-ring, or to enter the place and move his hand in the direction of the *dárbū̃z* of the saint; he swears:—*Ḥaqq hād l-baraka* . . . , "By this holiness, I did not do this or that". In other places he knocks or beats the door or the *dárbū̃z* with his hand or with a fold of his clothes, or touches the *dárbū̃z* while he pronounces his oath. Once, on a Friday, when I was travelling through Shrárda, I heard loud knocks from a *sîyĭd* at a little distance from the road, and the people informed me that a woman was just taking an oath at the chest of the saint. A scribe from Glawi said that scribes and educated people do not make anybody swear inside the *qóbba* of a dead saint; and

[1] See *supra*, p. 50.

in Dukkâla I was told that persons of understanding do not allow the accused to swear inside the *ḥorm* of a *sîyĭd* but compel him to stand outside it, moving his hand towards the shrine, since any one who is in the *ḥorm* of a saint is in his *'ār* and therefore cannot be punished by him if the oath is false; yet here also there are people who make the accused take hold of the door-ring or window-grate of the *sîyĭd* when he is about to swear. He says:—*Ḥaqq hād̲ l-wâli. . .*, "By this saint, I did not do this or that"; or, if he swears at the tomb of Mûlăi 'Abdllah, the great Dukkâla saint:—*Ḥaqq hād s-slṭān lláh ya'ṭêni lā̲-'ma u z-zḥaf u j-jdām . . .*, "By this sultan, may God give me blindness and lameness and leprosy if I did this or that". Among the Aiṭ Sádděn a person who makes oath at a shrine says:—*Oḥăqq amrábḍa a̲diyé'mu izăḥfîyi . . .*, "By this saint, may he make me blind and lame if I did this or that"; the name of the saint is only mentioned if he is sworn by at some other place than his sanctuary. Saints may be invoked in oaths from a distance. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz it may happen that a man who swears by a saint simply takes off his turban and holds it out in the direction of the *sîyĭd* which is visible from the place where he stands. In the same tribe a person may touch the flag belonging to the fraternity of a certain saint (*lă-'lâm dya̲l s-sîyĭd*) and swear, *Ḥaqq hād lă̲-ġṭa dya̲l sîdi fla̲n*, "By this covering of Sîdi So-and-so". Women drink water mixed with earth taken from some great *sîyĭd*, like the tomb of Mûlăi 'Abdllah, and swear, *Ḥaqq hād l-baraka tā't sîdi fla̲n*, "By this holiness of Sîdi So-and-so"; and it is believed that perjury in such a case is followed by the death or illness of the woman herself or her child or some animal belonging to her. A person may take an oath at a market-place by moving his right hand and saying:—*Ḥaqq hâ̲di gārt l-mĕjdûb*, "By this open place of the distracted one", *i.e.* Sîdi 'Abdrráḥman l-Mĕjdûb, who is the patron saint of all market-places; or, *Ḥaqq hâ̲da sōq ṣ-ṣâlḥīn*, "By this market-place of the saints" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). The Aiṭ Sádděn also swear at a market-place, saying:—*Oḥăqq ssôqa d̲ mâi ṭi'ammran.* "By this market and all that have filled it" (*i.e.*, the saints, *jnūn*, and people who are there).

When a person takes an oath in a desert place where he has no proper object to swear by, he says :—*Ḥaqq ḥâdu rjäl* (or, if he is a scribe, *rijâl*) *lĕ-blâd*, " By these men of the country ", meaning all the saints of the district (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). The Aiṯ Sádděn have a similar oath :—*Oḥǎqq rijál lbläd.*

There are certain saints who are by preference invoked in oaths. In Fez Mûläi Idrīs' shrine is the sanctuary where most oaths are made, and Sîdi Ḥmed š-Šáwi's comes next to it ; but the saints by whom it is most dangerous to swear are Sīd l-Lzzaz, Sîdi 'Abdllah l-Mékki, and Sîdi 'Abdráḥman Mlîli, who are said to be so much opposed to wrong-doers that they do not even suffer them to live in the neighbourhood of their shrines—a moral sensitiveness which they have no doubt acquired by being such severe avengers of perjury.[1] In Marráksh people are particularly afraid of swearing falsely by Mûläi 'Abdůllah l-Ġazwâni, also called Mūl lă-Qṣōr. Sîdi Mḥǎmměd ben Nâṣăr and his son Sîdi Ḥămǎd u Mḥǎmměd ben Nâṣăr, who are buried in the valley of the Wād Drā in the extreme south of Morocco, are likewise reputed to punish perjurers with the greatest severity ; a man from Aglu told me that he would rather pay a fine than swear by either of them, even though he were in the right. The latter of them has a *záwia* in the most important Moorish towns, and an oath taken at its door is much feared ; in many cases the person who swears there touches his eyes with the door-ring, which is believed to cause certain blindness if the oath is false. At Azaġar n Äit Bîhi, among the Ait Zĕlḍn in Ḥáḥa, I visited the little shrine of Lálla Tĭgmámmas, who was said to be a ruthless avenger of perjury. The Ait Waráin speak of the great danger attending an oath made at Sîdi Boqnâděl's shrine, situated in a desert place in their district, since this saint is known to punish the perjurer on the spot. In Andjra people generally swear at the sanctuary of the patron saint of their respective villages. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer oaths are frequently taken at the shrines of Sîḍi 'Ēsa, Sîḍi Mḥänd amǎqran, or Sîḍi Ăḥmeḍ, who are said to be very severe upon anybody who swears falsely ;

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 193.

the oaths are always taken on Wednesdays. The people of Dukkâla go on a Friday to swear at the tomb of their patron saint Mûlăi 'Abdllah with a wide-awake of palmetto (*tărâza*), such as is worn by the inmates of the leper village outside Marráksh, on the head, a wooden plate (*gdăḥ*) in one hand, and a stick in the other, and it is believed that he who is guilty of perjury will become a leper. Some saints are said to strike at once; this is the case, for example, with the saints of the Baqqâli family and Sîdi l-Ḥa^{dd}j l-'Aṭṭáfi, who has a *ḥauš*, with a mosque close by, in the village Buzâki in Andjra. The punishment of others, again, comes slowly; thus when a person is struck by Sîdi 'Ăli ben Nâṣăr, he is destroyed gradually, like a tree the root of which decays until, at last, the tree falls down. Sîdna Jebrîl, the guardian of mosques, is said to be quick to strike.

The Moors swear not only by dead but by living saints and, generally, by persons possessed of *baraka*. They touch a holy man and say:—*Ḥaqq bûk u jéddăk*, "By your father and grandfather"; or they put the right hand on the top of a shereef's head and say:—*Ḥaqq hād s-sîyĭd*, or *l-wâli*, or *s-sbạ'*, "By this saint" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). At Fez a person sitting in the house of a shereef or a *mrâbăṭ* (the descendant of some saintly ancestor who was not a shereef) or in a *dār záwia* (a house inhabited by a saint or his descendants) or at a *sîyĭd*, may swear:—*Ḥaqq hād d-dār u mwalîha*, "By this house and its owners". The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz swear by an old man, touching him with the hand and saying:—*Ḥaqq hād š-šéiba n-nqîya*, "By this clean gray beard". Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, when a person makes an affirmation by oath to an old man, he says to him:—*Oḥåqq šší nna gg ûḍměnněš*, "By the gray beard which is on your face". A person may put his right hand on the head of a little child and swear:—*Ḥaqq hād ṣ-ṣâbi*, "By this little child"; or, *Ḥaqq hād l-maléika*, "By these angels" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); or, *Ḥaqq hād nâqat' ălláh*, "By this she-camel" (a name given to the little child because it cannot speak) (Tangier). Or he may swear in the presence of a little child whether he touches it or not:—*Ḥaqq dik mléika*, "By those angels" (Fez).

When a son is accused of having stolen something from

his mother, he puts his hand underneath her clothes, takes hold of one of her breasts, and swears :—*Ḥaqq hāḍ l-bězzûla*, "By this breast" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). So also, when a brother charges his brother with an offence, they go to their mother, and the accused one takes hold of her breast, saying :—*Ḥaqq hāḍ l-bězzûla lę 'áddha seb'ă a'yûn*, "By this breast which has seven springs" (*ibid.*). Among the Aiṯ Sádděn a person may make an assurance by oath to a woman whom he has sucked as a child by saying :—*Oḥắqq únna zzîgᵛęm ṭṭắḍaġ*, "By that which I sucked from you". Among them a person may have sucked many women, as it is the custom for a woman who enters a house or tent, even though she be a stranger, to give her breast to any little child who happens to be there, whether there is milk in it or not.

When relatives quarrel the following oaths are used :—*Ḥaqq d-dĕmm li binậtna*, "By the blood which is between us" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz) ; *Ḥaqq d-dĕmm tā' l-wậldīn*, "By the blood of the parents" (*ibid.*) ; *Oḥắqq wil lwậlḍin*, "By that which belongs to the parents", that is, what the two parties have in common from their parents (Aiṯ Sádděn). In the case of a quarrel between a person and another who is married to a woman relative of his or whose relative is married to such a woman, the accused person swears :—*Oḥắqq iḍắmmĕn t tágᵛmaṭ*, "By the blood and the brotherhood" (*ibid.*). An Arabic oath is :—*Ḥaqq l-ḫáwa tā't rắbbi*, "By the brotherhood of God" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). When the parties are friends, he who swears may say :—*Ḥaqq r-rfậga li binậtna*, "By the friendship which is between us" (*ibid.*). When a person meets a stranger on the road, he may touch him and swear :—*Ḥaqq n-năôr li fi ûjhắk*, "By the light which is in your face" (*ibid.*). When a person meets another accidentally, he may swear :—*Ḥaqq men laqậna men ġēr mí'ad*, "By our unpremeditated meeting" (Fez).

The bachelors at a wedding jokingly swear by the bridegroom :—*Ḥaqq hâda mûlai s-slṭān lláh ya'ṭêni lą-'ma u z-zḥaf . . .* , "By this my lord sultan, may God give me blindness and lameness if I did this or that" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz swear in the presence of a band of huntsmen (*r'ma*) : —*Ḥaqq ḥậdû mmĕwậlīn lĕ-mkáḥắl*, "By

these masters of guns"; or, *Ḥaqq ḥāḏů mšáuwṭīn lă-ḥwâjĕb*, "By these singed eyebrows". The Aiṭ Sádděn swear:—*Oḥǎqq ŕrma*, "By the huntsmen". This oath, however, is not taken in the presence of huntsmen; if huntsmen were present they would say *rrmáya*, "these huntsmen", but I am not aware that they use such an oath. The following oath is taken in the presence of a number of people who are sitting or travelling together:—*Ḥaqq jma'átkum lláh ijĕmmá'kum 'ála gnâzti* . . ., "By your assembly, may God make you assemble at my funeral if I did this or that" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz).

The person who is going to swear may take hold of the other party's right hand and either keep it in his own or touch its palm again and again with the palm of his own right hand, saying:—*Ḥaqq hād l-'ášra*, "By this ten" (Fez); or, *Ḥaqq hād l-'ášra u ma kālt u ma šárbăt*, "By this ten and what it ate and what it drank" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); or, *Oḥǎqq afůsa ḏ mág tša ḏ mág swa*, "By this hand and what it ate and what it drank" (Aiṭ Sádděn).[1]

A person may swear by a gun which he presses against his chest or points towards his body, saying, *Ḥaqq hāḏ l-mĕdfa' lláh ikúbbů fi gélbi* . . ., "By this cannon, may God discharge it into my heart if I did this or that" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); or, *Oḥǎqq ssĕmma addigʷiṭikúbba rábbi* . . ., "By this poison, may God pour it into me if I did this or that" (Aiṭ Sádděn). Or the swearer steps over some guns which have been laid on the ground (*ibid.*, Ait Waráin). In the Ḥiáina he steps over three guns lying parallel to each other, saying, *Ḥaqq hād l-mṣáḥǎf*, "By these holy books"—and this oath is looked upon as even more dangerous than one taken at a shrine. Another dangerous oath is to swear by a sword or a dagger. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the person who swears presses the dagger against his chest and says:—*Ḥaqq hāḏ s-sĕmm lláh idúggů fi gélbi* . . ., "By this poison, may God knock it into my heart if I did this or that". Among the Aiṭ Sádděn he swears, without necessarily touching the sword or dagger:—*Oḥǎqq ssĕmma aḏiyéqăṭṭaḏ* . . ., "By this poison,

[1] For some oaths taken by food which has been eaten in common, see *infra*, i. 568.

may it cut me if I did this or that". A person may swear with a hoe in his hand:—*Ḥaqq hād l-fās lláh yáḥfĕr lîya bih g-gîâs . . .*, "By this hoe, may God dig with it for me the measure (that is, my grave) if I did this or that" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). Ḥmádša swear with a *gĕmbri* in the right hand:—*Ḥaqq hād ṭ-ṭâba' dyāl š-šēḥ*, "By this seal of the sheikh"—that is, Sîdi 'Ăli ben Ḥámduš. Gnáwa swear by their *qarqâba*, or castanets.

If a host accuses his guest of having committed theft on a previous occasion, the latter touches the ground or mat in the tent with his hand and swears:—*Ḥaqq hād l-mkan s-s'ĕidi li ma năqdár na'ṭĕ fih ta šárba tā't l-mā*, "By this fortunate place where I cannot even give [to anybody] a drink of water" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). A person may touch the door of a house or the tent-cloth above the entrance of a tent the owner of which he does not know, and swear:—*Ḥaqq hād l-bāb wa 'lâ mĕn mĕnsûb*, "By this door and him to whom it belongs" (*ibid.*). A very dangerous oath may be taken in front of a tent inhabited by a couple who have neither children nor cattle:—*Ḥaqq hād l-ḥáima l-yábsa ălláh yebbésni bḥâlha . . .*, "By this dry tent, may God make me equally dry if I did this or that" (Ḥiáina).

The Moors swear by some of their domestic animals, either touching the animal or moving the right hand in the direction of it, or merely in its presence. When they swear by a horse they say:—*Ḥaqq hād d-dĕmm l-kbīr* (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); or, *Oḥăqq ddĕmmaḍ ámqqŏran* (Aiṭ Sádděn), "By this high blood". They also swear by a saddle:—*Bi bárkat' hād s-serj u men rkeb fih*, "By the holiness of this saddle and him who has ridden in it" (Ḥiáina); this is said to be an even more dangerous oath than that by a horse. They swear by an ox, a cow, or a camel:—*Ḥaqq hād l-bĕkma li ma 'áddha lsān bạš t'ĕdwi*, "By this mute one that has no tongue to speak" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). They swear by a flock of sheep:—*Ḥaqq hād l-baraka*, "By this holiness"; or, *Ḥaqq hâdi lálla Mĕnni*, "By this Lálla Mĕnni;[1] or, *Ḥaqq hâdi ġlĕm sîdna Šo'áib*, "By these sheep of our lord Šo'áib" (said to be one of the Prophet's friends

[1] See *supra*, p. 99.

who had black sheep, in consequence of which such sheep are called his sheep) (*ibid.*). They also swear with wool in their right hand :—*Ḥaqq ḥād s-sṭ́tra*, " By this covering " (*ibid.*) ; or, *Oḥăqq ṯaḍútta nnā́ isttrĕn ínsĕlmĕn*, " By this wool which is covering Muhammadans " (Aiṯ Sádděn). On the other hand, they do not swear by mules or donkeys because they are neither holy nor allowed to be eaten. They swear by milk, fresh or sour :—*Ḥaqq hād l-ḥlīb lli šettˢáqni ălláh fīh . . .*, " By this milk which God may make me long for in vain if I did this or that " (Tangier) ; or, *Oḥăqq aġġúya atffăḍăḥ . . .*, " By this milk, may I long for it if I do not tell the truth " (Aiṯ Sádděn). They swear by honey which they put on the tip of their tongue and eat, saying :—*Ḥaqq ḥáda rēq ʰn-nbi*, " By this fasting spittle of the Prophet " (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). 'Ḍsáwa put the right hand on the basket in which they keep their snakes and swear :—*Ḥaqq ḥādi bḥairt sîdi Bĕn 'Ḍsa*, " By this vegetable garden of Sîdi Bĕn 'Ḍsa "

A person may swear a dangerous oath by a piece of raw meat, holding it in his hand or touching it :—*Ḥaqq hād l-lḥam lláh ij'ălni nnétšū mĕn lăḥmi . . .*, " By this meat, may God let me tear it off from my flesh if I did this or that " (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). The Aiṯ Sádděn swear by meat, raw or boiled :—*Oḥăqq aḥsúma*, " By this meat ". They also swear by the slaughtering-place of a market, while standing at it :—*Oḥăqq lgurnáya ḏ mäi ḏiḥs ḏ ínsĕlmĕn*, " By this slaughtering-place and whatever *jnūn* there are at it ". The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz swear by the growing crop, stroking it with the right hand :—*Ḥaqq hād s-sbą' l-ḥḍar*, " By this green saint " (literally " lion "). Standing on the field with some reaped corn in the hand, they swear :—*Ḥaqq hād l-baraka li gā' mšrûka fîha n-nās*, " By this *baraka* which is shared by all the people ". They swear at the threshing-floor :—*Ḥaqq hād l-baraka li la ḥṭátna w̃ujh ma išúf fi w̃ujh . . .*, " By this *baraka* which did not lack us, may face not look at face (that is, may we no longer remain friends) if I did this or that ". Another oath taken at the threshing-floor is the following :—*Ḥaqq hād l-baraka u ma keínzel fîha mén tˢmār*, " By this *baraka* and whatever dried fruit comes down

on it" (Ḥiáina). The Moors swear by bread which they keep in their right hand or touch with it:—*Ḥaqq hād l-qaut*, "By this food (of grain)" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); or, *Oḥǎqq aġrôma*, "By this bread" (Aiṭ Sádděn). In Fez they swear with bread or corn in their hand:—*Ḥaqq hāḍ n-ná'ma*, "By this nourishment"; and when merely looking at it, *Ḥaqq dik n-ná'ma*, "By that nourishment".[1] Touching a dish (*gáṣ'a*) containing *sěksů*, the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz swear:—*Ḥaqq hāḍ j-jāma'*, "By this mosque". Standing inside a garden of fig trees and prickly pears, or standing near it and moving their hand in the direction of it, they swear:—*Ḥaqq hāḍ l-ġrâsät*. At Tangier a person says in similar circumstances:—*Haqq hāḍ l-bús^{s}ān*. When people are sitting round a tray with tea-pot and glasses, some one among them may touch the tray with his right hand and swear:—*Ḥaqq hād l-můfarréij*, "By these entertainers" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). Both men and women swear by henna which they keep in their right hand:—*Ḥaqq hāḍa năôr ń-nbi*, "By this light of the Prophet" (*ibid.*). They likewise swear by salt:—*Ḥaqq hāḍ r-rezq*, "By this good thing" (Fez).[2]

The Moors swear by the sun, simply saying:—*Ḥaqq hāḍ š-šems*, "By this sun" (Fez); or they move their right hand towards it, saying:—*Oḥǎqq ṭáfuḥṭin nnǎ ḍikkän qbar nnbi*, "By that sun which has come from the grave of the Prophet" (Aiṭ Sádděn). They swear by the night:—*Oḥǎqq ûḍa nna ináqṣan zi la'mărînu*, "By this night which makes my life shorter" (*ibid.*). They swear by a burning candle or lamp:—*Ḥaqq hād ḍ-ḍaû* (Fez); or, *Oḥǎqq asídda* (Aiṭ Sádděn), "By this light". They swear with their hand over the fire:—*Ḥaqq hād l-'áfia lláh isîyĭbni fîha . . .*, "By this fire, may God throw me into it if I did this or that" (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). They swear in the presence of water:—*Ḥaqq hād l-mā u men jérräh*, "By this water and him who made it flow" (Fez); or, *Oḥǎqq ṭíyṭi zugg amāna*, "By the stroke from this water" (inflicted by the *jnūn* haunting the water) (Aiṭ

[1] In ordinary speech the word *ná'ma* is likewise sometimes used to denote food made of corn. For the meaning of this word *cf.* Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. 478.

[2] For the meaning of the word *rezq* see *infra*, i. 593.

Sádděn). They swear with their right hand on a vessel containing water :—*Ḥaqq ḥāḍ l-mā lláh iġāssélni bih ġsěl l-āḥra* . . ., " By this water, may God wash me with it for the last day if I did this or that " (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). They swear by a well :—*Ḥaqq ḥāḍ l-hâwia lláh isîyĭbni fîha* . . ., " By this abyss, may God throw me into it if I did this or that " (*ibid.*). They swear on the sea-shore, moving their right hand in the direction of the sea :—*Ḥaqq hād l-bḥōr*, " By these seas " (*ibid.*). They swear by the rain :—*Ḥaqq hād nqāṭ l-mersûla*, " By these drops sent [by God] " (Fez) ; or, *Ḥaqq hād l-mátar li yĭnzĕl mĕn 'add lláh*, " By this rain which comes down from God " (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz); or, *Ḥaqq ḥāḍ š-štā lláh yĭj'álha tṣûbb 'ála qábri* . . ., " By this rain, may God let it pour over my grave if I did this or that " (*ibid.*) ; or, *Oḥăqq anzára nnä ittutúin bla yiḍárn bla yifássĕn*, " By this rain which is falling without feet and without hands " (Aiṭ Sádděn). Among the Ait Waráin a person who is accused of an offence may take up a stone from the ground and swear three times :—*Adeṣġār răbbi rrĕzqênŭ ámän yĕqqor uzrúya* . . ., " May God make my sustenance dry as this stone is dry if I did this or that ". People swear at a cairn which has been piled on a spot where a person has been found murdered :—*Ḥaqq hād l-mắġdōr ălláh yĕġdárni bḥâlŭ* . . ., " By this secretly murdered one, may God murder me secretly like him if I did this or that " (Ḥiáina).

The punishment to which a perjurer exposes himself in cases where he does not call down upon himself any particular kind of misfortune may be manifold : he may die or become ill, or some evil may befall his children or his animals, or his house may be burned, and so forth. A scribe from the Rīf told me that if a child is born one-eyed or blind, the cause of it is that its mother swore falsely at a shrine or mosque while she was with child. At Fez I heard that a pregnant woman refrains altogether from swearing. An oath may, in fact, be attended with evil consequences even though it is not false. It is in all circumstances considered to be in some degree dangerous to the person who takes it ; hence there are people who prefer paying money to acquitting

themselves of a false accusation by an oath.[1] The conditional self-imprecation readily causes an uncanny feeling in an unreasoning mind, which does not clearly enough distinguish between the categorical and the conditional; I have often noticed how difficult it is for a Moor to understand the modifying meaning of an "if". There is always some danger in an oath, just as a drop is always left in a vessel when you pour out from it the milk with which it is filled. Indeed, the evil energy in an oath is looked upon as a miasma which contaminates anybody who comes near it. People therefore dislike being present when an oath is taken, avoid meeting a person on the road when he comes back from a shrine or mosque where he has sworn, and are reluctant to give lodging to a person who has taken an oath on the same day. In some parts of the country he who has sworn at a shrine or mosque does not return the same way as he went, so as not to carry the *bạs*, or evil, with him to his home.

There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Ḥiáina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the *bạs* which is sticking to them. For a similar reason a fowl is killed in the evening, the blood washing away the *bạs*; and on the following morning the wife of the person who swore, or some other woman of his family, goes to the shrine where the oath was taken and walks round it seven times from right to left, saying:—*Yā hād s-sîyĭd lláh yáḥod ḥáqqna fi hād ăr-râjel lli ḥälléfna*, "O this saint, may God let our oath fall upon this man who made us swear". She then enters the sanctuary, burns some incense there, and when she leaves takes with her a pinch of earth from the

[1] *Cf.* Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London, 1830), p. 165.

shrine, which she keeps hanging in a little bag in the centre of her house for seven days. Subsequently she goes with it to the house of the person who compelled her husband or relative to swear, pretending to have an errand there, and strews it secretly on the floor; she thus transfers to the house the *bạs* of the oath, which, I presume, was thoroughly absorbed by the earth during the seven days it was kept in her house. The practice of swearing undressed, however, has also been explained to me as a method of avoiding the danger of taking an oath in a state of uncleanness, or as a symbol of the destitution which the swearer calls down upon himself in case he is guilty of perjury (Andjra). Sometimes "the nakedness" is a mere figure of speech without corresponding reality. Thus in Andjra a person who is asked to swear may affirm his innocence by saying:—*Nŏḏḥûl n s-sîyĭḏ 'óryān u ma nḥaf ši*, "I shall enter the *sîyĭd* naked and shall not be afraid"; and among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a person who is wrongly accused of theft is heard to say:—*Lä ma ḥleft ši 'áryạ̄n ána mulậha*, "If I do not swear naked I am the possessor of it" (that is, the stolen thing). These sayings seem to suggest that an oath made in a state of nakedness is particularly dangerous. Perhaps we may suppose that clothing is looked upon as a sort of protection when the oath is taken, although it may become a danger owing to the *bạs* with which it is infected.

An accuser who knows that his accusation is false is particularly liable to be affected by the oath in the same manner as though he had himself committed perjury. It is said that when a person swears, three drops fall down from the sky. If his oath is false one of them falls on himself, another on his children, and the third on his animals, whereas if he is innocent the three drops fall on the false accuser, *his* children, and *his* animals; and one of the three drops will cause misfortune wherever it falls. Among the Ait Waráin, if a person who is accused of an offence is unwilling to swear, he may frighten the accuser by rubbing some powder or fresh grass on the sleeve of his cloak, saying that he is innocent and that the oath he is going to take will fall on the accuser; the latter shakes his sleeve and perhaps withdraws

his accusation for fear of the consequences. When the parties are friends or former friends, the accused one may, after he has denied his guilt, propose that they shall twist together a fold of their cloaks ; and while they are doing so and each one is pulling his own fold, they both say that the oath shall affect the one who swears if he is guilty but the one who made him swear if he is innocent.

The various dangers attending the taking of an oath have led to the following sayings :—*La tˢḥălef la tˢḥăllef la tˢḥḍar ʿăla men yăḥlef*, " Do not swear, do not make [anybody] swear, do not be near him who swears " (Fez) ; *Lláh injjîna mĕn l-ḥālf u l-mûḥăllīf u li gâʿad išûf*, " May God save us from him who swears and him who makes another swear and him who is sitting looking on " (Ulâd Bůʿăzîz). I have also, however, heard a contrary saying, to the effect that if an innocent person has been compelled to swear at a shrine it is as if he had visited the saint to give him an offering :—*Lli ḥălf ʿăl ṣfa käyinnů zār* (Fez) ; but this saying does not express the general feeling of the people.

In spite of the fear of a false oath there are nevertheless many who are ready to perjure themselves whenever it suits them. There is a saying that " a whitewashed shrine is better than a girded horse ", that is, a mounted soldier sent by the governor to take the offender to prison :—*Lláhōma fqēr mjîyĕr úla ʿaud mdîyĕr* (Ulâd Bůʿăzîz). There are also methods of averting the evil consequences of perjury. A man may do so by taking hold of his penis or touching his cloak outside it when he swears, *Ḥaqq hād l-baraka*, " By this *baraka* ", meaning thereby the penis (Ḥiáina, Andjra, Tangier) ; and a woman by putting her hand on the corresponding part of her clothes, saying, *Ḥaqq ḥăd s-sîyĭd*, or *l-wâli*, " By this saint " (Ulâd Bůʿăzîz). In the Ḥiáina a person may for the same purpose put his hand on his backpart when he swears " by this *baraka* ", or he may swear with a silver coin on his tongue. Among the Ait Waráin a perjurer goes back to the shrine where he took his oath, with a lamp filled with oil, which he lights there, tells the saint that he swore falsely, and asks him to let the punishment fall on the person who made him swear. Among the Aṭ

Ubáḥti he tries to appease the saint by taking a candle to him ; but it is also the custom among them for a person who swears at a shrine to hold some salt in his left hand, whether his oath be false or true.

Moreover, there are persons who through habitually committing perjury have become proof against it, the sins of their false oaths protecting them like a leather binding ; such a person is called in Arabic *kâfer mujálled* (Tangier) or *kâfer mújellid* (Ḥiáina), and in the Berber of the Aiṯ Sádděn *amjĕllĕd*. He has, so far as his own person is concerned, nothing to fear from the saint at whose sanctuary he takes his oath, though it may affect his wife or children or animals ; whereas a person who has never before taken an oath is liable to be struck at once if he perjures himself. But the *kâfer mújellid* must take care not to weaken his armour through piety. I was told of an habitual perjurer who once gave alms to the poor and in consequence was struck by the saint the next time he swore falsely.

Besides the supernatural consequences of oath-taking there are others of a legal character. By this I do not mean to say that perjury is punished by law—there is no worldly punishment for it at all ;[1] but in Morocco, as elsewhere, the oath is used in judicial proceedings as a means of establishing the guilt or innocence of a person accused of a crime. The oath may be taken either by the accuser or by the accused or by certain other persons who, in addition to the latter, swear to his innocence as conjurators.

In Fez, for example, if a person (A.) accuses another person (B.) of theft and the latter disputes the accuracy of the charge, A. says to B., " Come then with me to the governor ". The governor asks A. if he can produce witnesses, and, if he can do so, sends a soldier with him to hear the evidence. If more than two persons bear testimony to B.'s guilt he has to compensate A. for his loss and pay a fee to the soldier or is otherwise thrown into prison ; but the witnesses do not appear before the governor, nor are they sworn in. If they simply testify that B. has stolen something from A. without stating the amount, the latter has to

[1] *Cf.* Vassel, *loc. cit.* p. 15.

confirm his accusation on oath. Again, if A. declares that he cannot produce witnesses, the governor says to B., *Ḥälf lû*, or, *A'ṭéh ḥaqq lláh*. If B. obeys and swears to his innocence he is acquitted and has nothing to pay. On the other hand, if he refuses to swear, saying, *Qlábt'ú 'álih*, "I turned it on him", the governor asks A. if he is willing to swear that B. is guilty. If he swears, B. has to pay or, if he does not pay, is put into prison; but it may be that A. has to swear twice, since B. may insist that A. shall not only swear to his guilt but also confirm by oath the amount he has stolen. If A. says that he cannot take the oath demanded of him because he did not see the commission of the theft but only heard of it, or that he strongly suspects B. of it, then B. has to swear or, if he refuses to do so, is compelled to pay or is thrown into prison. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz similar proceedings take place in the presence of scribes. When the accuser says, *T'a'ṭêni ḥaqq lláh*, or, *T'a'ṭêni yämīn lláh*, or *Táḥlĕf lîya*, and the accused answers, *Qlábtû 'álik*, "I turned it back on you", the scribes step in and say, *L-qálba š-šra'*, "The turning is religious law". It was pointed out to me that in such circumstances it is dangerous for the accuser to swear to the other party's guilt, since the latter by his readiness to pay may easily induce him to take a false oath and thereby expose himself to supernatural punishment.

In the Ḥiáina a person accused of theft is acquitted if five men, and one accused of homicide if fifty men, swear to his innocence, the accused himself being one of them. The five conjurators are named *l-ḫámsa*, "the five". One of them, the so-called *nâqqār*, must be a particularly reliable man of good reputation. The conjurators are chosen by the accuser from among the kindred of the accused, and if any one thus chosen by him refuses to swear the accused is at once considered guilty of the crime. It may be, however, that if the persons who are asked to act as conjurators are unwilling to swear, they propose to pay to the accuser one-half of the sum demanded by him; and if he refuses to accept the offer, they may compel him to do so by putting *'ār* upon him. In the case of homicide, on the other hand,

the conjurators are not selected by the accuser but gathered by the accused, who may have to resort to *'ār*-sacrifices to get the necessary number. When the oath is taken the fact is, in either case, annotated by two notaries (*'adûl*), who write down the names of the accuser and the accused. It should be added that here also oath-taking is only resorted to in case sufficient evidence cannot be produced; and a previous oath is invalidated by later evidence. The necessary number of witnesses is twelve if they are men; but women are also accepted as witnesses, though in proportion of two women to one man. A witness need not have actually seen the commission of the crime; it is enough that he has heard about it from somebody else who was present on the occasion, and expresses his conviction that what he was told is true. As a matter of fact, however, one thoroughly reliable witness may really suffice. But I was assured that nowadays money is the best evidence, the judge (*qâḍi*) accepting or refusing to accept persons as witnesses according as they pay him or not, quite independently of their reliability.

The custom of compurgation is also found in Berber tribes. Here, too, the swearers are the accused person himself and male members of his kin, and even young boys may be among them; but in the absence of a sufficient number of kinsmen other men may, at any rate in some cases, take their place. The number of conjurators varies according to the gravity of the offence. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the *imggílla*, as they are called, are five in the case of theft, and one of them, called *amnqqar*, is chosen by the accuser. The latter decides where and how the oaths are to be made, how many and who among the *imggílla* have actually to swear, and who is to swear first; and it may be that only one of them is required to swear. In the case of homicide the *imggílla* are fifty,[1] out of whom ten, called *imnqqarn*, are chosen by the accuser. If any of these refuses to swear, the suspected person is considered guilty of the crime; hence it

[1] Among the Ait Seġrûššěn the conjurators are likewise five in the case of theft and fifty in the case of homicide (Destaing, *Étude sur la dialecte berbère des Aït Seghrouchen* [Paris, 1920], p. xliv *sq.*).

frequently happens that the accuser by bribery induces some kinsman of the latter to refuse to act as conjurator. If a theft has been committed the evidence of witnesses is accepted, but they must actually have seen the commission of the theft and they must all be men. In the case of homicide, on the other hand, testimony can bring about conviction only if the perpetrator of the crime is publicly known. All this holds good of the Aiṭ Yúsi, as well as of the Aiṭ Sádděn.

Among the Ait Waráin the number of conjurators depends in the case of theft upon the value of the stolen thing, ten being the maximum. If a sheep or goat or donkey has been stolen, only one is required besides the suspected person himself, if a cow or bullock four, if a horse or mule nine. They are selected by the accuser; and if anybody who is asked to act as conjurator is unwilling to do so, the accused person tries by means of *'ār*-sacrifices to make him change his mind. In the case of homicide the number of conjurators is sixty, and the accused may bring the conjurators he likes. It is he who swears first, moving his hand towards the shrine or mosque at which the accuser wants the oaths to be taken, and then the others swear in the same manner. The case may also be decided on the testimony of twelve witnesses, or more if there are women among them, in the proportion of two women to one man; whereas a smaller number will suffice in less important matters. The proceedings take place before a *l'âdel*, acting as judge.

Among the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi the conjurators (*imjjílla*) are generally five in the case of theft committed in the daytime, and ten in the case of theft committed in the night or if many animals have been stolen; but if anything has been stolen from the field, they are only five whether it has been done by night or by day. If there are five *imjjílla*, three of them are chosen by the accuser, and if there are ten he chooses five. In the case of homicide the *imjjílla* are fifty—the accused person and those he brings with him according to his own choice; and here also *'ār*-sacrifices are made to prevail upon unwilling persons to act as conjurators. If homicide has been committed, the oaths are taken on the

Koran; whereas in the case of theft they are generally taken at a shrine or a mosque, unless the accuser insists otherwise. When the accused person swears at a shrine or a mosque he keeps his hand on the door, or, if he has been compelled to enter the shrine, touches the *ṯṯabuṯ* (*dárbūz*) of the saint; but the other conjurators always remain outside, simply moving their right hand towards the door when they say, *Nĕšnin s liminĕnneḫ*, "We are with your oath". If afterwards a sufficient number of reliable witnesses are produced, these oaths are of no avail. The number of witnesses depends both on the nature of the accusation and on their reliability, ten being the maximum and two the minimum, whether they are men or women. Complaints are made to one of the *ait ărbʿăin*, the tribal assembly consisting of the most respected men of the tribe, two or three from each village (*asun*). If the case is grave a large number or even all of them may have to come together to consider it, but cases of small importance may be decided by one or two of them.

Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsâmän the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

The custom of compurgation may be traced to the kinship organisation: to the collective responsibility of kindred and to their duty of mutual assistance. As an act of homicide exposes not only the manslayer himself but his kindred to the blood-feud, so also homicide and theft expose them to the danger involved in perjury; and the larger the number of conjurators, the greater the havoc. This explains why also young boys are accepted as conjurators; they are

valueless as witnesses, but their perjury reduces the strength of the kin.

The custom of compurgation was known to the ancient Arabs, who also seemed to have required fifty conjurators in the case of homicide.[1] But considering its prominence among many Berber tribes of Morocco and Algeria [2] and its close connection with a social system which is undoubtedly indigenous, it is highly probable that it is a custom rooted in Berber as well as Arab antiquity. There are traces of it in ancient Greek legislation ; [3] it occupied an important part in the jurisprudence of most Teutonic peoples and the Welsh ; [4] and it is found among many other peoples as well, especially in the Indian Archipelago.[5] That oath-taking was practised among the natives of North Africa since very early times is testified by classical writers. Herodotus says of the Nasamonians, a Libyan people who dwelt around the shores of the Greater Syrtis, " They swear, laying their hands on the sepulchres of those who are generally esteemed to have been the most just and excellent persons among them ".[6] Procopius speaks of the oaths and hostages of the Mauri, though he accuses them of caring for neither.[7]

In the case of oaths taken by women some particular rules may have to be observed. If a man makes a woman swear at a shrine he may have to send his wife with her ; among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, for example, a woman can only swear in the presence of a woman and a man in the presence of a man. But a woman among them is always taken to swear at the sanctuary of the patron saint of the village (*fqēr lĕ-blâd*), never at a distant shrine, as is often the case with men. Nor among the Aiṭ Sádděn is a woman allowed to make oath in the presence of a man ; but the case is different at Fez, Tangier, and elsewhere. In the Ḥiáina the accuser

[1] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 187 *sqq.*

[2] Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles* (Paris, 1873), ii. 372 *sq.*, iii. 29.

[3] Hirzel, *Der Eid* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 6.

[4] Lea, *Superstition and Force* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 34 *sqq.*

[5] Lasch, *Der Eid* (Stuttgart, 1908), p. 100 *sqq.*

[6] Herodotus, iv. 172.

[7] Procopius, *De bello vandalico*, ii. 8.

may himself accompany the accused woman or send his wife with her, just as he likes.

In the cases which we have hitherto considered the oath generally serves to confirm a denial of guilt, but similar oaths may also be used to confirm a promise ; in the former case the oath has reference to the past, in the latter case to the future. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, " May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that ". This vow is looked upon as most sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy ; in such a case he goes to the enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rīf are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs ; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to refrain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbâla, many Arabs of the plains, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Aiṭ Sádděn, Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer), or from going to the market (Aiṭ Wäryâġer), until revenge has been taken. Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer the women of the

family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mûlūd and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind. Such vows, however, are not always strictly observed. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, for instance, a man who has sworn not to have his head shaved may after three or four months be persuaded by his friends to break his vow, or he may do so of his own accord. In the Ḥiáina some shereefs may come with a barber and induce him to have his head shaved; then he will sleep with his wife on the following night and as soon as possible hire some other person to kill the enemy, but he will not try to do it himself. Yet there are people who say that a person who breaks a vow of this kind will become mad. In Andjra a person who has been thrown into prison on account of an unjust accusation sometimes swears not to have his head shaved until the accuser in some way or other has suffered his well-deserved punishment. A Rifian servant of mine refused to kill a fowl because he was under a vow not to slaughter any animal or bird; he had sworn not to do so until he had married a certain girl, who had been promised to him by her father but in spite of the latter's objections had afterwards married another man. In the Ġarbîya there was a man who in a fit of anger, when he was quarrelling with another man, swore not to spend a night in his own house until he had spent one night in the country of the Christians; but some scribes told him that he might be released from his vow by staying a night in the watch-hut on l-'Aqba l-ḥámra, a hill in the neighbourhood, where many Christians are passing.

Again, if a person gets angry with somebody or at something he may make an oath beginning with the phrase *a'lîya l-ḥărâm*. If, for example, he is in another person's orchard and has a quarrel with its owner, he may say, *A'lîya l-ḥărâm la dḫalt^{s} l-'ársa*; or if he cuts himself when killing a fowl, he may say, *A'lîya l-ḥărâm lä dbäḥt^{s} ^{d}jâja*. An oath of this kind contains not only a vow to the effect that he who takes it shall refrain from the act mentioned—from entering the

garden, from killing a fowl—but also implicitly another vow that, if he does not refrain from it, he shall divorce his wife. Instead of the former vow there may be a prohibition referring to another person's conduct. Thus, if a man wants to prevent his wife from going on the roof of the house, he may say to her :—*A'lîya l-ḥărâm la ṭlá'tˢi l s-sṭaḥ* ; and this is a very imperative prohibition, since disobedience on her part must be followed by divorce. Or if a married man wants to compel another man to remain in his house as his guest, he may do so by saying, *A'lîya l-ḥărâm ma tˢémši*, being obliged to divorce his wife if the stranger refuses to stay. A so-called *a'lîya l-ḥărâm t-tˢletˢ*, or " threefold *a'lîya l-ḥărâm* ", involves that the divorced wife cannot be taken back unless she has been married to another man after her divorce ; but her former husband may evade this prohibition by appearing in public in a state of absolute nudity, as he is then presumed to be insane and is consequently held not to be responsible for his behaviour.

The *a'lîya l-ḥărâm* is not always taken very seriously. An old man from the Ḥiáina told me that if a person makes such a vow he may, instead of divorcing his wife, fast for three days and give food to sixty poor persons. And there are many men who freely make use of the *a'lîya l-ḥărâm* without even thinking of the obligation implied in it.

CHAPTER X

THE *ʿĀR* AND THE *ʿAHD*

BESIDES the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the *ʿār* and, in many cases, the *ʿahd*.

The word *ʿār* literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, *Hā l-ʿār ălik*, "Here is *ʿār* upon you", or *Hâda ʿār ʿălik*, "This is *ʿār* upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the *ʿār*. A stronger expression is to represent the *ʿār* cast on a person as *ʿār* on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him. This is meant by phrases such as these:—*Hâda ʿār lláh u ʿălik*; *Hā ʿār lláh u n-nbi ălik*; *Hā l-ʿār ʿălik d mûlăi Dris*. If the person appealed to is unwilling to comply with the wishes of the supplicant he may try to avert the danger by saying, *Ṭaiyăḥtˢ l-ʿār dyâli*, "I knocked down my *ʿār*" (Fez); or, *Ṭīyăḥtˢ ʿâri ʿălik*, "I made my *ʿār* fall upon you" (Tangier); or, *Ălláh ijă̱ʿlû yẹḥrûj fik*, "May God let it go out over you" (Fez). When a person casts *ʿār* on a neighbour or on a saint whose tomb is in the vicinity of his dwelling, he sometimes says, *ʿĀr j-jār ʿăla jârû u j-jîyĭd mä iduz ʿârû*, "The *ʿār* of a neighbour on his neighbour and the good man's *ʿār* do not pass by" (*ibid.*).

That the *ʿār* which a person " casts " or " throws " (*rma* or *sîyib*) or " puts " (*nĕzzel*) on somebody implies the transference of a conditional curse is expressly stated by the people themselves. The phrase " Here (or ' this ') is *ʿār* on you " is often followed by the conditional clause " if you do not do this or that ". But the term *ʿār* is also applied to the relationship in which a person places himself to another by putting *ʿār* on him. *Ana f ʿârăk*, " I am in your *ʿār* ", or, *Ana f ʿār ulidâtʿĕk*, " I am in the *ʿār* of your children ", means that you are bound to help me and that you or your children's welfare is at stake if you do not do it. A common expression is also *Ana f ʿār lláh u ʿârăk*, " I am in God's *ʿār* and your *ʿār* ". But it is disapproved of by religious persons because it co-ordinates a human being with God who has no equal, and also because the idea of casting *ʿār* on God is objectionable. Indeed, Muhammadan orthodoxy looks upon *ʿār* of any kind as unlawful

In the Moorish conception of the *ʿār* the original meaning of the word is not entirely lost: it is certainly considered shameful and blamable if a person takes no notice of one who casts *ʿār* on him or is in his *ʿār*. But the obligation to listen to him is undoubtedly rooted in superstitious fear. The *ʿār* is not thought lightly of. It is said, *L-ʿār šaṭr mĕn n-nār*, " The *ʿār* is half the fire of hell ". I have even heard the belief that it is dangerous for a person to induce another to grant a request by casting *ʿār* on him, since in such a case the curse is likely to affect the petitioner and not the individual appealed to (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). On the other hand, there are many persons who take no notice of *ʿār* put on them. And the observation that they have done so with impunity may be the cause of the idea which I heard expressed in Andjra, that the *ʿār* only hurts those who are afraid of it.

Externally the casting of *ʿār* presents such a variety of forms that, without the aid of a common term, it would be impossible to recognise them all as expressions of one and the same idea. The only feature which all these acts have in common is that they serve as outward conductors of conditional curses. Thus when one person says to another,

" Here is *'ār* on you ", he may simply move towards him a fold of his dress ; or, if he wants to keep him off, he may raise the palm of his right hand against him or put his cloak or dagger or gun or any other object belonging to him on the ground between himself and the person he invokes. In other instances he establishes material contact with him by touching him with his turban or with a fold of his dress, or by throwing his turban or cloak over him, or by giving him a kerchief, or by grasping with his hand either the person himself or the horse which he is riding Even by embracing one of the forelegs of a horse which nobody is riding, or by going to a horse in the stable, and saying, *Ana f 'ār l-'aud*, " I am in the *'ār* of the horse ", a person may place himself under the protection of its owner ; thus people often take refuge in the Sultan's stable, and we are told that in former times the lives of many Christian captives were saved in this way.[1] So also the cannons of the Sultan are frequent places of refuge.[2] You may also cast *'ār* upon a person by taking his little son in your arms and giving him to his father, saying, *Hā l-'ār 'ălik*, or, *Hą̄ węldek 'ălik fĕ l-'ār*, " Here is your son as *'ār* on you "—a very dangerous form of *'ār* which unfailingly causes the death of the boy if the request is not granted. Another form of *'ār*, which is resorted to in cases of less importance, is to take some food to the person invoked. If he cannot or will not comply with the petitioner's wishes, he refuses to accept the food and advises him to approach somebody else ; but if he accepts it he is bound to do what is asked of him.

Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz and other tribes of the plains a refugee enters another person's tent or only takes hold of the tent-pole (*r-rkîza dyālt l-ḥáima*) at the entrance of the tent, saying, *Ana fi 'ār lláh u 'ârăk*, " I am in God's *'ār* and your *'ār* ", or, *Ana zâug fi ulidâtĕk*, " I am seeking refuge with your children ". The owner of the tent is then obliged to assist him, at least by acting as a mediator between him and his pursuer, or by speaking to the governor on his

[1] *An Account of South-West Barbary*, edited by Ockley (London, 1713), p. 65 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, p. 74.

behalf; in the latter case the owner of the tent writes to the governor, *'Ârna mĕn 'ârăk*, which means that he and the refugee are now in the governor's *'ār*. Once a man sought refuge at my camp from his governor's soldier, who had been ordered to catch him because he had repeatedly remarried the same woman after divorcing her; through my mediation the governor promised to pardon the man and he got back his donkey, which had been taken from him. A similar custom prevails among the Arabic- and Berber-speaking people who live in houses. A person taking refuge in another's house may say, *Ana zaúgt^{s} fik u f ulâděk* (Tangier); or, *Zūgġ ġ ûfûs n rábbi d wînnik*, "I have taken refuge in God's hand and yours" (Iglíwa). At Fez I heard the saying, *Di ja l dârăk jā l 'ârăk*, "He who has come to your house has come in your *'ār*"; he is under your protection as soon as he has entered your front door. During my stay in that town the owner of a hot bath once took refuge behind my doorstep to escape the punishment, consisting of imprisonment and flogging, which was to be inflicted upon him because the water in his bath had not been sufficiently hot and he had neglected to provide his customers with loin-cloths. His family, however, very quickly settled the matter so that my mediation became unnecessary; but the case was different on another occasion when a man entered my house in Fez to place himself in my *'ār* and I helped him out of his trouble. Custom also requires that the pursuer shall not try forcibly to remove a refugee from the house or tent to which he has fled, but that he shall apply to its owner. Nay, even if he is pursued by the command of his governor, the pursuer should first make representations to the owner to give up the refugee. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, if a sheikh or governor wants to extort money from one of his subjects and the latter takes refuge in the tent of some important person who happens to be away from home, the wife of the absent host takes off her belt (*ḥzām*) and gives it to the refugee, who goes with it to the sheikh or governor. This is *'ār* on the part of the wife, and one-half of the claim will be remitted in consequence.

A refugee places himself in the *'ār* of a woman by touching her or sucking her breast (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aglu, Iglíwa)—by which he becomes as it were her son—or by sitting down in front of her or going behind her or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill (Aiṭ Wäryâġer); her husband or family will then have to help him, and if the woman with whom he seeks refuge is the pursuer's own wife, the persecution must cease. The following case occurred in a village in Andjra where I was staying. A man who had committed murder came running to the village, pursued by the relatives of his victim. He found in a field some women belonging to the family of my host, a highly respected shereef, and cried out, *Ana mzâug f lláh u fi š-šrīf*, "I am seeking refuge with God and the shereef". Without touching them he lay down on the ground, and they covered him with some of their clothes; and this prevented the pursuers from carrying out their intended revenge and made them turn back to their village. In the same tribe a person who has been unjustly punished goes to a place where a band of huntsmen (*ŕma*) are engaged in target-practice, bows down with his hands behind his back, kisses the ground in four directions, and says, *Ana f 'ār lláh u 'ârkum ya mwâlin l-mkáḥäl, šûfu fîya nẹ lléh, šíkwa 'ăl ălláh u 'ălikum ána mĕḏlûm*, "I am in the *'ār* of God and in your *'ār*, O masters of guns, see to me for the sake of God, [I make a] complaint to God and to you, I am innocent". He remains bowed down with the right hand clenched behind his back and the left hand clasped round its wrist till the huntsmen have imprecated evils upon his enemy with the palms of their hands turned downwards. When this has been done the chief of the band opens the hands of the supplicant, and all the persons present clap their hands. A person may also place himself under the protection of the whole village to which he has fled by crying out, *Ana mzâug f lláh u fîkum ā d-djmá'a*, "I am seeking refuge with God and you, O community".

At Amzmiz, in the Great Atlas, I was told that if a man has committed a rape on another man's wife, and the offended husband is not strong enough to avenge himself, he makes a hole in a pipkin, and with the pipkin round his neck goes

about asking people to help him ; this was said to be *'ār* of a very compulsory kind. In the Ḥiáina, again, if a woman has no husband or male relative who can avenge a wrong done to her, she hangs a pipkin round her neck or on her arm and goes with it into the house of some man, who must then act as her avenger. Among the Aiṭ Ndēr a woman, in similar circumstances, enters another person's tent, sits down near the fire-place, takes into her lap the pipkin of the tent, and tells the people why she has come there ; and the same may be done by a married woman on behalf of her husband if he is too weak to take revenge for an injury inflicted on him and therefore stands in need of assistance. In these tribes it is also the custom that the woman, instead of making use of a pipkin, takes hold of the handmill of the house or tent and turns it round as if she were grinding ; this, too, is a very powerful kind of *'ār*.

Another kind of *'ār*, as it seems even more powerful, is to put one's saddle upside-down at another person's door or at the door of a village mosque (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn) ; or to put a piece of an old tent-cloth or of the cover of a pack-saddle, or a small esparto mat, round one's neck or over one's head or round the neck of one's horse, and then walk or ride to somebody's house or tent or to the mosque of a village or from place to place asking for help (Ḥiáina, Dukkâla, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Ndēr). Both of these methods are resorted to in serious cases, as when a person has to exact revenge for the killing of a relative or for an infringement on his own marriage-bed, or when he has been robbed of his property, or (among the Aiṭ Sádděn) when he wants to compel a certain relative to act as conjurator on his behalf if that relative has refused to do so although chosen by the accuser. In the Ḥiáina the tent-cloth round the neck of the horse is, particularly, used as *'ār* by the defeated party after a fight.

Among the Aiṭ Sádděn a woman who has been wronged in some way or other and has nobody to help her throws a piece of an old tent-cloth over her shoulders as a *lízār* (the Arabic *izār*) and another smaller piece over her head as an *álḥṭạ̄n* (cotton kerchief), and blackens her face with soot. She then goes to another village and enters the mosque or,

if there is no mosque, the house or tent of an influential man ; but as soon as she is seen to have entered the mosque the people take her out of it, remove her dirty garments, wash away the soot from her face, and dress her up in decent clothes. They listen to her complaint and give her the assistance needed. Among the Ait Waráin, if a married woman loses her husband through an act of violence and he has no relative who can take revenge on the slayer, she wraps herself up in a piece of a black old tent-cloth, ties round her waist a black rope made of goat's-hair, blackens her face with soot, and goes to a house where she hopes to find an avenger either by sacrificing an animal as *'ār* or by sucking the breast of one of the women of the family. During my stay among the Beni Ăḥsen I was told that once when a man from their tribe had killed a Zemmūr woman, the sister of the latter cut her hair short, smeared her face and body and clothes with cow-dung, and then went about from one village to another, asking for help—an appeal which could not be refused. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a man whose wife has been seduced by another person or whose property has been interfered with may also paint his face with cow-dung or shave his head, leaving only a lock (*garn*) on each side of the top of the head and a fringe (*gûṣṣa*) over the forehead, and then go to his governor and demand redress. Among other Arabs of the plains an injured husband who is too weak to avenge the infringement on his rights leaves seven tufts of hair on his head and goes to another tribe to ask for help.

In these cases the conditional curse is obviously supposed to lie in the pipkin, the turning of the handmill, the saddle, the piece of the tent-cloth, the cover of the pack-saddle, the mat, the soot, the cow-dung, or the locks or fringe or tufts of hair, and from there to be transferred to the person or persons invoked. As for the choice of these particular means of making *'ār* it should be noticed that several of the objects used are black and therefore dangerous, that the turning round of the handmill is a symbol of destruction, that a saddle is looked upon with superstitious fear and if turned upside-down must appear dreadful, and that it is the custom

for women to smear their faces with cow-dung on the death of a relative.

In this connection should also be mentioned a form of *'ār* which is frequently practised by homicides. Among the Ait Waráin, if a person has killed another and wishes to atone for it by blood-money (*ddiyt*), he asks some shereefs to negotiate with the nearest relatives of his victim. When they have agreed to accept the compensation he goes to the house of the injured family, accompanied by the shereefs and schoolboys of the village, with a dagger in his mouth and his hands behind his back, expresses his repentance, and places the dagger on the ground in front of them ; and if he is too poor to pay the sum required he goes, likewise with a dagger in his mouth, to the market and the various villages of the neighbourhood, asking for money contributions by repeating the phrase *Lfdiyt lělláh*, " Ransom for the sake of God ". As this is *'ār*, the people cannot easily refuse to help him. In a similar way a poor man collects blood-money, or *ddīṯ*, among the Aiṯ Sádděn, saying, when he enters a house or tent, *Lěfḏîṯ n rábbi*, " The ransom of God " ; but he can only make such an appeal with hope of success if he has committed his deed without premeditation, not if he is known as a bad character. Among the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi, who have the same custom, the homicide may in this way collect so much money that he is not only able to pay the *ddîyīṯ* but in addition can set aside something for his own use. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi, when the *ddīṯ* has been paid, the homicide, accompanied by a shereef or a few other men of importance and some relatives, goes to the family of his victim, approaches them with a dagger between his teeth and his hands behind his back, kisses the men of the family and other male relatives of the deceased who are present, as also his mother, on the head, and says, *Ḥna mttéibin lělláh, ay ăiṯma rábbi aiğīfiqăddĕrn*, " We are repentant for the sake of God ; O brothers, God laid it upon me according to his decree ". Then a meal is served with *sěksů* (*afttäl*) and meat of an animal slaughtered for this occasion ; and henceforth the homicide can go wherever he likes without running the risk of being killed.

Among the Iglíwa, in the Great Atlas, a man who has killed a tribesman takes refuge with the Infḍûak (Fṭûâka), who are sure to shelter him because there is *ṭaḍa*, or brotherhood, between them and the Iglíwa.[1] When a year has passed, the people with whom he has been staying go with him to the family of the dead person, kill an animal as *'ār* upon them, and make their *protégé* appear before them with his hands tied up and a dagger in his mouth. If they forgive him, as is usually the case, they remove the dagger from his mouth and unloosen his ties; but "forgiveness" only means that they will not seek after his life, whereas they may kill him if he comes in their way. In a similar manner pardon is asked for and granted among the Shlöḥ of Aglu. In the Ḥiáina, again, a man who is too weak to act as an avenger and too poor to hire a substitute walks about from house to house and from village to village with a knife in his mouth, or sends his mother or wife or sister to walk about in the same way; this also is *'ār*, intended to compel those on whom it is cast to give money with which a man may be hired to slay the homicide. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, if a man has killed his brother, he leaves his tribe and visits remote villages and markets with a dagger between his lips, to collect *ṣadâqa*, or "alms", from the people. On his return he buys food with the money he has received and entertains with it a large number of scribes, even as many as two hundred, whom he has invited to his tent to recite there the whole Koran and call down blessings on him. He has done this to be freed of his sin through the alms given him, and all the money collected by him must be spent on the scribes; he has no *dîya* to pay, and the *d'ăira* (*ḍ'ăira*), or fine, which he owes to his governor is to be paid with his own money. A similar method of removing blood-guiltiness is also sometimes resorted to by other manslayers. As regards the dagger which the homicide keeps in his mouth, I was told by Berbers from Glawi and Aglu that it indicates that he is, in a figurative sense, dead; hence he can be forgiven. But in no case is it a mere symbol: it is *'ār*.

[1] *Cf.* Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 57 *sqq*.

Like categorical curses, so also conditional ones may be embodied in stones. In Andjra, if two men agree to meet at a certain place at night for the purpose of going out together to rob and one of them fails to appear, the other one puts there a stone or two or thrusts a stake in the ground and takes the faithless comrade to the place in the morning; the latter is then obliged to give him an entertainment. The Ulâd Bû'ăzîz have a similar custom: the disappointed man makes a cairn where his comrade or comrades should have met him, and with the same result. The stones or the stake serve on the one hand as a proof that the man who put them there had kept his engagement—the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz call such a cairn a "sign" (*'alâma*) or a "witness" (*šâhed*); but they are also, no doubt, intended to compel the other person or persons to compensate him by a feast, being a sort of *'ār*. When the cairn is discovered by the other men of the village they disperse the stones, believing that if the cairn remained there the village would be visited by robbers.

A very frequent and powerful method of making *'ār* is to sacrifice an animal on the threshold of the house or at the entrance of the tent of the person from whom a benefit is asked. If he steps over the blood or only catches a glimpse of it, he is, for his own sake, obliged to grant the request made by the person who killed the animal. If he has previously heard that an *'ār*-sacrifice has been made outside his dwelling and he is unwilling to do what is asked of him, he tells his servants to remove the dead body and to wash away the blood carefully, and in this case, when he has not seen the blood at all, the danger is lessened. On the other hand, if he fulfils the wish of the supplicant, he need not be afraid of stepping over the blood, since the curse it carries is only conditional. If a person who has been thus appealed to is unable to give the assistance required, he may be obliged to provide another animal to be killed as *'ār* on somebody else. When an animal is killed as *'ār* the ordinary *bismillāh* is omitted, and the animal must not be eaten by the person on whom the *'ār* was cast. It is generally taken by the servants, who eat it or sell it, or it is given to poor people or perhaps to scribes; only a person who "does not

know his religion" eats an animal sacrificed to him as *'ār*. The *'ār*-sacrifice may be accompanied with a verbal invocation. In Andjra a person places himself in the *'ār* of a village which is not his own by sacrificing an animal outside the threshold of its mosque on a Friday, when the people are coming out of it after the end of the service, saying at the same time, *Ana f 'ār lláh u f 'árkum a d-d jmá'a u f 'ār ulâḍkum, šûfu fîya nẹ lléh ma t s guzuní ši*, "I am in God's *'ār* and your *'ār*, O congregation, and in the *'ār* of your children, see to me for the sake of God, do not pass me [without helping me]". If the sacrificial animal gets up after its throat has been cut, the *'ār* is considered to be particularly powerful. It is then a so-called *'ār wâqăf*, or "upright *'ār*" (Fez).

The great efficacy ascribed to an *'ār*-sacrifice is due to the blood. It should be noticed that the efficacy of a curse depends not only upon the potency which it possesses from the beginning, but also upon the vehicle by which it is conducted—just as the strength of an electric shock depends not only upon the original intensity of the current, but on the condition of the conductor; and of all conductors of curses none is considered more efficient than blood. It is supposed to contain supernatural energy, and, according to a general law of magic, a medium endowed with such energy gives particular potency to any curse with which it is loaded. In Morocco blood which has been shed is always supposed to contain *jnūn*; there is misfortune in it—*L-bạs yẹ́mši m'a d-demm*. The great popularity of the sacrifices of fowls as *'ār* is due not only to their cheapness, but also to the dangerous qualities ascribed to their blood.

A very awful form of *'ār* is the so-called *t s 'argîba* (*t'argîba*, *t s 'arqệba* [Andjra], *t s 'arqẹ̆b* [Tangier], *am'árqab* [Aiṭ Sádděn]), the victim of which is a bullock, camel, or horse, which has the sinews of the hocks (*'ărâqăb* [sing. *'árqōb*], or *'ărâgĕb*) of either its hind- or fore-legs or one of them cut so as to get the appearance of a suppliant—a kind of sacrifice which is resorted to on very solemn occasions, when one tribe invokes another, or an appeal is made to the Sultan or some high government official or a whole village or a great saint. Most often the victim is a bullock, but in some

places camels are also used (Demnat, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Mjild) or in cases of extreme gravity horses (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn).

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, the Aiṭ Sádděn, and some other Brâber a form of *'ār* is to take one's little son or daughter to the house of the leading man in a village or to its mosque and lay down the child outside the door, hold a knife over the artery of its neck, and threaten to kill it if the help asked for is refused. This is *'ār* of the most compulsory kind, though the threat is never put into practice. But an old man from the Aiṭ Yúsi told me of a human *'ār*-sacrifice which, without any previous threat, had been actually performed in his tribe not so very long ago. A man who had been subject to extortion on the part of the *ḫlîfa* of the late governor 'Omar, during the latter's absence in Marráksh, went with his wife and little daughter to a certain influential man who was a friend of the governor and cut the daughter's throat at his door in order to compel him to intervene. The supplicant, however, did not succeed ; for when the governor heard of his deed he ordered him to be thrown into prison for life, saying, " This was something so horrible that not even a Christian would have done it ". It was gratifying to find that the cruelty which the Berbers of Morocco believe us to be capable of has a limit.

A most powerful form of *'ār* is the following practice, which is found among the Brâber. When a man is not strong enough to resist a wrong done to him or to avenge the murder of a relative, he goes with his unmarried daughter into another man's house and invokes his assistance, saying that this is *'ār* on him. The girl is then left there until the owner of the house and his friends have helped the suppliant to attain his object. This form of *'ār*, which is called *lěḥḍîṭ* (Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Sádděn)—the Arabic *hdîya*, " present ", —derives its exceptional force from the idea that through the girl a sort of brotherhood is established between the parties. Among the same Berbers, if a tribe which is at war with another wants a third tribe to help it, some of its men take to the latter a number of nice-looking girls old enough to marry or, among the Aiṭ Yúsi, even young married

women, say five or eight or ten or more, who may be distributed in pairs to different parts of the tribe so as to make the fact sooner known to the whole of it. These girls or young women are then dressed up in fine clothes by the tribe appealed to and sent home mounted on mules and accompanied by the troops who are given in response to the appeal; and there is powder play all the way, just as if they were brides. They are called *ṯimhĕḏáṯin* (Aiṯ Yúsi) or *lĕhḍîṯ* (Aiṯ Sádděn), "presents", but the sending of them is nevertheless *'ār*; and so compulsory is it considered to be that even though the tribe itself be engaged in war, a contingent, however small, has to be sent to those who appealed for help.

As a means by which a person can compel another to comply with his wishes, the *'ār* naturally plays a very important part in the social life of the people. It is resorted to for a variety of purposes. A woman once wanted to compel me to give a new cloak to her little son by sacrificing a cock outside my tent, but she was stopped by my servants. If the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz dislike their governor and want to have another in his place, they go to Mazagan with two oxen, one of which they slaughter at the custom-house and the other one at the door of the governor of the town; then both he and the custom-house officers will have to write letters to the Sultan with a request that the unpopular governor shall be removed. Very frequently *'ār* is made in order to obtain pardon from the authorities, or to secure mediation in the case of trouble or protection or assistance against an enemy. An act of homicide is regularly followed by *'ār* made for one purpose or another. Instances of this have been given above as illustrations of different forms of *'ār*, but it may be worth while to mention a few other cases showing the importance of *l-'ār* in connection with the blood-feud and the monetary compensation for it.

Among the Aiṯ Yúsi, when a person has killed another and both he and his grown-up male relatives on the father's side who live in the same or in neighbouring villages have run away, an attempt to postpone the blood-feud is made by some influential men who are not related to the manslayer.

They go to the grave which has been dug for the slain man, either before he is buried in it or shortly after, on the day of the burial. They sacrifice there a sheep as *'ār* on his family; or they slaughter a sheep at some distance from the grave and then take it there while the blood is still gushing out from the wound. This sacrifice, which is made at the expense of the homicide or his family, is called *ţamġrûṣţ n ţnḍalţ*, "the slaughter of the grave". If, however, no sheep is available, they have recourse to another method of *'ār*. Three or four of them descend into the grave while the scribes are making recitations on behalf of the deceased before he is buried, and remain there until an agreement with his family has been reached. They require the latter to promise to refrain from all persecution within a certain region for a certain length of time. The nearest relative or relatives of the dead man at first refuse to do so, or grant a respite of a couple of days only; but the men persist in staying in the grave, other people intervene, and at last a certain period within which no revenge is to be exacted is agreed upon. A similar bargaining for the postponement of hostilities also takes place when a sacrifice is made. Shortly before the time agreed upon expires the homicide or his relatives ask a shereef or a few other influential men to go to the slain man's village and put *'ār* upon his kindred by sacrificing a sheep, or by cutting the sinews of a bullock's hocks as *am'árqab* (*t^{s}'argîba*), at their house or tent or outside the mosque of the village. Then negotiations are opened with a view to extending the truce, and if they are successful the *'ār*-making may again be repeated later on, until the relatives of the deceased at last agree to relinquish their revenge altogether, accepting *ddīţ*, or blood-money, in its place. If the manslayer is too poor to pay his share of the *ddīţ*—it is the custom that he and his father, brothers, and sons shall pay one-third of it and the other men of his *ljma'ţ*, or kin, the remaining two-thirds,—he tries to raise the necessary sum by casting *'ār* upon people or in other ways. On the other hand, if the *ljma'ţ* is not strong enough to take revenge for the murder of one of its members, it may likewise by means of *'ār*-sacrifices appeal to others for help,

though, not infrequently, a person is simply hired to kill the manslayer.

Among the Ait Waráin, if a manslayer wishes to atone for his deed by blood-money (*ddiyt*) and therefore performs the ceremony mentioned above,[1] he also slaughters a bullock or makes *t'arqībt* by cutting the sinews of its hocks; and in addition to this he may send his wife to put *'ār* upon the enemy by sacrificing an animal and by sucking the breast of the principal avenger's wife. It is a common thing for a man who is not strong enough to avenge the death of a near relative or an infringement on his marriage-bed to try by means of *'ār*-sacrifices to induce others to help him. If a man kills another accidentally and he is an intimate friend of the family of his victim, the matter will probably be settled by his sucking the breast of the latter's mother or of some other woman of his family and paying a small compensation for the loss inflicted.

The custom of making an *'ār*-sacrifice to induce the family of a slain person to accept blood-money instead of exacting revenge is widespread; I found it, for example, in Dukkâla, and in the tribe of Jbel Ḥbīb I was told that it formerly occurred there although nowadays blood-money is no longer accepted. Among the Rifians of the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, if a manslayer who is pursued by the relatives of his victim takes refuge in somebody's house and seizes hold of the handmill, he is in the *'ār* of the mistress of the household, who is the owner of the handmill; then the pursuers must stop firing and the inhabitants of the house are obliged to protect him and to take him in safety back to his own home. On the other hand, a person who has to avenge the death of a relative may induce the owner of a house in which he takes refuge to assist him in taking revenge by offering him some money, which, if accepted, is looked upon as *'ār*. If one of their villages has been beaten in a blood-feud with another village and desires to make peace, some of its men go at night to the enemy's village with a sheep or a goat, which they kill outside the yard of the mosque and then throw into the yard. When the dead

[1] *Supra*, p. 525.

animal is found there in the morning by the people of the village, they understand from whom it has come and send the schoolmaster to the enemy, who now expresses a wish to put an end to the hostilities. Some men from a third village are called to act as peace-makers, and blood-money—some thirty or forty dollars—is paid for the manslaughter which was the cause of the feud. It may be added that the animal which was sacrificed as *'ār* is only eaten by scribes who are not natives of the village in which it was killed, no native partaking of its meat. So also the Rifians have recourse to *'ār* to put a stop to a war between two different tribes. Some men of the vanquished tribe (*ḍaqbilṯ*) go before sunrise to one of the enemy's market-places, taking with them a cow or a bullock, which they slaughter there as *'ār*. They then retire to a desolate place in the neighbourhood and remain there till they are fetched by one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

The making of *'ār* is a common method of bringing about a betrothal: a sheep or some other animal is sacrificed outside the house or tent of the girl's father to compel him to accept the proposal if he is otherwise unwilling to do so.[1] Moreover, among the Brâber the fear of the *'ār* has led to a very peculiar custom which makes it possible for a married woman to run away from her husband and, by taking refuge in another man's dwelling, compel the latter to marry her. Among the Aiṯ Sáddĕn, for instance, a woman who does not like to remain with her husband may fly to another man's house or tent and embrace the pole supporting the roof or one of the vertical tent-poles or, if there is no such pole,

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 35, 38, 42, 45, 46, 51, 319.

take hold of the handmill and turn it round as if she were grinding. Then the owner of the house or tent is obliged to marry her and pay five hundred dollars to the abandoned husband. If he is unable to pay this sum and his relatives cannot help him, he may, by means of *'ār*-sacrifices, collect "ransom money" (*lĕfḏîṯ*) from others, or he may leave his village and the neighbourhood altogether, or he may induce a shereef and some other men to go to the forsaken husband's dwelling and perform there *am'árqab* by cutting the sinews of a bullock's hocks. Otherwise there is likely to be a feud. If the injured man and his village are not strong enough to fight the new husband and his party, he invokes the assistance of another village by putting powerful *'ār* on it—he makes *am'árqab* at the door of its mosque, or takes his daughter there, dressed in an old tent-cloth (*aḥläs* or *ṯaḥläsṯ*), or rides there with an old tent-cloth round the neck of his horse, or removes the saddle from the horse and puts it there upside down. But it may also be that the injured man, instead of having a fight, kidnaps a woman belonging to the village to which his wife has fled and then runs away with his booty to another tribe. In such a case the husband, father, or brother of the kidnapped woman, in order to get her back, will insist upon the payment of the five hundred dollars or, if the new husband and his family have left the place, will collect the necessary ransom from the other villagers.

Similar customs are found among the Aiṯ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Nḏēr, and other Brâber; but the compensation to be paid to the former husband varies considerably in different tribes and even in different divisions of the same tribe, as I have shown in detail elsewhere.[1] These minute stipulations indicate that the practice in question must be a fairly common one. I knew an old man of good family among the Aiṯ Yúsi who in the course of his life had been compelled to marry three run-away wives. The compulsion is the same whether the man to whom the woman has fled be a bachelor or a married man, and whatever be the number of his wives.

This singular custom is based on the idea that some

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 61 *sq.*

grave misfortune would befall the man if he did not wed a woman who in the said manner took refuge with him : by taking hold of the pole of his dwelling or by turning round his handmill she throws *'ār* on him. But the observance of the custom is at the same time looked upon as a matter of honour ; among the Ait Waráin a man who should refuse to marry the woman would be called a Jew. It is also held necessary that he should have sexual intercourse with her on the first night. There is no further ceremony attending these marriages. They are exceptional in another respect as well : on the death of the husband his brother marries the widow as a matter of course and without payment, and if the dead man has no brother she may be sold by the women of his family, his mother in the first place and in the next his sister or daughter.

The *'ār* is a great boon to strangers, especially in those parts of the country where the Government has no power. Among the Brâber, if a person wants to settle down in a strange tribe, he makes an *'ār*-sacrifice outside the house or tent of a native, who then becomes his protector, or at the entrance of the mosque of the village, in which case he becomes the *protégé* of the whole village. If he is killed the protector has to avenge his death, and if he is robbed the protector has to see that he gets his property back, and also demands a fine for the outrage. Among the Aiṭ Nḍēr this fine was said to amount to sixty dollars, of which one-half is given to the *protégé* if he has his own tent in the village, the other half being kept by the protector. I was also told that in this tribe the protector is responsible for the behaviour of his *protégé* ; but this is not the case among the Aiṭ Sáddĕn. So also, if a Jew settles down in a Berber village in the Great Atlas or in Sūs, he makes an *'ār*-sacrifice at the door of some influential man, who then becomes his protector and master, ready to avenge any injury inflicted on his client, but also exacting obedience from him. The Jew renders various little services to " his lord " (*sîdis*) or his " friend " (*amddakul* or *amdakul*), as the patron is called—buying, for instance, for him powder and ammunition when he is on bad terms with his governor, and occasionally giving him some present ;

but there is no real oppression on the part of the master. Both the patronage and the clientage are hereditary, descending from father to son, so that the large majority of Jews in the Great Atlas and Sūs have never had to resort to an *'ār*-sacrifice in order to get a patron.[1] When a Muhammadan settles down in a strange village in these regions, he also procures a protector by killing an animal at a native's door.

The *'ār* makes travelling possible for strangers in districts which would otherwise be inaccessible to them. The stranger places himself in the *'ār* of a native, sometimes by means of a sacrifice, but most often by paying him some money. The native then either conducts the traveller in person or sends his son or a friend with him or, among the Ait Waráin, gives him his wife's mantle (*taberdô't*), which the traveller throws over his back or, if he is riding, on his animal ;[2] or the mere mention of his protector's name may serve as a safe-conduct on the journey. If he is attacked and is eager to take revenge he may smear his face and clothes with mud, as women do on the death of a relative, and then go to his protector to make complaints (Aiṭ Nḍēr). It is a point of honour to avenge an injury inflicted on the travelling *protégé*. If the protector refrains from doing so, the Ait Waráin call him an *udei*, "Jew", and all his family *udein*, "Jews". If a man belonging to the Arabic-speaking Beni Ăḥsen is attacked on a journey in the neighbouring Berber tribe Zemmūr, and his Zemmūr protector deserts him, he or, if he has been killed, his relatives make a picture of the faithless man and take it about from market to market telling the people what person it represents and at the same time cursing him. This is done for the purpose of compelling him to pay compensation, and should he refuse to do so a fight might ensue between the families of the two parties. Or the injured man threatens to dig the other person's grave

[1] *Cf.* Harris, *Tafilet* (Edinburgh & London, 1895), p. 98 *sq.*

[2] Mr. Harris says (*op. cit.* p. 97 *sq.*) that "in the case of the Jews living and trading in the Sahara, some mark or token is given, such as a turban or handkerchief, which is considered sufficient; but in cases of caravans and total strangers a man invariably is employed, who answers the double purpose of guide and protector".

in the market-place, and if his threat is of no avail he carries it out, announcing, " So-and-so has broken his word, this is his grave ", in which case the person in question is regarded as a dishonoured man. The protection given to a stranger is called by the Arabs of the plains *mézrag*, literally meaning " spear ", and by the Brâber *amur*. The protector is called by the former *mūl l-mézrag*, and by the latter *bab umur* or *amasäi* (plur. *imasäin* [Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi]) or *ámzĕṭṭaḍ* (plur. *ímzĕṭṭăḍen* [Aiṭ Sádděn]). The Jbâla call a person who conducts a stranger safely through his tribe *zĕṭṭaṭ* and the present or fee given to such a person *ẓṭâṭa*.

The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the *'ār* and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the *'ār* of his host, in accordance with the principle, " He who is in your house is in your *'ār* ". A stranger who comes to a village where he has no friend places himself in the *'ār* of the villagers by the phrase, *Ḍaif lláh*, " [I am] the guest of God "; or, *Ḥåna mĕn ḍyāf ălláh ů ḍyâfkum*, or (in Dukkâla) *Åḥna ḍüfận lláh ů ḍüfậnkum*, " We are the guests of God and your guests ". He may go straight to the mosque and be entertained there; but individual hospitality is also readily given. Jackson, who wrote about a century ago, quotes the following remark made to him by an intelligent Moor:—" With us, a poor man may travel by public beneficence and apt hospitality from the shores of the Mediterranean to the borders of Sahara without a fluce (a small copper coin) in the corner of his garment. A traveller, however poor he may be, is never at a loss for a meal, several meals, and even for three days' entertainment, wherever he travels through our country; and if any man were to go to a douar (tent village) in any of the Arab provinces of our Sovereign's empire, and not receive the entertainment and courtesy of a brother, that douar would be stamped with a stigma of indelible disgrace ".[1] But hospitality is not a custom of the Arabs only. The Shlöḥ consider it an essential characteristic of a real man to be generous to a guest (*ambĕgi*, *anbĕgi*, *imbĕgi*, or *imbĭgi*); they say that he

[1] 'Abd-es-Salâm Shabeeny, *An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa*, edited by J. G. Jackson (London, 1820), p. 239 *sq.*

who is hospitable on one occasion is on another occasion a good fighter. Among the Iglíwa and in Aglu a stranger goes to the mosque, food is brought there, and he partakes of it together with the people. Among the Brâber of the Aiṯ Yúsi and Aiṯ Sádděn, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (*anbgʸi*, plur. *inbgʸaun*), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Aiṯ Wäryâġer; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the *fqī* is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for *l-ʿain tˢatˢâkul*, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all. In some tribes a host is even said to lend his daughter or some other female member of the family to his guest.[1] I was informed by a native friend, who spoke from experience, that such a custom is found in the Shāwîa. The stranger is asked whether he is "a guest of the mosque" or "a guest of the tent"; if he says that he is the former, food is brought for him to the mosque of the village, whereas if he says that he is a guest of the tent, he is taken to a private tent and provided with a temporary wife by its owner. The existence of similar customs elsewhere also has been reported by earlier writers. At Fez I was told that among the Bḍáḍwa, a tribe of "heretics" (*ḫwârǧ*) belonging to the Ulâd ʿẸsa, who live

[1] *Cf.* al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by de Slane (Paris, 1859), p. 233 *sq.*; de Chénier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (London, 1788), p. 149; Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 295 n.*; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 149.

between the rivers Sbū and Wárġa, " a guest of the tent " may even have the company of the wife of his host; and I have heard that the same custom is not quite unknown in the Shāwîa.[1]

The host should take particular care not to offend his guest, because an angry guest is a very dangerous person. This is a natural consequence of his being in the *'ār* of his host; and the danger is increased by the mystery surrounding the stranger. Like everything unknown and everything strange, the unknown stranger arouses an uncanny feeling in superstitious minds. He may be versed in magic, he may have the evil eye, he may be a saint; indeed, every guest has some *baraka*, and *baraka*, as we have seen, may be not only a boon, but a danger. The fear of guests shows itself in various taboos to which they are subject. A guest must not look around, nor speak loudly, nor crack his fingers, nor cut his nails; there is a saying, *Ḥássen 'and ḫōk u qáṣṣaṣ ḍ-ḍfârak 'and a'dūk*, " Shave your head in the house of your brother, and cut your nails in the house of your enemy " (Ḥiáina). Nor must a guest wash his body in the house of his host; and if he spends a night there together with his wife they must sleep apart. A transgression of these rules, which are widespread (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Tangier), is supposed to injure the host. The Arabs of the Ḥiáina say that sexual intercourse of a guest, also with a member of the household, will cause death among its animals. They believe that if a guest shakes his clothes when he gets up in the morning, or if he weeps, he will leave his *baṣ* in the house; and that there also will be *baṣ* if he is taken into a room containing any greasy stuff, such as butter or oil or soap, unless a little of it is smeared on the wall near the door and on the pole in the centre (*rkîza*) supporting the roof. Among the Ait Waráin, if a person spending a night in another's dwelling has henna with him, the host throws a little of it into the fire and also strews some of it in the house or tent. It is believed that if he fails to do

[1] Burton (*Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, ii. [London, 1898], p. 109) speaks of its existence among the Bedouins of the Ḥejāz.

this, some of its inhabitants or animals will die, save on one condition : if the guest has deceived his host by telling him that he has no henna with him, then the *bạs* will, in a similar manner, affect the guest, and nothing will happen to the host. The Shlöḥ of Glawi and Aglu smear the horse and the grayhound of a guest with henna, the former putting it on the forehead and the ankles of the horse and between the eyes and on the chest of the grayhound ; nothing was said as to the object of this custom, but we know that henna is a frequent means of purification. In another connection I shall speak of particular precautions taken in the case of women guests.[1]

In many countries a guest is received with ceremonies the object of which seems to be either to purify him from dangerous influences or to transfer to him conditional curses ;[2] and I have heard of such ceremonies in Morocco also. A servant of mine, who was a native of the Shāwîa, told me that the following custom prevailed among his people. As soon as a stranger appears in the village, some water or, if he be a person of distinction, some milk is presented to him. Should he refuse to partake of it he is not allowed to go freely about, but has to stay in the village mosque. On asking for an explanation of this custom I was told that it is a precautionary measure against the stranger ; should he steal or otherwise misbehave himself, the drink would cause his knees to swell so that he could not escape. In other words, he has drunk a conditional curse. In Andjra shereefs of some importance are received with milk, but most of them only dip the little finger of the right hand into the milk and then touch their lips with it. I was told that in the neighbourhood of Saffi, in the province of 'Abda, a distinguished guest is even received with a sacrifice. The offering of food to a guest is not merely an act of kindness, but a form of *'ār* ; and, as will be shown presently, a common meal is a method of covenanting, because the eaten food embodies a conditional curse.

[1] *Infra*, ii. 6 *sq.*

[2] Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. (London, 1912), p. 590 *sq.*

A guest, however, is not only a potential source of evil to be guarded against, but also a potential benefactor. He may be a bearer of good luck. During the first days of my stay at Demnat, in the Greąt Atlas, the natives, in spite of their hostility towards Europeans, said that they were quite pleased with my coming to see them, because I had brought with me rain and an increase of the import of victuals, which just before my arrival had been very scarce; and while residing among the mountaineers of Andjra in Northern Morocco I was said to be a person with "propitious ankles" because, after I settled among them, the village where I stayed was frequently visited by shereefs. The guest transmits *baraka* to the food of which he partakes:—*Ḍ-ḍaif yaḥdér ṣáutˢú u iqáṣṣar šûftˢú u izîyęn makáltˢú*, "The guest lowers his voice and makes his sight short (that is, does not look much about) and makes his food (that is, the food he eats) good" (Ḥiáina). Hence the guest should always leave some food in the dish set before him so that his host, if he has not eaten together with him, or the host's family, may have the benefit of his *baraka*. The guest returns the kindness of his host with a blessing. When he leaves it is the custom at Fez that he shakes hands with the host and says, *Akrâmak lláh*, "May God be generous to you"; and the latter replies, *Zârătˢna l-baraka*, "The *baraka* has visited us". A female guest kisses the cheeks of her hostess and says, *Ḫallítˢék b ḫēr* (a man would say *bĕ l-ḫēr*), "I leave you well"; and the hostess answers, *Rábbi iḥállik*, "May God let you remain [well]". Another blessing used in Morocco by the departing guest is, *Álláh ij'ál l-baraka álláh yĕḫlĕf*, "May God bless [you], may God recompense [you]". Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz he says, *Fâtḥa, l-flān krámna u ma qaṣṣár šai a'lîna llah ifáiyḍḍ ḫmîrtû*, "*Fâtḥa*, So-and-so has been generous to us and done his best for us, may God make his yeast overflow". Particularly great benefits are of course expected from the visit of a saint or an important shereef; there may actually be a quarrel about the privilege of harbouring him, and not only the lucky host but the other villagers as well entertain him with food and eat with him in order to benefit by his

baraka. To be hospitable to a guest is thus good policy, not only because it averts evil, but because it secures benefits.

It is not, however, from the guest only that the inhospitable man will receive his punishment and the generous host his reward. Hospitality is a duty enjoined by religion. The Koran prescribes that kindness shall be shown to "the son of the road";[1] and the traditions put the following words into the mouth of the Prophet:—"Whoever believes in God and the day of resurrection, must respect his guest; and the time of being kind to him is one day and one night; and the period of entertaining him is three days; and after that, if he does it longer, he benefits him more; but it is not right for a guest to stay in the house of the host so long as to incommode him".[2] The Moors speak of "the hospitality of the Prophet", *ḍyāfṯ n-nbi*, which lasts for three days; and on the first night the guest is "the guest of God", *ḍaif lláh*, and then he is entertained most lavishly. The rule of hospitality is, or has been, generally observed in the Muhammadan world.[3] But it was not first laid down by

[1] *Koran*, iv. 40.

[2] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 142 *sq.*

[3] von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. (Wien, 1877), p. 239 *sqq.*; Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley & London, 1896), p. 296 *sq.*; Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 73 *sqq.*; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, i. 36 *sq.*; Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 245 *sq.*; Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. (London & Cambridge, 1865), p. 345; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. (Cambridge, 1888), pp. 56, 141, 228, 400, 401, 504; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (London, 1830), pp. 100-102, 192 *sqq.*; von Mülinen, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxx. (Leipzig, 1907), p. 179 *sqq.*; d'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desart* (London, 1718), p. 125 *sqq.* (Carmel); Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands* (London, 1875), p. 589 *sqq.*; Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 341; Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness* (London, 1909), p. 66 *sqq.* (Palestine); Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), p. 79 *sqq.*; Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Wien, 1908), p. 351 *sqq.*; Lady Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, ii. (London, 1879), p. 210 *sqq.*; Wood, *A Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Source of the River Oxus* (London, 1841), p. 148; Hamilton, *Researches*

the Prophet ;[1] even before his time Allāh was a protector of guests and suppliants among the Arabs.[2]

There can be no doubt, however, that the religious duty of helping suppliants and guests among the ancient Arabs was closely connected with magical beliefs similar to those which prevail in Morocco. A person could place himself under the protection of another by seizing hold of the pole of his tent, by taking his child in his arms, or by eating his food.[3] Customs of this sort still prevail in the East. "In modern Arabia a protected stranger is called a *dakhîl*, from the phrase *dakhaltu 'alaika*, 'I have come in unto thee', that is, have sought the protection of thy tent".[4] A stranger may become the *protégé* of an Arab by merely touching his tent or his tent ropes.[5] "Amongst the Shammar", says Layard, "if a man can seize the end of a string or thread, the other end of which is held by his enemy, he immediately becomes his Dakheel. If he touch the canvas of a tent, or can even throw his mace towards it, he is the Dakheel of its owner. If he can spit upon a man or touch any article belonging to him with his teeth, he is Dakhal, unless, of course, in case of theft, it be the person who caught him. . . .

in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia, ii. (London, 1842), p. 379 ; Falls, *Three Years in the Libyan Desert* (London, 1913), p. 322 ; Pallme, *Travels in Kordofan* (London, 1844), p. 92, and Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara* (Paris, 1864), p. 383 ; Chavanne, *Die Sahara* (Wien, &c., 1879), p. 185 (Tuareg) ; Mornand, *La vie arabe* (Paris, 1856), p. 1 *sqq.*, Daumas, *La vie arabe et la société musulmane* (Paris, 1869), p. 281 *sqq.*, Robert, *Voyage à travers l'Algérie* (Paris, [1891]), p. 233 *sqq.*, and Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, ii. (Paris, 1873), p. 45 *sqq.* (Algeria).

[1] Procksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 33 *sqq.*

[2] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 223 *sq.* On this subject see also Fraenkel, 'Das Schutzrecht der Araber', in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Giessen, 1906), p. 293 *sqq.*

[3] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 223.

[4] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885), p. 41.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 41 *sq.* ; Chassebœuf de Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt in the Years 1783–1785*, i. (London, 1788), p. 412 ; Lady Blunt, *op. cit.* ii. 211.

The Shammar never plunder a caravan within sight of their encampment, for as long as a stranger can see their tents they consider him their Dakheel ".[1] A person who is in danger may save himself by seizing a Bedouin's arm [2] or skirt,[3] imploring protection. One of the Bedouin tribes described by Lady Anne and Mr. Blunt, however, are ready to rob the stranger who comes to their tents, and " count their hospitality as beginning only from the moment of his eating with them ".[4] All Bedouins regard the eating of " salt " together as a bond of mutual friendship, and there are tribes who require to renew this bond every twenty-four hours, or after two nights and the day between them, since otherwise, as they say, " the salt is not in their stomachs ",[5] and can therefore no longer punish the person who breaks the contract. The " salt " which gives a claim to protection consists in eating even the smallest portion of food belonging to the protector.[6] The Sultan Saladin did not allow the Crusader Renaud de Chatillon, when brought before him as a prisoner, to quench his thirst in his tent, because if he had drunk water there, the enemy would have been justified in regarding his life as safe.[7] Even an invocation may by itself be sufficient to ensure protection to a

[1] Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London, 1853), p. 317 *sq.*

[2] von Wrede, *Reise in Ḥadhramaut* (Braunschweig, 1870), p. 226.

[3] Burton, in his translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, i. (London, 1894), p. 56 n. 2.

[4] Lady Blunt, *op. cit.* ii. 211. Among the Bedawin of Palestine " there is no real peace, no sure refuge, before the supper has been eaten, and 'the bread and salt' received by the refugee " (Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 165). On the importance of partaking of food see also von Kremer, *op. cit.* ii. 239 *sq.*; Niebuhr, *op. cit.* ii. 246.

[5] Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, ii. 112; Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 228. The Rev. G. Robinson Lees (*op. cit.* p. 71) says that among the Bedawin of Palestine the covenant made by the eating of bread, or, as they put it, " bread and salt ", " lasts as long as it remains in the stomach, which practically means while they are in communion with one another "; beyond that time it is no longer binding.

[6] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* p. 187; Quatremère, 'Mémoire sur les asiles chez les Arabes', in *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xv. pt. ii. (Paris, 1842), p. 346 *sq.*

[7] Quatremère, *loc. cit.* p. 346.

person in distress. In Palestine, should a fugitive, when overtaken by an avenger of blood, call on the name of the chief of the district, the arm of vengeance will not fall on him if there are witnesses near to convey the message to the chief whose aid has been invoked. If the suppliant's call were unheeded the chief's reputation would "compel him to keep his honour untarnished by immediately taking steps for the execution of the man who dared to touch his protégé".[1]

That the divine sanction of the duties towards suppliants and guests in Arabia may be traced to fear of their curses is a conclusion which derives additional support from other ancient countries. Allāh, as a protector of suppliants and guests, is the Zeus Xenios of the Greeks. Plato says:—"In his relations to strangers, a man should consider that a contract is a most holy thing, and that all concerns and wrongs of strangers are more directly dependent on the protection of God, than wrongs done to citizens. . . . He who is most able is the genius and the god of the stranger, who follows in the train of Zeus, the god of strangers. And for this reason, he who has a spark of caution in him will do his best to pass through life without sinning against the stranger. And of offences committed, whether against strangers or fellow-countrymen, that against suppliants is the greatest".[2] Similar opinions prevailed in ancient Rome. *Jus hospitii*, whilst forming no part of the civil law, belonged to *fas*;' the stranger, who enjoyed no legal protection, was, as a guest, protected by custom and religion.[3] The *dii hospitales* and Jupiter were on guard over him;[4] hence the

[1] Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 165 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Village Life in Palestine* (London, 1905), p. 227 *sq.* *Cf.* von Kremer, *op. cit.* ii. 231. In the *Proverbs* (xviii. 10) it is said:—"The name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it, and is safe" (*cf. 2 Samuel*, xxii. 4; *Joel*, ii. 32).

[2] Plato, *Leges*, v. 729 *sq.* *Cf.* Hesiod, *Opera et dies*, 331 *sq.* (333 *sq.*).

[3] Servius, *In Virgilii Aeneidos*, iii. 55; von Jhering, *Geist des römischen Rechts*, i. (Leipzig, 1852), p. 227; Leist, *Altarisches Jus Civile*, i. (Jena, 1892), pp. 103, 358 *sq.*

[4] Servius, *In Virgilii Aeneidos*, i. 736; Livy, *Historiae Romanae*, xxxix. 51; Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 52; Plautus, *Poenuli*, v. 1. 25.

duties towards a guest were even more stringent than those towards a relative.[1] In the sacred books of India hospitality is repeatedly spoken of as a most important duty. "The inhospitable man", the Vedic singer tells us, "acquires food in vain. I speak the truth—it verily is his death. . . . He who eats alone is nothing but a sinner".[2] "He who does not feed these five, the gods, his guests, those whom he is bound to maintain, the manes, and himself, lives not, though he breathes".[3] According to the Vishnu Purána, a person who neglects a poor and friendless stranger in want of hospitality goes to hell.[4] Now it seems difficult to doubt that in all these cases the punishment resulting from the neglect of suppliants or guests was originally the effect of their curses. According to Greek ideas, they had their Erinyes,[5] and the Erinyes were obviously in this, as in other cases, personifications of curses.[6] It is also difficult to attribute any other meaning to "the genius (δαίμων) and the god of the stranger, who follows in the train of Zeus", spoken of by Plato, and to the Roman *dii hospitales*, in their capacity of avengers of injuries done to guests.[7] Aeschylus represents Apollo as saying, "I shall assist him (Orestes), and rescue my own suppliant; for terrible both among men and gods is the wrath of a refugee, when one abandons him with intent".[8] It is no doubt the same idea that the Chorus in the *Suppliants* expresses, in a modified form, when singing:—"Grievous is the wrath of Zeus

[1] Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, v. 13. 5. [2] *Rig-Veda*, x. 117. 6.

[3] *The Laws of Manu* (Oxford, 1886), iii. 72. *Cf. Institutes of Vishnu* (Oxford, 1880), lxvii. 45.

[4] *The Vishńu Puráńa* (London, 1840), p. 305.

[5] Plato, *Epistolae*, viii. 357; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, iv. 1042 *sq.*

[6] See Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 60, 561, 623, 626.

[7] *Cf.* the Roman *divi parentum*, whose character of parental curses appears from the statement that "if a son beat his parent and he cry out, the son shall be devoted to the parental gods for destruction" (Servius Tullius, in Bruns, *Fontes Juris Romani antiqui* [Friburgi i. B. et Lipsiae, 1893], p. 14; and Festus, *De verborum significatione*, *s.v.* Plorare). *Cf.* Leist, *op. cit.* i. 184.

[8] Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 232 *sqq.*

Petitionary. . . . I must needs hold in awe the wrath of Zeus Petitionary, for that is the supremest on earth".[1] Apastamba's Aphorisms contain a *sūtra* the object of which is to show the absolute necessity of feeding a guest, owing to the fact that, "if offended, he might burn the house with the flames of his anger";[2] for "a guest comes to the house resembling a burning fire",[3] "a guest rules over the world of Indra".[4]

The traditional rule of the Prophet which limits the obligatory entertaining of a guest to three days may be supposed to be connected with the fact that growing familiarity with the stranger naturally tends to dispel the superstitious dread which he inspired at first; but combined with this fact is no doubt the feeling that it is unfair of him to live at his host's expense longer than necessity requires. There has been a similar rule in European countries. According to Teutonic custom, a guest might tarry only up to the third day.[5] The Anglo-Saxon rule was, "Two nights a guest, the third night one of the household", that is, a slave.[6] A German proverb says, "Den ersten Tag ein Gast, den zweiten eine Last, den dritten stinkt er fast".[7] So, also, the Southern Slavs declare that "a guest and a fish smell on the third day".[8] Burckhardt states that among the Bedouins, if the stranger intends to prolong his visit after a lapse of three days and four hours from the time of his arrival, it is expected that he should assist his host in domestic matters; should he decline this, "he may remain, but will be censured by all the Arabs of the camp".[9]

[1] Aeschylus, *Supplices*, 349, 489.

[2] *The Sacred Books of the East*, ii. (Oxford, 1897), p. 114 n. 3.

[3] *Apastamba* (*ibid.*), ii. 3. 6. 3.

[4] *Laws of Manu*, iv. 182. *Cf. Institutes of Vishnu*, lxvii. 33.

[5] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (Göttingen, 1828), p. 400; Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben* (Berlin, 1856), p. 447.

[6] Quoted in *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* (in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* [London, 1840]), 23. *Cf. The Laws of Cnut* (*ibid.*), ii. 28; *The Laws of Hlothhaere and Eadric* (*ibid.*), 15; *Leges Henrici I.* (*ibid.*), viii. 5.

[7] Weinhold, *op. cit.* p. 447.

[8] Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Wien, 1885), p. 658.

[9] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* p. 101 *sq.*

As the divine punishment of inhospitality may be traced to the curses of those who have been subject to it, so the divine reward of generosity towards guests may be traced to their blessings. In support of this theory some passages from the literature of ancient India and Greece may again be quoted. It is said in one of the sacred books of the Hindus that through a Brâhmana guest the people obtain rain, and food through rain; hence they know that "the hospitable reception of a guest is a ceremony averting evil".[1] When we read in the Laws of Manu that "the hospitable reception of guests procures wealth, fame, long life, and heavenly bliss",[2] it is also reasonable to suppose that this supernatural reward is a result of blessings invoked on the host. In the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus the Chorus sings:—"Let us utter for the Argives blessings in requital of their blessings. And may Zeus of Strangers watch to their fulfilment the rewards that issue from a stranger's tongue, that they reach their perfect goal".[3] Among the eastern Arabs, as in Morocco, strangers who are hospitably received are regarded as sources of good fortune. According to the old traveller d'Arvieux, strangers who come to an Arab village at Mount Carmel are received by the Sheikh with some such words as these:—"You are welcome; praised be God that you are in good health; your arrival draws down the blessing of heaven upon us; the house and all that is in it is yours, you are masters of it".[4] Among the Arabs of Sinai, "if a stranger be seen from afar coming towards the camp, he is the guest for that night of the first person who descries him, and who, whether a grown man or a child, exclaims, 'There comes my guest'. Such a person has a right to entertain the guest that night. Serious quarrels happen on these occasions; and the Arabs often have recourse to their great oath—'By the divorce (from my wife) I swear that I shall entertain the guest'; upon which all opposition ceases".[5]

Some reception ceremonies which I have heard of in

[1] *Vasishtha* (in *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv. [Oxford, 1882]), xi. 13.

[2] *Laws of Manu*, iii. 106.

[3] Aeschylus, *Supplices*, 632 *sqq.*

[4] d'Arvieux, *op. cit.* p. 131 *sq.*

[5] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* p. 198.

Morocco have also their counterparts in the East. Among the Arabs on the Abyssinian frontier, according to Sir S. W. Baker, "the usual welcome upon the arrival of a traveller, who is well received in an Arab camp, is the sacrifice of a fat sheep, that should be slaughtered at the door of his hut or tent, so that the blood flows to the threshold".[1] When Mr. Trumbull entered Palestine he found a well at Beersheba surrounded by a crowd of 'Azazimeh Bedouins watering their camels. He rushed into the crowd and thereby unconsciously put himself upon their hospitality before they could find time to warn him off, in the way they were accustomed to treat strangers. "As soon as I was within their circle", he says, "I was asked why I did not ask for a drink of water, if I wished to be received as a friend. Thereupon I repeated the Oriental request of the ages, 'Give me to drink'; and when I had drunk from one of their buckets I was welcomed as a friend".[2] The Rev. G. Robinson Lees observes, with reference to the Bedawin of Palestine, that the offer of food and its acceptance seal the covenant of friendship, "which confers an obligation on both parties, but more especially on the recipient of the favour".[3]

The fact that the Moorish *'ār* is rooted in ideas which prevailed in Arab antiquity and are found among the modern Arabs of the East does not, of course, imply that it may not also have a Berber origin. There are, on the contrary, reasons to suppose that it has in a large measure an African foundation. The term *'ār*, though an Arabic word, is not used in this sense by the oriental Arabs. The practices to which it is applied are supremely prevalent

[1] Baker, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia* (London, 1871), p. 94.

[2] Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 107 *sq.* The idea of transferring a conditional curse to a person by giving him water to drink was quite familiar to the ancient Hebrews, as appears from "the trial of jealousy":—If a married woman is suspected of adultery, the priest shall cause her to drink holy water which he has charged with a curse. "And when he hath made her to drink the water, then it shall come to pass, that, if she be defiled, and have done trespass against her husband, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall rot" (*Numbers*, v. 11 *sqq.*).

[3] Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness*, p. 71 *sq.*

among Berber- as well as Arabic-speaking tribes in Africa, and present a multitude of forms to which I have found no parallels in the East. Herodotus, after speaking of the oaths of the Nasamonians, adds the statement:—"In pledging their faith they observe the following method: each party gives the other to drink out of his hand, and drinks in turn from the other's hand; and if they have no liquid, they take up some dust from the ground and lick it".[1] This is very similar to the Moorish way of covenanting called *l-'ahd*, which is closely allied to the *'ār*. Customs like the obligatory protection afforded to guests and suppliants are widely spread among different peoples at different stages of civilisation, including non-Muhammaden Hamites and semi-Hamitic tribes;[2] and certain particular cases of *'ār* bear a striking resemblance to practices found among African pagan peoples. Among the Wandorobbo belonging to the Masai, who have little contact with the outside world, an unsuccessful suitor compels the father of his sweetheart to give in to his wishes by tying a string made of grass round the vessel in which honey is kept, and it is believed that continued resistance on the part of the father would lead to his death.[3] The Mpongwe of Southern Guinea have the following custom, which resembles one occurring among the Bråber. If a purchased woman runs away from her husband and "flies to some distant part of the country, and there throws herself upon the protection of some man whose wife she engages to be, he is, by all means, bound to protect her to the last extremity. If he is able and willing to advance the sum paid for her, it is received, and the affair is settled; but if he refuses to do this, or is not able, her friends are still held responsible by the original purchaser".[4] Far be it from me to suggest either that such similarities of customs are due to past contact or that they are derived from a common

[1] Herodotus, iv. 172.

[2] Westermarck, *op. cit.* i 572 *sqq.*, ii. 636 *sq.* The word *zâug* is probably of Berber origin (Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* [Paris, 1911], p. 325).

[3] Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), p. 232.

[4] Leighton Wilson, *Western Africa* (London, 1856), p. 268.

source. I only want to point out the resemblance between certain forms of *'ār* in Morocco and practices found elsewhere which there is no reason to attribute to Arab influence.

I have so far dealt with the *'ār* as practised in the relations between man and man. But it is as frequently resorted to as a means of putting pressure upon supernatural beings, *jnūn* and dead saints. The former, as we have seen, are warded off by *'ār*-sacrifices in connection with house-building, tent-pitching, and well-digging,[1] as also in cases of illness [2]; and at the threshing-floor similar sacrifices are made as *'ār* on "the masters of the ground" or "the masters of the threshing-floor".[3] The sacrifice offered the *jnūn* is in many of these cases represented partly as a gift-offering but partly also as *'ār*.

Of great interest is the *'ār* thrown upon dead saints. A person may place himself in the *'ār* of a saint by simply exclaiming, *Ana f 'ârăk a sîdi flān*, or, *Ana f 'ār lláh u 'ârăk a sîdi flān*, or *Ana f ḥorm* (or *ḥarm*) *lláh u ḥórmăk* (or *ḥármăk*) *a sîdi flān*; but in these cases, also, the objection is made that if the phrase *Ana f 'ār*, or *ḥorm*, *lláh* is used, it should not be followed by words referring to anybody else, not even a saint. When travellers approach a town they place themselves under the protection of its patron saint or its saints collectively (*rijâl lĕ-blâd*) by saying three times, *Ana mĕn ḍyāf lláh ù ḍyâfăk a sîdi flān*, "I am one of the guests of God and your guests, O my lord So-and-so"; or *Ḥăna mĕn ḍyāf lláh ù ḍyâfkum a rijâl lĕ-blâd*, "We belong to the guests of God and your guests, O men of the country", often adding *l-'áṭfa u l-iġâra*, "Favour us quickly"; or, *Ana fă ḥmāk* ("protection") *yā sîdi flān*; or, *Ana fă ḥmâkum yā rijâl lĕ-blâd*; or some similar phrase. When the traveller recites a phrase of this kind he stretches out his hands, with the palms turned upwards, in the direction of the town and then places them on his chest; and when he has finished his invocation he in many cases wipes his face with his palms, kissing the fingers as he does so. It is believed that if he omits such a salutation, some misfortune will befall him during his stay in the town.

[1] *Supra*, p. 315 *sqq.* [2] *Supra*, p. 329 *sqq.* [3] *Infra*, ii. 234 *sqq.*

The *'ār* put on a dead saint often consists in throwing a stone on a cairn connected with him. When a traveller who is approaching Fez comes to a place from which the town with its shrines becomes visible, he puts a stone on one of the cairns which he finds there on the roadside and says, *Hā l-'ār 'ălikum a rijâl lĕ-blâd.* In many cases the stone which is thrown on a cairn is first kissed by the person who throws it, and this kiss is also regarded as *'ār* on the saint. In Andjra, near the village l-Ḥámma, at the point where

Fig. 128.—Small piles of stones in the Great Atlas.

Mûläi 'Abdsslam's mountain is first seen by the traveller who comes from the west, I found a huge heap of stones with some myrtle and other branches and some rags thrown on it. When a person passes this *râuḍa* he throws three stones there, after he has kissed them, or puts there some branches or bread or money, and asks the saint to grant the request he makes. To put on a saintly cairn three stones, one on the top of another, or to put there a bigger stone on end, is a particularly powerful *'ār*, a so-called *'ār wâqăf*, or "upright *'ār*". In the great Atlas I often saw small piles of stones put on the top of each other (Fig. 128), which had been made as *'ār* on a saint by sick people, or by persons

who wanted to be cured of the unpleasant habit of knocking their feet against stones in walking, or by other petitioners. This *ʿār* is many a time accompanied with a promise to offer a sacrifice to the saint if he does what is asked of him. If the petitioner finds that the saint has listened to his request, he fulfils his promise and also knocks down the pile, whereas in the opposite case he leaves the pile in the hope that it may still put pressure on the saint.

In all parts of Morocco it is common to tie rags or

FIG. 129.—Lotus tree outside the *qóbba* of Sîdi ʿĂli Bū́ġâleb in Fez.

clothing or hair to some object belonging to a *sîyĭd*, as *ʿār* on the saint. In Fez and elsewhere women tie a piece of their clothes or a tuft of their hair to the door-ring of a shrine in order to get rid of an illness or to become mothers or to be treated kindly by their husbands or for some other purpose. In the same town there is outside the *qóbba* of Sîdi ʿĂii Bū́ġâleb a lotus tree which is full of hair and rags (Fig. 129); if a woman suffers from headache she ties to a branch of it some hair which came off when she combed her locks, and if she feels pain in her body she ties there a little piece of her clothes, and in either case she is said to cast *ʿār* on the saint. In Andjra a woman who is anxious to get a

child goes to a *sîyĭd*, puts her hands on her back so that her right hand rests on the palm of her left, kisses the *ḍárbūz* of the saint, and says, *Ḥâḍa 'ār 'ålik*, "This is *'ār* upon you". She then tears off a piece of her belt and ties it to one of the corners of the *ḍárbūz*, ties a tuft of her hair to another corner of it, and also puts some hair underneath the *ḍárbūz*. A man, again, who is ill or wants to become a father, ties to the *ḍárbūz* a piece of his turban or of the camel-hair cord which he wears round his head, removes his cloak and puts it on the top of the *ḍárbūz*, and (if he is anxious to get a child) takes some earth from the grave of the saint, mixes it with water from the *sîyĭd*, and applies the mixture to his stomach with the twig of a tree or bush growing at the shrine. While he is doing this he, too, says, *Ḥâḍa 'ār 'ålik yā sîḍi flān*. Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a person who for some object or other wants the assistance of a saint goes to his tomb, ties his turban round a corner of the *ṭābūt* (*dárbūz*) and leaves it there for a night as *'ār* on the saint. On a mountain outside Demnat, in the Great Atlas, I visited a place where the great saint Mûläi 'Abdlqâder has a *lăḫlût* (*ḫálwa*), consisting of a stone building, and close to it a cairn with a pole full of rags stuck in it. The natives told me that when a petitioner fastens a strip of his clothes to the pole he mutters some words like these:—*Ay agurrâmad háiyi usîġăk, ur diġ adakzduġ ard itaqḍut taġausânu*, "O this saint behold! I promised you an offering and I will not release (literally 'open') you until you attend to my case". If his wish is fulfilled the person goes back to the place, offers the sacrifice which he promised, and unties the knot which he made, either leaving the rag at the cairn or taking it with him to his house, where it is burned and the smoke inhaled for medicinal purposes on account of the saintly *baraka* with which it has become saturated. A Berber servant of mine from Aglu in Sūs told me that once when he was in prison he invoked Lålla Rå̆ḥma Yusf, a great female saint whose tomb is in Masst, and tied his turban, saying, "I am tying you, Lålla Rå̆ḥma Yusf, and I am not going to open the knot till you have helped me, nor shall I ever invoke you again if you do not

assist me". The same night his chains were opened by the saint, who was evidently frightened by his threat, and he escaped from the prison. I have previously spoken of the knot which a pilgrim makes in a cord in his clothes when invoking Sîdi Ḥămâd u Mûsa on the sea.[1] In various parts of the country it is the custom for petitioners to knot the leaves of a palmetto or the stalks of white broom growing in the vicinity of a *sîyĭd*. At Sîdi Ṭálḥa's *ḳálwa* in Andjra seven knots are made on the leaves of a palmetto outside it, but it is essential that this should be done with the left hand. A similar kind of *ʿār* is practised at the shrine of the patron saint of Tangier, Sîdi Mŭḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j, where the seven knots should be made one after another and rapidly; it is believed that he or she—this is mostly done by women—whose hand gets too tired to finish the knots properly will fail to influence the saint. So also a native of Masst in Sūs, when in distress, will go to the tomb of Lálla Rắḥma Yusf and knot the leaf of some palmetto growing close to it, saying, *Kĕrfġkĕm ġid a lálla Rắḥma Yusf, ur riġ adámfsiġ ġār iġiyí tfsit ġ tässästad lli ġilliġ*, "I tied you here, O Lálla Rắḥma Yusf, and I am not going to release you unless you release me from the toils in which I am at present". Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, if a woman is angry with somebody, she goes to a *sîyĭd* and ties seven knots on a palmetto to induce the saint to take revenge on her enemy.

It should be noticed, however, that the practices of throwing stones on the cairns of saints, of making piles of stones to saints, of tying hair or pieces of clothes to saintly objects, and of knotting the leaves of palmettos or white broom, may serve other objects at the same time as they are *ʿār* cast upon a saint. Some of the cases mentioned above suggest that the petitioner also expects to profit by the *baraka* of the object with which he comes in contact, and in certain instances the idea of disease-transference is conspicuously present in his mind. Outside the caves of Imi n Taqqándut in Ḥáḥa there are a multitude of small piles of stones (see Fig. 42) which have evidently been made by visitors not only as *ʿār* upon the saintly *jnūn* inhabiting the

[1] *Supra*, p. 91.

caves but also with a view to transferring their diseases to the stones; for they rub the stones against the affected part of the body before they pile them up, and it is generally assumed that if anybody happens to overthrow one of these piles he will catch the disease of its maker. The people of Andjra say that if a person rids himself of an illness by tying a piece of his clothes to an object belonging to a *sîyĭd*, the illness will be transferred to anybody who afterwards appropriates the strip. Those who relieve themselves of their complaints by tying a woollen string to Sîdi Butlîla's olive tree in Ḥáḥa draw the string three times round the top of their head in case they suffer from headache, whilst they spit on the string in the case of fever and, when they are tying it to the tree, say to the latter, *Fĭlăǧ gik taulânu ay azĕmmûrad*, "I left my fever in you, O this wild olive tree". The patient believes that he thereby transfers his illness to this particular tree because there is *baraka* in it; he would not expect to be cured by tying the string to any ordinary tree. The transference of evil is not looked upon as an ordinary, merely "natural" process, it can hardly be accomplished without the aid of magic energy; hence acts calculated to bring about such transference are performed by contact with a holy object. The making of knots may serve a similar purpose. Near Mehdîya, on the Atlantic coast, I found on the roadside bushes of white broom with the tips of their stalks twisted into knots, and heard from two shepherd boys, who happened to be on the spot, that when a person is suffering from back-ache he makes such a knot with the hands behind his back. At Demnat I was told that sick persons make similar knots, saying, "I left in you my sickness". That the idea of disease-transference may be readily combined with *'ār* is easy to understand considering that the *'ār* itself is an act of transference—the transference of a conditional curse.

A fusion of different ideas may also be found in other methods of putting *'ār* on saints. In Andjra, if a little child suffers from whooping-cough, its mother buys at the market seven small knives, which she hides somewhere in the neighbourhood of her house. The following morning before

sunrise she takes the child on her back, fetches the knives, and goes to a saintly place in the village Būlʿáišiš, called *l-ḥájra ḏ mûläi Mḥámmäḏ*, consisting of a stone surrounded by a *ḥauš*. She puts the child on the stone and, turned towards the East, touches its throat with the blade of one of the knives, saying, "This is *ʿār* on you, O Mûläi Mḥámmäḏ". She spits on the knife, and throws it under the stone. She then does the same with all the other knives, one after another, and pays a *dérḥam* to the saint. After this she touches seven different parts of the child's body—the ears, forehead, nose, mouth, throat, and top of the head—with seven little pieces of a loaf of bread, which she has brought with her, and throws each piece under the stone as soon as she has touched with it one of the parts mentioned. Finally she lights a wax candle, which she has also brought with her, and goes away. This ceremony is both *ʿār* and disease-transference; for it is believed that anybody who should take one of the knives would catch the disease, and that if a dog ate the bread it would likewise become ill. In the same tribe it is the custom for a person suffering from a lingering disease to visit the shrine of the patron saint of his village on a Friday in company with the schoolboys, for whom he has got a holiday by paying a coin to the master The boys seize hold of him and take him seven times round the shrine, all of them being barefooted. They then enter the sanctuary, the sick man is laid on his face, and the boys, one after another, walk on his back, reciting some passages of the Koran. They spit on the uncovered parts of his body—his head, hands, feet, and legs, saying, *Ălláh ijʿál ḥḏa l-bäs yḗlsaq fĕ l-hiûḍi au n-năṣrâni fĕ ḏäk l-berr*, "May God make this evil stick to the Jew or the Christian in that country" (that is, Europe). The boys eat of the dish of *kŭsksŭ* with meat which the patient brought with him, and he himself eats what is left so as to profit by the *baraka* of the schoolboys. When the latter have gone away, he sweeps the floor of the *sîyĭd*, saying, *Ḥḏa ʿār lláh u ʿălik a sîḍi l-wâli, ḥḏa ḍ-ḍârar ălláh ijḏʿlŭ fĕ ḏäk l-berr hŭwa yḗlsaq fĭ ši hiûḍi*, "This is God's *ʿār* and *ʿār* upon you, O my lord the saint, may God make this complaint stick to

some Jew in that country". While this is *'ār* upon the saint, the sweeping is also obviously intended to sweep away the sickness. So also a method of calling down misfortune upon an enemy is to sweep the floor of a *sîyŭd* with one's cloak, praying God to sweep away the enemy likewise.[1] Or, if a person goes to a *sîyŭd* to invoke the saint's revenge upon an enemy, he sometimes takes with him some roasted barley and strews it on the floor of the sanctuary, saying, *Šétt^{s}et^{s} yā sîdı flān kâma šétt^{s}et^{s} hạ̄d š-š'ēr fik*, "I scattered So-and-so, O my lord, as I scattered this barley on you". For a similar purpose supplicants burn tar inside a *sîyŭd* or, if the door be closed, outside the entrance, in order that the enemy also shall be burned. Again, if a person has been falsely accused, he turns over the mat in the *sîyŭd* which he visits, asking God to turn a still greater accusation over the false accuser. It may be that in these acts homœopathic magic predominates, but they are all called *'ār* and are considered to compel the saint to give his assistance. Sweeping, for instance, may also be *'ār* without being combined with an evil intention: women visiting a shrine often sweep its threshold with a fold of their *ḥâyĕk*, saying *Hā l-'ār 'ălik*. It is also likewise said to be *'ār* when in Andjra the ploughmen of a village, in order to get rain, take their ploughs to the shrine of its patron saint and leave them there until their wishes are fulfilled; but they also use their ploughs as rain charms without taking them to a shrine.[2]

The *'ār* cast on a dead saint, as well as on a living person, very frequently consists of an animal sacrifice. This sacrifice is in many cases accompanied with a promise to reward the saint if he grants the request, and the reward may itself be a sacrifice offered him as a gift. I have in a previous chapter spoken of these two kinds of sacrifices, which are theoretically quite distinct from one another but not infrequently have a tendency to fuse.[3] In the case of *'ār* the victim is very often merely a fowl, though it may be even an ox. In the streets of Marráksh I saw an ox draped with white clothing which was sent by a rich man's wife to a shrine to be slaughtered there as *'ār*, after which the clothing was to be taken back

[1] *Cf. infra*, i. 593 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, ii. 273 *sq.* [3] *Supra*, p. 189.

to her. I heard of the same custom at Mazagan, but was told there that the clothing also is left at the shrine as *ʿār* on the saint. Clothes are sometimes used for a similar purpose in cases where there is no sacrifice. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer parents who have lost a child deposit its shirt at a shrine as *ʿār* in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

The objects for which *ʿār* is used to put pressure on dead saints are not less manifold than those for which they are appealed to by more humble means. A special object for which people secure their assistance by placing themselves in their *ʿār* is to escape from persecution. As a man is compelled to assist a person who takes refuge with him, so also a saint is compelled to protect a refugee who enters his *ḥorm*, or even seizes hold of one of the cairns at its border, or of the wooden fence or iron chain which sometimes indicates the limits of a *ḥorm*. He is in the *ʿār* of the saint, who consequently must help him, even though the pursuer be a representative of the Sultan's government. If the *mzâug* (in the Berber of the Aiṯ Sádděn and Ait Waráin *amzaug*), or refugee, has only committed a small offence, the descendants of the saint or the care-taker of the *sîyĭd* try perhaps to persuade the authorities to pardon him; whereas if he has been guilty of a great crime, they may do their best to induce him to leave the place, but intervene at the same time on his behalf so that his punishment shall not be excessive. A candle or writing-board or some earth or clothing from the *sîyĭd*, or the turban, stick, or rosary of the care-taker or of one of the saint's descendants, is given to him when he goes to his governor, and he is also accompanied by one or more of these persons on the way. If he refuses to go, the governor can have him put in irons to prevent his escape, but nobody can forcibly compel him to leave the place. Nor must he be starved into subjection; if his own relatives do not bring him food, he is fed by charitable visitors or by people connected with the *sîyĭd*. I heard of a thief in Tangier who remained for four years with shackled feet in the *ḥorm* of Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j, leaving it only when the man whom he had robbed died and the descendants of the saint managed to mediate between

his sons and the thief. Mûlăi Idrīs' refugees in Fez can themselves buy their provisions and other necessaries from the shops inside his *ḥorm*. The men are lodged in a house joining to his mosque, which Mûlăi 'Abdl'ăzîz bought for this purpose, but in order to prevent their settling down there too comfortably with their wives the wall between the house and the mosque was pulled down ; and another house, the so-called *dār l-qáyṭon*, is reserved for female refugees. In Marráksh certain country governors used to have town houses in the *ḥorm* of some saint—the governors of Glawi and Amzmiz, for example, in the *záwia* of Sîdi Bel 'Abbaṣ —so as to be better protected against unpleasant surprises on the part of their Shereefian master.

The degree of protection which a refugee enjoys at a *sîyĭd* depends on the importance of the saint and the influence of his descendants or *mqáddem*. Whilst a small sanctuary is often a very unsafe place of refuge, the right of asylum is generally respected in the case of a great *sîyĭd*. Yet it is not invariably so. A notorious exception to the rule was the execution of the murderer of an English missionary in Fez by the command of Mûlăi 'Abdl'ăzîz in the year 1902. The assassin, who was a shereef of Mûlăi 'Abdsslam's family, fled to Mûlăi Idrīs' *qóbba*, but was removed from there by the Sultan's orders on the pretext that the Sultan only wanted to speak to him. The descendants of the saint, who did not agree to this, gave him as a safe-conduct the *lôḥa*, or writing-board, which is said to have been used by Mûlăi Idrīs when a schoolboy, and on which passages of the Koran are engraved. This sacred object had always before guaranteed to a refugee the same protection as though he had remained in the *ḥorm* itself ; but when the shereef now appeared before the Sultan with the *lôḥa* on his chest, it was forcibly taken away from him, and after this he was shot. It is said that when the execution took place, blood oozed out from the tomb of the saint, who was also hurt by it, and that the light in his sanctuary went out ; and Mûlăi 'Abdl'ăzîz was severely punished for his outrage. For on the following day the pretender Bū̆ḥămâra arose among the Ġaiyâṭ^{s}a, and owing to him the Sultan got

into great financial difficulties, which at last cost him his throne. Many other instances are mentioned of saints punishing a violation of the right of asylum. At Brīš, in the Ġarbîya, I saw a madman whose insanity was attributed to the fact that he once, while a soldier, had forcibly removed a fugitive from Sîdi 'Abdlhâ̊di's tomb in the same village. A *ḫlîfa* in Tangier who had ordered a refugee to be taken away from Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Báqqal's shrine and thrown into prison, woke up the next morning with swollen legs; the saint had appeared to him in a dream and told him that the man would not remain in prison for long, but that the *ḫlîfa* himself was soon going to die, and on the third day after the outrage this prophecy was fulfilled. It is said that Mûläi 'Abdl'ăzîz' powerful Grand-Vizier, Bba Ḥmed, was killed by the great Dukkâla saints Mûläi Buš'áib and Mûläi 'Abdllah, because he had laid violent hands on their refugees; shortly before his death he sent ten bullocks to the former and eighteen to the latter to appease them, but in vain. Mûläi Buš'áib once punished with a deadly illness a governor of Azemmur who had only put one of his refugees in irons, without removing him. It is also believed that if an official does not keep his promise to treat with consideration a person who has been induced to leave the *sîyĭd* to which he fled, the saint will punish him for it.

Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in the *'ār* of God and Sîdna Ǧebrîl, the master of mosques. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the *'ār* of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed. But the rule is that shrines are safer places of refuge than mosques, and in many parts of the country the latter are no places of refuge at all (Fez, Aiṯ Sádděn, Ait Waráin). There is nobody to intervene on behalf of him who flees to a mosque; the people praying there are only annoyed by the disturbance he causes.

Practices which are at least externally similar to those by which in Morocco *'ār* is cast upon saints are found in

the East. In Palestine "stones are piled on each other where a holy place first becomes visible when approaching it, generally at the turn of a mountain".[1] Rags are tied to trees connected with shrines;[2] and in Syria "rags from the dress of the worshippers are seen in towns tied to the wire netting which covers the windows of saints' tombs".[3] Animals are also sacrificed at shrines. I have found no direct proof, however, that an idea similar to that underlying the Moorish *'ār* is connected with these practices. Goldziher points out that the sacrifice of fowls is an African peculiarity;[4] and a reason for this may be the great prevalence of such sacrifices in the *'ār*-ritual. Yet the idea of cursing the deity was quite familiar to the ancient Semites,[5] and their methods of covenanting with him seem to imply the transference of conditional curses by means of a sacrifice or otherwise.[6] They also made use of magic knots[7]; and the practice still survives in the East in a form which makes it exactly like an act of *'ār*. In Palestine, "when an Arab is attacked and hard pressed, he can free himself from his enemies by tying a knot in one of the cords which form the fringe of the handkerchief (*kefie*) worn on his head and uttering the name of *Allah*". If he can accomplish this, "his assailants are in a moment changed into his protectors; they take him out of harm's way, and put him in a place of

[1] Baldensperger, 'Peasant Folk-lore of Palestine', in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1893* (London), p. 204. See also Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 337.

[2] Merrill, *East of the Jordan* (London, 1881), p. 497; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 27; Baldensperger, *loc. cit.* p. 204. See also Rouse, 'Notes from Syria', in *Folk-Lore*, vi. (London, 1895), p. 173.

[3] Rouse, *loc. cit.* p. 172.

[4] Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. (Halle a. S., 1890), p. 348. See also *supra*, p. 378.

[5] *Exodus*, xxii. 28; Goldziher, 'Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet', in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, p. 303 *sqq.*

[6] *Infra*, i. 568 *sq.*

[7] van Vloten, 'Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern', in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, viii. (Vienna, 1894), p. 70 *sq.*; Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Strassburg i. E., 1898), p. 157; Furlani, in *Rivista trimestrale di studi filosofici e religiosi*, iv. (Perugia, 1923), p. 354 *sqq.*

safety".[1] As for the custom of tying rags to trees, it is interesting to notice that Arnobius mentions its existence among the ancient Libyans (*veternosis in arboribus taenias*).[2]

In other Muhammadan countries besides Morocco the tombs of saints, as also the mosques, are or have been places of refuge;[3] but the right of sanctuary existed in Arabia, and in the Semitic world generally, long before the times of the Prophet. Among the Hebrews this right originally belonged to all altars,[4] but on the abolition of the local altars it was limited to certain cities of refuge.[5] According to the Old Testament manslayers could find shelter there only in the case of involuntary homicide; but this was undoubtedly a narrowing of the ancient custom. Many heathen sanctuaries of the Phœnicians and Syrians retained even in Roman times what seems to have been an unlimited right of asylum;[6] and at certain Arabian shrines the god likewise gave shelter to all fugitives without distinction, and even stray or stolen cattle that reached the holy ground could not be reclaimed by their owners.[7]

As to the origin of the right of sanctuary, Robertson Smith has no doubt stated part of the truth in saying that "the assertion of a man's undoubted rights as against a fugitive at the sanctuary is regarded as an encroachment on its holiness".[8] There is an almost instinctive fear not only of shedding blood,[9] but of disturbing the peace in a

[1] Pierotti, *Customs and Traditions of Palestine* (Cambridge, 1864), p. 214 *sq.*

[2] Arnobius, *Disputationes adversus gentes*, i. 39 (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, v. [Parisiis, 1844], col. 767).

[3] Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. (Halle a. S., 1889), p. 237 *sq.*; Quatremère, *loc. cit.* p. 313 *sq.*; Pananti, *Narrative of a Residence in Algiers* (London, 1818), p. 269; Polak, *Persien*, ii. (Leipzig, 1865), p. 83 *sqq.*; Brugsch, *Im Lande der Sonne* (Berlin, 1886), p. 246.

[4] *Exodus*, xxi. 13 *sq.* *Cf.* Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 148 n. 1.

[5] *Numbers*, xxxv. 11 *sqq.*; *Deuteronomy*, iv. 41 *sqq.*, xix. 2 *sqq.*

[6] Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 148.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 148 *sq.*; Procksch, *op. cit.* p. 44 *sq.*

[8] Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 148.

[9] See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 380.

holy place; and if it is improper to commit any act of violence in the house of another man,[1] it is naturally considered equally offensive, and also infinitely more dangerous, to do so in the homestead of a supernatural being. But this is only one aspect of the matter in all those cases where the god or saint himself is considered to be compelled to protect the criminal who has sought refuge in his sanctuary, and therefore cannot deliver him up to justice through his earthly representative. The reason for this is that the refugee is, as the Moors put it, in the *'ār* of the supernatural being. Let us once more remember Apollo's words, "Terrible both among men *and gods* is the wrath of a refugee, when one abandons him with intent".

Related to the *'ār* is, in many cases, the *'ahd* or *'áhăd*, consisting of a solemn promise, or an act implying a promise, by which he who makes the promise or performs the act is believed to expose himself to supernatural danger in case of bad faith.

The promiser may give to the promisee one of his belongings as security; the promisee is then supposed to be able to avenge a breach of faith owing to the close connection between a thing and its owner. Thus among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, if a person has taken refuge at a saint-shrine, his sheikh or governor may induce him to leave it by sending him his turban or rosary as *'ahd*; he is then safe from persecution for some time at least, though the promise is easily forgotten afterwards. So also when a boy keeps away from school for fear of punishment, the schoolmaster sends him his rosary as a pledge of impunity. When the Aiṯ Sádděn, in times of uproar, make among themselves a sheikh called *amġar n ṯúgᵛa*, the man who is chosen for this post demands that the *imasäin* (sing. *amasäi*), or subsheikhs, whom he appoints in the various villages of the tribe—one or several in each village, according to its size—shall give him their turbans or cloaks (*islhaměn*) as a security for their obedience; and if the body of kindred for whom

[1] See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 635 n. 4.

the *amasäi* is responsible is somewhat large, he in his turn appoints two or three men to be *imasäin* under him and likewise demands their turbans. If an offence is committed and the *amġar n ṯug^{v}a* does not get the fine (*lḥaqq*) which is due to him, he punishes the neglectful *amasäi* by dyeing the cloak (*aslham*) or turban he has received from him black, and then exhibiting it at the two market-places of the tribe ; and in a similar manner the *imasäin* punish their subordinates if they are dissatisfied with them. So also, if the tribe is going to fight another tribe the *amġar n ṯug^{v}a* secures the cloaks of the leading men of the tribe as a pledge for their appearance at a certain place on the day and the hour fixed by him ; and if any of them fails to appear he blackens his cloak and sends it to different parts of the tribe to be shown to all the people (Aiṯ Sádděn, Aiṯ Yúsi). In these cases the blackening of the cloak or turban of the faithless man is not merely a means of disgracing him, but is supposed to cause him misfortune, black being a colour which contains *bạs*, or evil.

Another method of making a promise very binding is to establish bodily contact with the promisee whereby the promiser exposes himself to the latter's conditional curse. For this purpose he who gives the promise presses the fingers of his right hand between those of the other person's right hand, saying, *Ḥaqq hād l-'áhăd dĕ n-nbi . . .*, " By this *'áhăd* of the Prophet, I shall do this or that " ; but the same phrase is also by itself, without the joining of hands, used to add sanctity to a promise (Fez). In Andjra the joining of hands in the said manner is used as a form of *'ahd* by a person who wants to persuade another that he has nothing to fear from him, for example by a messenger who has been sent by the governor to fetch a person ; when the hands are united he who makes the reassuring promise says, *Ḥaqq hāḏ l-'ášra ḥatt^{s}a nă qbar n-nbi*, " By this ten (that is, these ten fingers) as far as the grave of the Prophet ".

Very frequently the rite of *'ahd* is performed not by one party alone but by both or all parties concerned, in which case it becomes an act of covenanting. In Dukkâla it was the custom that on the death of the Sultan, when the governors appointed by him ran away or were killed, the *qīyåd s-séiba*,

or leaders of the revolution, in the different quarters of the province, made an alliance by exchanging their turbans or cloaks (*slâhĕm*), and it was believed that any one who broke the covenant would suffer some serious misfortune. In the Ḥiâina, in times of fighting, turbans or cloaks are likewise exchanged between the leading men, and if any one of them is guilty of breach of faith, his turban or cloak is blackened and exhibited at the next market, hung on a cane. Among the Beni Ăḥsen I was told that a similar exchange of cloaks takes place when an agreement is made with Zemmūr Berbers, their neighbours.[1] So also, in the case of an armistice between two tribes of the Brâber who are at war with one another, the headmen of the various divisions of the two tribes exchange their cloaks; if any act of hostility, nevertheless, occurs, a fine is claimed, and if it is refused the cloak of the headman who is responsible for the division where the truce was broken is painted black and sent to the market-places of both tribes. Some years ago I heard that the leading men of various tribes of the Brâber had made *l'aḥĕḏ* (*'ahd*) with one another by exchanging their cloaks for the purpose of fighting together against the French.

Like the *'ahd* made with a turban or cloak, so also the *'ahd* made by joining the right hands so that the fingers of one hand go between the fingers of the other is very frequently mutual. In such cases the promises given by both parties are confirmed by words like these:—*Ḥaqq hād l-'áhăd dĕ n-nbi*, "By this *'áhăd* of the Prophet" (Fez); or, *Ḥâda 'ahd lláh bîni ᾱu bîněk*, "This is *'ahd* of God between me and you" (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz); or, *Fkîgak l'áhăd n răbbi ur kttăġḍárġ ġ má nskĕr nĭkki dîdak*, "I have given you the promise of God not to betray you in what we have done together" (Iglíwa). The ceremony in question is sometimes performed at a saint's tomb over the head of the *dárbūz*, or over the Koran; or in the presence of a shereef or holy man, who puts his own right hand over the united hands of the parties or throws his cloak over them, saying, *Ḥād l-'ahd* (or *ḥâda 'ahd*), *bäinâtˢkum*, "This *'ahd* is (or

[1] For the Zemmūr *cf. Villes et tribus du Maroc: Rabat et sa région*, iii. (Paris, 1920), p. 221.

'this is *'ahd*') between you"; or over some *sěksû* or bread or the dish from which the parties have just before partaken of a common meal (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Marráksh, Iglíwa, Aglu).

The joining of hands as a method of covenanting derives its force from the idea that both parties thereby expose themselves to each other's conditional curses. A similar idea underlies the common practice of making a compact or alliance by eating together, especially at the tomb of a saint. When the people of Andjra, for example, decide to rebel against their governor, they go to a shrine together, slaughter there a bullock for each of the five divisions of the tribe, recite the whole Koran, and have a meal in common, after which they say some words like these:—"Now we have eaten and read at this shrine; the saint is between us, and if any one breaks this *'ahd* we shall defile his beard and take his property". Among the Aiṭ Yúsi a blood-feud which has arisen between two tribes may be brought to a close in the following manner. The leading men of both tribes, after some preliminary negotiations, agree to meet on a certain day at a certain place. There they exchange their cloaks (*izĕnnarr*) or, if they have no cloaks, their turbans or the cotton kerchiefs of their wives instead; and if the meeting is held in a village the compact is further sealed by a common meal. In the same tribe, when a feast is held at the bride's house before the wedding proper, some food is sent to the bridegroom, and this is regarded as *'ahd*, or an act of covenanting, between bride and bridegroom.[1] To the same class of ceremonies belongs the partaking of food in common by bride and bridegroom: it is a means of sealing their union by an act which has naturally been suggested by one of the most prominent features of married life, the husband's sharing of food with his wife. But, as I have pointed out in another work, their eating together at the wedding may also serve other purposes.[2]

A common meal may in any circumstances be a sort of *'ahd*, laying restraints on those who partake of it. To say

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 144 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 259 *sq.*

of a person, *Ana šrekt^{s} m'ah ṭ-ṭă'âm*, "I shared food with him", implies that I am by a silent covenant prevented from doing harm to him. I was told that it is more important to be kind to a neighbour than to a relative because neighbours so often take their meals together (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz). If a person has eaten together with another and afterwards behaved badly to him, God and the food will repay him for it —*Rábbi ů ṭ-ṭă'âm iḥállaṣ* (*ibid.*, Tangier). It is a dangerous curse to say, *Ḥallít^{s} lek ṭă'âm lli šṛ́ḳna*, "I left to you food which we shared" (Fez); or, *Ḥallít^{s} lek ṭ-ṭă'âm ů j-jůra*, "I left to you the food and neighbourship" (Tangier). Oaths are also made by food which has been partaken of in common, even though it be long ago:—*Ḥaqq ṭ-ṭă'âm li mšârkīn* (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz), or, *Oḥǎqq ṭṭă'âm nná nššur* (Aiṭ Sádděn), "By the food which we shared"; *Ḥaqq hād l-mlâḥ li šṛ́ḳna* (Tangier), or, *Waḥq tisntad lli němšárak* (Aglu), "By this salt which we shared"; *Ḥaqq ṭ-ṭă'âm lli kelt^{s} f dârkum*, "By the food which I ate in your house" (Fez); *Oḥǎqq únna němjǎbăḏ íng^{y}ěraḥ*, "By that which we pulled between us"—that is, the towel (*ṭáměnḏilṭ*) with which we cleaned our hands after eating together (Aiṭ Sádděn).[1] We have previously noticed the importance attached to the meal offered a suppliant or guest.

That rites of covenanting similar in principle to those practised in Morocco occurred in North Africa in very ancient times is suggested by a statement made by Herodotus;[2] and among Semites a common meal was an early method of sealing a compact. There are instances of this in the Old Testament.[3] Laban and Jacob made a covenant by heaping up stones and eating together on the heap;[4] and the Israelites entered into alliance with the Gibeonites by taking of their victuals, without consulting Yahve, and the meal was expressly followed by an oath.[5] In other instances, again, a covenant was made with the deity by means of a sacrificial

[1] See also *supra*, p. 501.

[2] *Supra*, p. 550.

[3] *Genesis*, xxvi. 30; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 271; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, i. (Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig, 1894), p. 359.

[4] *Genesis*, xxxi. 44 *sqq.*

[5] *Joshua*, ix. 14 *sq.*

meal [1] or in some other way. The Hebrews, as Robertson Smith observes,[2] thought of the national religion as constituted by a formal covenant sacrifice at Mount Sinai, where half of the blood of the sacrificed oxen was sprinkled on the altar and the other half on the people,[3] or even by a still earlier covenant rite in which the parties were Yahve and Abraham ; [4] and the idea of sacrifice establishing a covenant between God and man is also apparent in the Psalms.[5] The same idea, according to Wellhausen, prevailed among the ancient Arabs.[6] Robertson Smith and his followers have represented these practices as acts of communion. At first, we are told, the god—that is, the totem god—himself was eaten, whilst at a later stage the eating of the god was superseded by the eating with the god ; communion still remained the core of sacrifice, and only subsequently the practice of offering gifts to the deity developed out of the sacrificial union between the worshippers and their god.[7] But I venture to think that the whole of this theory is based upon a misunderstanding of the Semitic evidence. From what has been said about the *'ār* and the *'ahd* the idea underlying the methods of covenanting with the deity seems clear enough: their primary object was not to establish communion, but to transfer conditional curses both to the men and the god.

[1] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 271 ; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 124.
[2] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 318 *sq.*
[3] *Exodus*, xxiv. 4 *sqq.* [4] *Genesis*, xv. 8 *sqq.*
[5] *Psalms*, l. 5. [6] Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 124.
[7] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* lec. ix. *sqq.* ; Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. (London, 1895), p. 236 ; Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion* (London, 1896), p. 225.

CHAPTER XI

WITCHCRAFT—HOMŒOPATHIC INFLUENCES—THE TRANSFERENCE OF EVIL

BESIDES the evil eye and the curse there are other mysterious malign influences which are due to envy or ill-will, namely, practices called *sḥōr* (or *sḥōr*), that is, witchcraft. The plural *sḥōr* is much more frequently heard than the singular *saḥr* or *seḥr*, the latter of which is, to my knowledge, only used by scribes. A person who practises *sḥōr* is called *sa̱ḥḥa̱r* or *sa̱ḥḥa̱r* (plur. *sa̱ḥḥa̱rīn* or *sa̱ḥḥa̱ra*), if a man, and *sa̱ḥḥa̱ra* or *sa̱ḥḥa̱ra*, if a woman. The Berbers have berberised forms of these words, such as *ssḥōr* (Ait Wäryâġer), *ssḥör* (Ait Sádděn), or *sséḥär* (Ait Waráin); *ssaḥḥa̱r* (plur. *ssaḥḥa̱ra*; Ait Wäryâġer), *asḥḥa̱r* (plur. *isḥḥa̱rn*; Ait Sádděn), or *asḥḥār* (plur. *isḥḥārn*; Iglíwa); *ssaḥḥa̱ra* (plur. *ssaḥḥa̱rat*; Ait Wäryâġer), *ta̱sḥḥa̱rt* (plur. *ti̱sḥḥa̱rin*; Ait Sádděn), or *tasḥḥārt* (plur. *tisḥḥarīn*; Iglíwa). Among the Ait Sádděn the term *ssḥör* is used for a written charm, whereas the witchcraft practised by women is called *iḥärgʸān* and the woman who practises it *ta̱iḥärgʸi̱t* (plur. *ta̱iḥärgʸâta̱n*)

As we have noticed above, witchcraft is practised by the aid of *jnūn*, and to secure their assistance names of *jnūn* are mentioned in written charms of this sort. Witchcraft by writing is extensively indulged in by scribes, and the greatest experts in this as in other kinds of magic are found among the scribes from Sūs. The Shlöḥ maintain that these scribes become able to write powerful charms as soon as they have crossed the river Ůmm r-Rbē' on their way northwards, even in case the scribe had shown no such capacity while

in his own country. Other kinds of *ṣḥōr* are in particular practised by women. When Šĕmhârûš, the sultan of the *jnūn*, died he left behind a daughter who is still alive and assists her own sex in doing evil; hence women are even better versed in witchcraft than scribes. While the charm written by a scribe easily loses its efficacy before long, a woman's enchantment has generally a more enduring effect. Women can really do wonderful things by sorcery. A Berber from Glawi told me that in a neighbouring tribe an old hag once transformed eight scribes into sheep, and that the enchantment lasted until a clever magician buried the hag alive and read incantations over the sheep, sprinkling them with earth. Among the Tsūl a witch showed her ability in the presence of many people by reading an incantation which made the three stones of the fire-place knock against each other, and then induced the broom to come and separate them. The sorcery of women is specially rife at certain seasons—*'āšûra*, New Year's tide, and Midsummer,—but it is frequent enough at all times. It is said that married women commence victimising their husbands at the wedding, and continue to do so as long as the marriage lasts.

Many sorcerous practices are of a preventive character, and belong to the class of magic called *t^{s}qāf*, which is practised for a variety of purposes.[1] A common form of *t^{s}qāf* is to prevent, out of revenge or jealousy, a man from having sexual intercourse by making him impotent. A scribe writes a *ḥerz šiṭâni* on a plate of lead, which he folds and seals so carefully that no water can come in contact with the writing and then secretly throws into a deep well; the result is that the bewitched person will become impotent for ever, unless the enchantment is removed by a counter-charm. I was told of a man who had thus been made impotent for thirty years, but at last was cured by a magician from Sūs, who by the writing of a charm containing the name of a *jenn* relieved him of the effect of the *t^{s}qāf* (Tangier). Or some devilish words are written on the blade of a clasp-knife, which is then shut up and buried in an uninhabited place; but if the knife is found and opened, or the writing is spoiled by

[1] See also *supra*, p. 210 *sq.*

water, the spell is broken (*ibid.*). Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, if a bridegroom on the day of "the great henna", *rḥânni amâqran*,[1] is not sufficiently liberal to the scribes, it may happen that one of the latter takes revenge in the following manner. He writes something on the blade of a clasp-knife, goes into the room in which the bridegroom is sitting, with the knife hidden underneath his clothes, and shuts it up at the moment when he salutes him. He subsequently ties up the knife so that it shall remain well shut, buries it in a desolate place, and makes a cairn over it; and the husband will now be incapable of having intercourse with his wife. He will, however, be easily cured by inducing the mischief-maker, whom he will soon find out, to undo the enchantment; but, of course, he has to pay for it. The guilty scribe digs up and unties the knife, writes something from the Koran on a paper, and gives the paper to the bewitched husband, who pours water over it and then drinks the water. At Fez a malevolent person who wants to prevent a bridegroom from consummating his marriage writes on a paper, or asks somebody else to write for him, a charm containing magic figures, puts inside the paper a red silk thread in which he has made seven knots and a pinch of earth from a grave, and buries it at the door of the bridegroom's room, so that he shall walk over it; when he does so he will become impotent, and will not be able to have intercourse with his wife until some scribe writes a counter-charm for him. We shall see in another connection that dead bodies or things connected with them are frequently made use of in *ṭ'qâf*, as also in other forms of *sḥôr*, on account of the destructive energy with which they are supposed to be saturated.[2]

In Andjra the following method of preventing a bridegroom from consummating his marriage is resorted to by dissatisfied scribes. They write a charm, rub it with water, and then put into the water some of the bridegroom's hair, which they secretly get hold of when he is shaved on the day called *nhâr r-rkub ḏe l-'ârûṣ*[3] just before his ride to his

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 115 *sq.*

[2] *Infra*, ii. 552 *sqq.*

[3] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 129.

house, where he is going to meet the bride ; and before he mounts his mule they put the wet hair underneath the saddle-cloth. They also try to get some hair of the bride to put under the threshold of the bridegroom's house in order to prevent her defloration. When the bridegroom finds that he cannot consummate the marriage, he puts *'ār* on the scribes and gives them the entertainment they want. It is true that before he enters the bridal chamber his mother asks his *ḥâjeb*, or best-man, to tell him to step three times over the bundle made of his old clothes with his shaved-off hair inside the clothes, in order to prevent the working of magic on him by any one who may have got hold of some hairs when he was shaved ;[1] but this precaution is evidently not supposed to be infallible. In the same district a married woman prevents her husband from having connection with another woman by knocking a nail into the ground at a place where he has made water, saying, *Yā rǎbbi yébbes n-nefs ĕḏ hâḏa r-rájĕl kīf îbĕs ḥậḏa l-mĕṣmar hna*, " O God, make this man's penis dry as this nail here will become dry ". In Dukkâla a woman who wants her husband or sweetheart to be faithful to her asks a scribe to write a charm to prevent his having sexual intercourse with any other woman. She puts the charm in a place where the man will step over it, and then buries it ; but if he happens to see or find the charm, it will produce no effect on him. So also a man may, by an analogous method, prevent a woman from having intercourse with other men. For the sexual incapacity of men who are the victims of *tᶜqāf* there are various remedies besides those already mentioned. At Fez a member of the bewitched bridegroom's family secretly puts some opium underneath the back of his right slipper. In the Ḥiáina a charm in the shape of a *jḗdwäl* is written on a horse-shoe, by preference an old one, which is then made red-hot by a blacksmith and dipped into clean water ; and by drinking this water seven consecutive mornings on an empty stomach the man is cured of his impotence. Among the Aiṯ Sáddĕn and the Ait Waráin the bewitched man burns the penis of a fox and fumigates his own with the smoke.

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 230 *sq.*

Mothers have recourse to *tˢqāf* to preserve the virtue of their unmarried daughters. At Fez the mother takes her daughter to a place where women are making silk ribbons, and induces her to step seven times in the same direction over the threads which are twisted together; this, I was told, will make the girl's genitals as impenetrable as if they were made of steel. The mother takes with her the ribbon, and preserves it till the day when she wants to remove the *tˢqāf*. She then separates the threads from each other, and again makes the daughter step over them seven times. But while on the former occasion she stepped over them from the right of the woman who twisted them, she now does so in the opposite direction. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi it is the custom for every little girl to be taken on one occasion three times underneath the upper cross-bars (*ṭiġḍwīn*, sing. *ṭaġŭḍa*) of a weaving-stool (*ifĭggắgʸen*) after the web is ready, in order that no man shall be able to destroy her virginity; but the effect of this ceremony must of course be cancelled before her wedding. On the morning after the bride has been painted with henna she is consequently washed with water containing some henna while she is seated on a weaving-stool, so as to be released from the *aṭqqắf* which was imposed on her in her childhood.

In many cases the *tˢqāf* practised for the purpose of preventing sexual intercourse is in the first place intended to do so by producing lack of inclination rather than physical incapacity. In Andjra dissatisfied scribes take revenge on a niggardly bridegroom by writing a charm on the jaw-bone of a sheep which has been sacrificed at the Great Feast, another on an egg, and a third on a bean, and burying them, together with some hair of the bride, underneath the threshold of her dwelling before she is transported to her new home; this will cause her to take a dislike to her husband and prohibit him from intercourse. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz a married woman puts a stop to her husband's love of, or intention to marry, another woman by taking a bit of palmetto from a *jĕllîd â'ma*, with which the animal used for drawing water up from a well is blindfolded, and putting it secretly, together with a small piece of the rival's clothes,

into the food which she gives her husband to eat; then he will no longer look at the woman—his love of her is gone. In the same tribe a married woman who is anxious to prevent her husband from taking another wife has also recourse to the following practice. She takes a tortoise and ties together, with a thread from the web, its right foreleg and left hindleg and its left foreleg and right hindleg. She then puts the tortoise upside-down into a hole which she has made underneath her husband's bed, covers it with earth so that it shall not be noticed by the husband, and leaves it there for seven days. After the lapse of this time she makes a hole in the ground at the place in the tent where the handmill is kept, pours water into the hole, and puts the tortoise, again upside-down, over the water, whether it now be alive or dead. She covers it with the palmetto mat (called *ṭaḥān*) which is kept under the millstone, and puts the stone back on it. She takes a chick which has just been hatched, and lays it on the top of the piece of wood which is in the hole in the centre of the millstone (*l-gelb dyāl r-rḥa*, "the heart of the millstone"), and over the chick she puts some wheat in the hole. She asks one of her friends to come and help her; and while the two women are grinding the wheat they have a nonsensical conversation, in which the friend speaks on behalf of the tortoise representing the woman whom the husband wants to marry. When the wheat has been ground, the wife shrouds both the chick and the tortoise, each separately, in a cloth and buries them in the grave of some unknown person. She makes bread of the flour and gives it to her husband to eat, and now he will no longer think of taking another wife. I was told that the chick used in this rite should be so small that it cannot yet see with its eyes, so that the husband also shall no longer have an eye for the woman he intended to marry. Other instances of *tˢqāf*, serving a similar purpose and practised with dead bodies or objects which have come into contact with them, will be mentioned in a following chapter.[1]

Barrenness of women is often caused by *tˢqāf*. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, for example, water which has been used for

[1] *Infra*, ii. 552, 555 *sq.*

the washing of a dead person is secretly given to a woman to drink in order to make her infertile. In Andjra a woman is for the same purpose made to eat some bread into which has been put a piece of a honeycomb containing a few dead bees. In Aglu, if a man desires to have sexual intercourse with a certain woman, but she objects, he takes revenge in the following manner: he chars the hoof-parings of a mule, grinds them together with barley or wheat, makes bread of the flour, and gives the bread to the woman to eat, with the result that she will become as sterile as is the mule. At Fez a man prevents intercourse with a woman from resulting in pregnancy, by eating the oviduct (*wálda*) of a hen which he has boiled after first making a knot in it; and it is said that the woman will remain sterile for ever. In the same town a woman is also prevented from becoming with child by being made to eat castor-beans (*ḥabb l-ḥárwa'*), and each bean she eats will produce this effect for a whole year; the same is purposely done by women who themselves want to avoid pregnancy. In Tangier and Andjra scribes write charms to prevent the delivery of a woman who is with child; for example, at the instigation of some of her relatives who want to kill her in order to inherit her property. But there is a remedy for this *tˢqāf*. A hoe or a plough-point is procured from a family that has lost its head by death but whose property has nevertheless remained undivided; it is put in a fire to become red-hot, water is then poured over it, the woman is held over the steam, and, released from her *tˢqāf*, she will now without difficulty be delivered of her child.

Tˢqāf is sometimes practised to bewitch animals. A piece of bread with some dead bees in it is given to a bitch to eat in order to make her infertile (Andjra). To prevent jackals from attacking the sheep a scribe takes seven little stones in his right hand, reads an incantation over them, and gives them to the owner of the sheep, advising him to put three of the stones in the place where he keeps his animals and to take the others to the roof of the house and cast them to the four winds. After this has been done the sheep are safe; jackals may be seen to come quite close to them and yet refrain from attacking them (Iglíwa).

Besides *tˢqāf*, the object of which is always to prevent something from happening, there are other kinds of *sḥōr* practised for the most diverse purposes : to cause illness or death, to make a person stupid or foolish,[1] to excite love,[2] to make a husband obedient to his wife,[3] to cause a divorce,[4] to make husband and wife quarrel,[5] to change friends into enemies,[6] to deprive a woman of her singing-voice,[7] to rob people of the *baraka* which provides them with butter,[8] and so forth. To make a married man hate his wife, some blood which has issued from her when giving birth to a child is mixed with food he is going to eat (Tsūl). If a man hates a woman he may ask a scribe to write a charm called *tˢějrîya*, which, sealed up in a piece of bamboo and thrown into a watercourse or a spring with running water, will produce a chronic effusion of blood from her genitals (Tangier). If a woman wants to take revenge on a man, she burns hair from her vulva and armpits, together with her nail-parings, and mixes the ashes with meat which she gives him to eat, or she soaks a lump of sugar with her menstruous blood and puts it into tea which she gives him to drink ; in either case he will become dangerously ill or die (*ibid.*). If a woman wants a man to come to her at once, she burns hair from her vulva and armpits, or the handkerchief she uses for the absorption of blood at her menses, at the same time muttering a spell—a practice called *hăjáj* (*ibid.*). Again, if a man wants to be beloved by some particular woman, he gives her to eat a lump of sugar or a date or raisin or fig which he has smeared with his semen (*ibid.*, Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Iglíwa).[9] There are many other practices belonging to the kind of *sḥōr* called *l-maḥábba*, by which a person tries to excite love or fondness in another.[10] For example : he spits in water or

[1] *Infra*, ii. 318. [2] *Infra*, ii. 339. [3] *Infra*, ii. 288, 301, 343.
[4] *Infra*, ii. 23, 332. [5] *Infra*, ii. 358. [6] *Infra*, ii. 358.
[7] *Infra*, ii. 288. [8] *Supra*, p. 249 *sq.* ; *infra*, ii. 170.

[9] *Cf.* Hilton-Simpson, ' Some Arab and Shawia remedies and notes on the trepanning of the skull in Algeria ', in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, xliii. (London, 1913), p. 714.

[10] For written charms intended to serve the same purpose see *supra*, p. 212 *sq.*

tea or food and gives it to the latter to drink (Fez, Tangier); or he induces the other person to walk in his slippers, without disclosing to him his intention; or he hangs on himself some dust he has scraped from the sole of the other person's slipper (Tangier); or he eats 220 pomegranate seeds and induces the other one to eat 284, these numbers being the so-called *a'dâd l-mutsaḥâbba*, or "numbers of mutual love" (Fez). Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz a woman who wants to separate from her husband goes to the place where a road parts and performs there a magic rite, the details of which were unknown to my informant, saying something like this:—"May God separate me from my husband, as he has separated these roads, as he has separated the jackal from the dog, the cat from the mouse, the Muhammadan from the Christian". The Aiṭ Yúsi believe that when the bride is taken to her new home on the back of a mare some wicked person might deprive her of her virginity, and thus perhaps cause a speedy divorce, by pushing a finger into its genitals; hence it is the custom to cover the latter with a kerchief.[1] Many methods of neutralising *sḥōr* are mentioned in other parts of this book.[2]

Sḥōr may also be practised without reference to any particular individual. If a band of scribes are in need of money, one of them feigns to be dead and the others cover him up with a blanket, sit down round him, and read over him as if he were dead. The effect of this sham funeral is that there will soon be a death which will bring them profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Aiṭ Wäryâġer). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work:—*Qûm t'ḥdem 'ăla râsăk*; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer they beat the bier three times at night, saying, *Kăr aṭḥádmeḍ yä rmáḥmĕr*, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (*ḍäsfirṭ*) on which they keep their food when

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 179. *Cf. ibid.* pp. 176, 185.

[2] See 'Index', *s.v.* Witchcraft.

they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). It is also *sḥōr* when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats " yoked " to a toy-plough.[1]

The term *sḥōr* is generally applied to unlawful magic practised for a wicked end. Yet it is also used for practices which serve a selfish rather than malevolent purpose, and sometimes even for magical acts which are actually benevolent, as when a person puts something in the bridegroom's slipper to counteract the effect of *tᶜqāf* which has been imposed on him by an enemy. In any case, secrecy is a general characteristic of *sḥōr* ; Arabic writers maintain that *siḥr* is derived from a word which originally meant " to be hidden ".[2] Muhammadan theology prohibits the *siḥr*, or enchantment practised by the aid of evil spirits, in accordance with the condemnation passed on it in the Koran.[3] But Lane observes that although it is almost universally acknowledged to be a branch of Satanic magic, " some few persons assert (agreeably with several tales in the *Arabian Nights*), that it may be, and by some has been, studied with good intentions, and practised by the aid of good Jinn : consequently, that there is such a science as good enchantment, which is to be regarded as a branch of divine or lawful magic ".[4] This is in agreement with the opinion I heard expressed at Fez, that *sḥōr* may be not only evil and unlawful but also, in certain cases, good and lawful. On the other hand, the words *sâḥḥār* and *saḥḥâra*, so far as I know, have always a bad meaning attached to them. A professional *saḥḥâra* is haunted by *jnūn*, she will never give birth to a child, and blood oozes out of her face as it does in the case of a person who has committed homicide (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz). Leo Africanus describes witches as tribades.[5] A person

[1] *Infra*, ii. 275.

[2] Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 339.

[3] *Koran*, ii. 96, xx. 72.

[4] Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 83 *sq.*

[5] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, ii. (London, 1896), p. 458.

versed in lawful magic is called *ḥkīm* (plur. *ḥokâma*), and as such a person is always a man there can be no female *ḥokâma*. But nowadays this term is said to be appropriated by mere jugglers practising *l-ḥanqâṭêra*

As appears from many facts stated above, the supposed efficacy of *sḥōr* is due, not merely to charms written for the purpose and to the assistance given by *jnūn*, but also to the belief that qualities and events in certain circumstances, whether with or without material contact, produce effects which are more or less similar to them. This belief, which springs from the natural association of ideas by similarity, plays a very important part in the magical beliefs, practices, and taboos in Morocco as elsewhere. Abundant evidence of this is found in other parts of the present work, as well as in my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, and the instances might be multiplied almost indefinitely.

If two persons are quarrelling and somebody throws salt into the fire, the crackle of the salt will prolong the quarrel (Andjra). If a person, on putting away the knife with which he has slaughtered an animal, leaves it standing with the blade turned upwards, he will soon slaughter another animal (*ibid.*). If water which has been carried out of the house to be given to somebody to drink of is taken back into the house, its owner will take another wife, without divorcing the one he has (Fez). When a new water-bottle of earthenware is bought, the mistress of the house knocks out a little piece of it and throws the chip away, in order to prevent her husband from contracting another marriage (*ibid.*). If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), into his beard, he will have a guest. If a man dresses in the clothes of a woman, he will become like a woman (Tangier), or he will be a woman in the future life (Andjra). If a woman uses the slippers belonging to a man and he wears them afterwards, he will become as unable as a woman to run away if attacked by an enemy (Ṯemsâmän).

In the chapter relating to animals we shall find that qualities or properties possessed by various animals are

supposed to be communicated to human beings, or sometimes to other animals, by food or drink or otherwise. Eggs are used in childbirth rites, owing to the ease with which a hen lays her eggs ;[1] and they are also used for the purpose of promoting fecundity.[2] In Andjra a man who wants to increase his capacity of reproduction eats the yolk of an egg every morning before breakfast for forty days in succession, and, after eating it, fills the shell with oil, which he drinks. At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (*ḥámmōṣ*) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water ; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called *ḥómmeṣ*) and almonds (*ibid.*, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) are used for the same purpose ; and so are earth-nuts (*biyånätˢ* or *ḳáukau* ; Tangier, Fez) and beans (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (*ḏaqḏeḥṯ*) upside down with a so-called *ḏiḏli* (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, " to destroy the evil ", which undoubtedly meant any possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage ; it is significant that the bride puts on the *ḏiḏli* on the morning after her first intercourse with her husband. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi, after the bride has been painted with henna, an egg enveloped in a kerchief (*aḫĕnbuš*) is tied round her

[1] *Infra*, ii. 370 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, i. 585.

forehead ; it is then broken by the woman who painted her, and is left there till the next morning, when the bride is washed. This was said to be done in order that her hymen shall be broken by her husband as easily as was the egg. In the same tribe, when the bride is taken to her new home on the back of a mare, she holds in front of her a cane, with or without a flag, which is fired at by the men of the procession ; they want to blow it to pieces so that the bridegroom shall be able to consummate the marriage that night, but she makes some efforts to prevent it by waving the cane to and fro. The Aiṭ Sádděn have a similar rite. The bride, riding on a mare, holds in her hand a cane with a white flag fastened to it. The men of the bridegroom's party discharge gunpowder at it to burn it to ashes, and try to break the cane by loading their guns with bent twigs. The bride makes fruitless attempts to prevent the destruction of the flag and cane by waving them round. When successful in their efforts the men laughingly say, " Now she is no longer a virgin ", or, " This evening she will be broken like the cane ".

It is apparently for the same purpose that earthenware vessels are ceremonially broken at weddings in Morocco, as elsewhere.[1] Thus in Andjra, after the bridegroom has been painted with henna, his best man takes the bowl containing the rest of the henna mixture, lifts it on his head, and begins to dance before the bridegroom. After a while he hands the bowl to another bachelor, who does the same ; and thus all the bachelors present dance in turn with the bowl on their heads till the last one lets it drop down on the ground and break, which is said to remove the *bạs*, or evil. Among the Ait Waráin the bowl is likewise broken by the bachelors ; whereas among the Tsūl the girl who painted the bridegroom with henna puts the bowl on her head and dances with it till at last she throws it on the ground so that it breaks and thereby, it is thought, rids the bridegroom of his *bạs*. In the Ḥiáina the bridegroom, after entering the room where the bride is waiting, cuts with his sword the rope

[1] See Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii. (London, 1921), p. 459 *sqq*.

which has been tied from wall to wall in front of the bed, thus cutting off the *baṣ*. Among the Tsūl he cuts the rope supporting the curtain which hides the bride, removes from her head her conical hat, crushes its cane-work and throws it on the floor, likewise destroying the *baṣ*. In Andjra the bridegroom, before he can have intercourse with the bride, must untie seven knots which have been made in the cord (*tˢéḳka*) of her drawers by her *ḥaddâyĭn*, or women attending her. This "tying up" of the bride may be, or may have been, a sham attempt to protect the bride by laying obstacles in the bridegroom's way, or a means of protecting the bride from being by magic deprived of her virginity before the conjugal intercourse, or a means of ensuring the consummation of the marriage by compelling the bridegroom to untie the knots; but in any case the untying of them is regarded as a necessary preliminary to coition.[1]

Homœopathic rites are also practised at weddings and on other occasions with a view to making the wife fruitful and, particularly, a mother of male offspring. Among the Ait Waráin the bride's mother, on coming to the bridegroom's place, is put into a net by the bachelors and swung to and fro in the same manner as a child is rocked to sleep.[2] Among the Tsūl, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's house, she is received there by his mother carrying on her back a sieve (*ġârbāl*) covered with her *ízār*; and among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the mother-in-law likewise carries on her back a sieve (*ġûrbāl*) for a while on the evening of the day when the bride arrived at her new home. The sieve represents a baby and is by itself a fertility charm.[3] In Andjra, before the bridegroom goes to meet his bride, his mother envelops

[1] In ancient Rome the girdle worn by the bride was tied up in a so-called "Herculean knot" (*nodus Herculaneus*)—particularly difficult to loose—which the bridegroom untied in bed (Festus, *De verborum significatione quae supersunt*, edited by C. O. Müller [Lipsiae, 1839], p. 63; *cf.* Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, i. [Leipzig, 1886], p. 45 n. 2, and Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ii. [London, 1891], p. 142).

[2] For further details see my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 246 *sq.*

[3] *Infra*, ii. 250.

his old clothes in a kerchief and carries the bundle on her back "as if it were a baby". In the same tribe, while the bride is still in her old home, the new *ḥâyĕḳ* which she has received from her betrothed has its fringe ceremonially plaited by a married woman who is her husband's first and only wife, much beloved by him, and blessed with children; and I was told that this ceremony is intended to make the bride as fortunate as the married woman by whom it is performed—a mother of children and dear to her husband.[1] Among the Aiṭ Sádděn and Aiṭ Nḍēr the beast on whose back the bride is carried to her new home may not be a horse or mule, but must be a mare, on account of its fruitfulness; but in the Ġarbîya it is a stallion, so that the woman shall give birth to male offspring. It is, in certain cases at least, for the same purpose that a little boy rides behind her on the animal (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Aiṭ Nḍēr, Amzmiz); and the custom which requires that the animal should also be ridden by a little boy when it is taken to the bride's place (Ḥiáina, Aiṭ Sádděn) seems partly to serve a similar object, though it would also be a bad omen if it went there with an empty saddle.[2] When the week of the wedding has come to an end, there are again some ceremonies which are supposed to help the wife to become a mother of sons. In Andjra she has her belt put round her waist by an uncircumcised boy, while other little boys encircle her with lighted candles in their hands. At Tangier she is belted by two little boys, and I was expressly told that the object of this is to make her a mother of sons. In Aglu she goes to a spring to fetch water accompanied by other women and a boy whose parents are still alive; the boy gives her twice water to drink from his hands and, after filling them a third time, washes her face with the water.

In some tribes there are rites practised for a similar purpose before a tent is pitched for the first time after some of the old pieces of tent-cloth have been replaced by new ones.

[1] For the object of the tying of the *ḥâyĕḳ* see also my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 143.

[2] See *ibid.* pp. 172, 180, 182, 192, 320 *sq.*

Among the Aiṭ Yúsi and the Aiṭ Sádděn,[1] when the tent has been sewn and folded, a little boy is put on the top of the bundle and carried to the place where the tent is to be pitched, so that there shall be born boys in it. It is perhaps for the same reason that, among the Aiṭ Sádděn, three or four unmarried young men leap over the folded tent three times before the boy is put on it;[2] but my informant was not quite certain as to the meaning of this custom. Among the Ulâd Bů'ăzîz the boy who is meant to be a charm for the birth of male progeny is put on a palmetto tray (*meïdûna*) containing flour, which has been placed on the folded tent before it is carried away by women trilling the *zġârīt*. In the same tribe a woman, in order to give birth to a boy, eats a piece of a newborn male pup which she has boiled for this purpose, or drinks some urine of a male dog. In Aglu infertility in a married woman is cured in the following manner: she kills two little pups at some place outside the village, cuts off their heads and legs and leaves them there, cooks the rest of their bodies, including the entrails, with oil and mixed spices, and eats it all with the exception of the bones; in this case nothing was said about the sex of the pups. In Andjra a married woman who is anxious to become a mother pours into a new earthenware vessel some water which has been fetched from a well on the morning of the same day without being exposed to sunlight; she puts into the water a chick which has just been hatched from the first egg laid by a hen, steps over it three times, and then sits down over it for some half an hour. Or she resorts to the following practice: she sits down over a new bowl in which she has placed a raw egg and poured some *mā ḏè lâïsän*, that is, rain-water which has fallen on 27th April (Old Style), and after she has been sitting there for a while she drinks the water and puts the egg underneath a hen to be hatched; it is believed that if the peeper is a cock she will give birth to a boy, and if it is a hen to a girl. On the other

[1] The Aiṭ Yúsi, and particularly the Aiṭ Sádděn, however, live mostly in houses.

[2] When the young men have leaped over the folded tent, some unmarried girls lift it up and put it down three times, and then trill the *zġârīt*.

hand, the sex of an animal's young may also be influenced by the sex of a person: when a cow has calved, the women of the family sometimes partake of the boiled biestings before anybody else in order that the cow shall in the future give birth to heifers only (Aiṯ Nḏēr).

The belief in a homœopathic influence upon the sex of a child[1] may also be traced in some cases of divination. In Aglu, if a woman has given birth to a child, the midwife takes it to the door of the house and opens the door; if a man happens to pass, the next child will be a boy, if a woman it will be a girl. At Fez, if a woman is with child and the question is raised between her and her husband whether the child is to be a boy or a girl, they agree that it will be of the same sex as the first person entering the house. If a man sits down on a cushion he will have only daughters (Fez, Tangier)—on account of its softness and shape; and if a man gets a sty (*álṭṭi*) while his wife is with child, she will give birth to a girl—an idea which is evidently suggested by the rounded shape of the sty (Fez). It also suggests pregnancy. The Aiṯ Wäryâġer believe that if a person gets a sty some woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic influences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Waráin).[2] At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (*šfárjěl*) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere,[3] is found the belief that if a pregnant woman

[1] For such a belief see also *infra*, ii. 372, 373, 394.

[2] *Infra*, ii. 323. For another instance see *supra*, p. 127.

[3] For example, in Syria (Eijūb Abēla, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. [Leipzig, 1884], p. 118). I have been told of an English lady who attributes a birth-mark on her leg to the fact that her mother had an ungratified desire for strawberries during her pregnancy. This explanation of the birth-mark, which she has learned from

(Ḥiáina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Aiṯ Wäryâġer), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birth-mark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Aiṯ Sádděn).[1] In Andjra I heard that if a woman sees a monkey, a Christian, a Jew, or a slave, her husband must not have intercourse with her that night, lest the offspring should become like the animal or person she has seen; and before they go to bed the following night they should have a good supper together and talk and joke, so that she shall no longer think of what she has seen. So also, if a woman has attended a wedding or some other feast, her husband should refrain from conjugal intercourse that night, lest the offspring should resemble any man she might have taken a fancy to. Moreover, if a married man has been away from home for a considerable time, he should have no intercourse with his wife for three or four days after his return, because she may during his absence have got fond of another man, and in such a case the child would look like him and not like its father; and he should not only practise abstinence, but do his best to please his wife and thus make her forget her new friend (Andjra). If a married man has made an appointment to meet a woman who is not his wife, and she fails to appear, he should have no connection with his wife that night, because a child conceived in such circumstances would be affected with its father's sin (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz, Tangier).

At weddings homœopathic magic is practised for a variety of purposes. Among the Aiṯ Sádděn, when the bride has been carried into the bridegroom's tent, a bachelor lifts up one of the vertical tent-poles (*ṯirrsäl*, sing. *ṯärrselṯ*) and puts it into her lap, in order that she shall remain in her new

her mother, she finds confirmed not only by its shape but also by its getting redder in the strawberry season. Another English lady had been told that she had a red birth-mark on her face because her mother had been longing for wine.

[1] See also *supra*, p. 426.

home and support it by becoming a mother of sons, as the tent-pole supports the tent. Among the Ait Waráin, when the bride has arrived at the bridegroom's place, his mother takes her to the fire-place (*timssi*) and washes her right foot and hand over one of its three stones (*inyăn*), so that she shall be as permanent in the house as these stones, which the Ait Waráin, unlike many other Berbers, never change. The durability of the marriage union is also secured by the henna-painting of the bride being performed by a married woman who has been married only once, as it is believed that if she had been divorced by a former husband the same thing would also happen to the bride (Tangier, Aiṭ Yúsi). The bridegroom tries to gain power over his wife and the bride over her husband by such means as beating, smacking, kicking, and making use of a slipper in some way or other.[1] Among the Aiṭ Yúsi the bride, on the morning after she has been painted with henna, is washed while seated on a pack-saddle (*ṭabärḍa*), which is supposed to give her power over her husband, as a person rules over the donkey or mule he is riding. Among the Ulåd Bů'ăzîz she mounts the ram which is to be slaughtered for the occasion when she is painted with henna, and boxes its ears, likewise in order to make herself mistress of her husband, who is represented by the ram. After dismounting, she hangs on it a necklace of glass beads (*mdéjja*) with a view to making the husband weak and harmless like a woman; and when its stomach has been removed and placed on a wooden trough (*gáṣ'a*) she puts her right foot on it, again for the purpose of making herself the ruler of the home. Lastly she takes the animal's heart and eats the whole of it the same evening, in order that the husband shall have a loving heart. Among the Tsūl the bride likewise mounts the sheep which is to be killed for the same occasion and gives it seven boxes on its ears, while her mother removes its right eye with a big needle. The dried eye is afterwards made into powder and, mixed with various spices, put into the food which the mother gives to the bridegroom's family to eat, so that they shall look upon

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 356, and the references in the footnotes.

her daughter with affectionate eyes. Before the bride leaves her old home her mother also makes little cuts with a knife between her eyes, on the tips of her nose and tongue, at her right shoulder-joint and all other joints of the right side of her body, and at her genitals. The blood from these cuts is wiped away with cotton-wool, which the bride takes with her to her new home and puts into water, together with a few dates, after she has had her first intercourse with her spouse; and when he comes to her the following night she gives him the dates to eat in order to make him a loving husband.

Dates are eaten in order to make the couple wealthy.[1] In Andjra the bridegroom's mother throws bread and dried fruit over the *'ammāṛîya*, or bridal-box, so that the married couple shall have plenty to eat. At Tangier the bride, for the same purpose, takes with her a loaf of bread to her new home, and a key has been hung up in the room which she enters so as to open the door of prosperity. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi, when the bride has been taken to the entrance of the bridegroom's tent—in some parts, at least, of this tribe weddings are always celebrated in tents,—a lamb is handed to her by the bridegroom's mother or, if she has no lamb, by some other person, and the bride then hurls the animal over the tent, so that there shall be many sheep in the village. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn, when the bride has been carried into the tent in the bridegroom's village pitched for the wedding, a woman of his family puts into her hand some butter, with which she smears the *aḥămmar*, or ridge-pole, of the tent, in order that there shall be an abundance of "grease" - butter, oil, and honey. The bridegroom's sister, or some other woman of his household, then pours barley into the bride's lap; the bride gets up and, with her face covered as before, goes to the mare outside the tent on which she was transported to her new home, lets it eat three times of the barley, and throws the rest over its head, "so that there shall be much corn in the household".[2] In the same tribe,

[1] See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 25, 27, 28, 139.

[2] We have reason to believe, however, that this and similar rites in other tribes were first suggested by a feeling that the animal with which

when the week of the wedding has come to an end, the young wife goes alone to fetch some palmetto leaves and makes of them a small rope ; this is the first handwork she does in her married state, and its object is to bring to the home many horses, mules, and cattle, each of which is, as usual, to be tied up with a small rope at night. At Fez, on the ninth day after the *nhār l-'örs*, or " day of the wedding ", the young wife must make bread, which is sent to a public oven to be baked, and her husband buys some fish, which he gives her to prepare. The bread is made in order that there shall always be much bread in the house, and the fish is supposed to bring prosperity ; to eat fish is generally considered to be lucky, and it would seem that on this occasion the roe of the fish suggests abundance, as in other cases it suggests fertility.[1] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer).

The supply of food is also increased by homœopathic practices on other occasions. Among the Aiṯ Yúsi the tents are every year in October unsewn and two new longitudinal pieces of tent-cloth (*ifli^{dd}jn*, sing. *afli^{dd}j*) are inserted in the centre, while the two old ones at the borders are removed.[2] The pieces which are to be sewn together are stretched, and before the sewing begins all the mistresses of tents in the village bring to the place some wheat or durra, and strew some of it on the *ifli^{dd}jn*, saying, *Iḫĕrwạn ġr îmäl^{y} nšá'llah sṭuḍĕrṭĕnnun la núkkŭni la ḫúnni*, " Lambs till the coming year, if God will ; may both we and you keep alive ! " The meaning of this is that in the course of the year there shall be born as many lambs as there are grains thrown. Whatever corn is left is then put down on the *ifli^{dd}jn* and left there until the sewing is finished, when the mistress of the

the bride had been in so close a contact was in need of purification (see my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 194-196, 205, 207, 211, 214, 218, 219, 327).

[1] See Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii. 484 *sq.* *Cf. infra*, ii. 252, 292.

[2] A large tent may consist of as many as twelve *ifli^{dd}jn* and a small one of only three or four.

tent takes and keeps for herself the whole lot. The owner of the tent entertains the villagers with breakfast (*imḫli*) in the morning and another meal, called *allas*, in the afternoon, and these meals are served and partaken of upon the *ifli^{dd}jn*, as my informant said, in order that there shall always be food in the tent. This effect is exclusively attributed to the food and eating; for on these occasions no *fâṭḥa* is made and no blessings are pronounced, as is the case after the *íměnsi ŭḫam*, or "supper of the tent",[1] which is served in the evening. In some parts of the tribe not only a little boy, as said before, but also a lamb, is placed on the tent when it is ready sewn and folded and carried to the place where it is to be pitched. The pitching of it is done by the women after sunset. The mistress of the tent puts some flour in a vessel, pours water over it, and stirs the mixture until it becomes a milky fluid. A little boy is lifted on to the roof of the tent to ride on the *aḥămmar*, or horizontal pole supporting it, the vessel is handed to him, and he pours its contents on both sides of the tent, crying out a few times, *A rắbbi ágğŭ*, "O God milk!" This is done that there shall be much milk in the tent. Instead of this there is also the following rite. While the women are pitching the tent and the tent-cloth is still hanging on the *i'ămúḏěn* (sing. *á'muḏ*), or vertical stakes supporting its borders, a person pours water mixed with flour from one side, and another person pours simultaneously water mixed with ashes from the other side, so that the fluids run down towards the centre of the cloth; and it is believed that if the white fluid reaches the centre before the black one, the cattle will be better than the field, whereas in the opposite case the field will be better than the cattle, the white fluid representing milk and the black one earth. Among the Aiṭ Sádděn the sewing of a tent is accompanied with rites very similar to those practised by the Aiṭ Yúsi, with the exception that corn is not thrown, but only put, on the tent-cloth, and that nothing is said about lambs. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr, when new pieces of tent-cloth are inserted in the place of old ones—which is

[1] The word for "tent" is in *status absolutus aḫam* (plur. *iḫáměn*), and in the case of a small tent *ṭaḫamṭ* (plur. *ṭiḫámin*).

done by the men in spring or autumn—breakfast is eaten upon the tent-cloth, after which *fâṭḥa* is made and blessings are called down on the tent.

Among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz the sewing takes place in summer and is performed by the married women of the village. If the tent is made of four *flīj* (sing. *félja*), or pieces of tent-cloth, only, the two new ones are inserted in the centre, side by side, whereas, if it is made of a larger number, an old one is sewn in between them. The women straighten the *flīj* by beating them, and while doing so trill the *zġârīt*. The mistress of the tent makes a quantity of *šéršem*, by boiling chick-peas, durra, wheat, and beans with water and salt, and strews it over the *flīj* at short intervals while the women are sewing them together; and the women and the children who are present pick it up and eat it as it falls down. When the sewing is finished, she brings three or four troughs containing *sĕksû* with *šéršem* on top, and this is eaten by the women and children upon the ready-sewn tent; while the same kind of food, brought by the owner of the tent, is eaten by the men of the village at some distance from the women, or in the mosque, if it is near, after which they make *fâṭḥa*. This feast is called *l-'ărs dyāl l-ḥáima*, "the wedding of the tent"; and on the day when the tent is bride, as at a real wedding, it must be without its *ḫoṣ*, or bamboo screen, which usually divides it into two compartments. In other parts of Dukkâla a meal is likewise eaten on the ready-sewn tent; and I was expressly told that its inmates, in consequence, will have plenty of wheat and pulse and other kinds of food. Among the Mnáṣăra dried fruit is put on the tent-cloth before the sewing begins, and is then eaten by all who are present; and when the work is finished they feast on a dish of *sĕksû* with boiled wheat without the husks, onions, pumpkins, and beans at the top of it.

There are also ceremonial meals which are supposed to increase the supply of food, particularly vegetable food, when the ploughing commences,[1] at New Year's tide,[2] and at Midsummer;[3] and many other homœopathic practices directly or indirectly serving the same purpose will be

[1] *Infra*, ii. 210 *sqq*. [2] *Infra*, ii. 162 *sqq*. [3] *Infra*, ii. 192 *sq*.

mentioned in the chapters on rites and beliefs connected with agriculture, certain dates of the solar year, and the weather. It is said that what people do on New Year's eve [1] or on the *'āšûra* night or the following morning [2] they will continue to do during the coming year. At Fez I was told that if the first customer in the morning buys the thing he is bargaining for, business will be brisk that day, whereas the contrary will be the case if he goes away without buying it; hence the shopkeeper is inclined to sell it under price. The first thing sold in the morning is called *s-sĕftˢaḥ*, because it "opens" the door of commerce.

In Andjra, if anybody wants to sell one of his animals or something else, he collects earth from seven different ant-hills on the roadside, and, after mingling it, strews it on the animal or object he offers for sale; the result will be that people gather round it like ants, for the purpose of buying it.[3] Another way of turning the principle that "like produces like" into economic advantage is the following practice found at Fez. In the early morning people throw kitchen refuse into the water-course which carries away the dirt, saying to it, *Hā rézqak yā l-wäd u rézqi men 'and l-jûwaḍ*, "Here are your good things O river, and my good things will come from the Bountiful"; they will then themselves, like the water-course, have *rezq* on that day. *Rezq* (*razq*, *ṛezq*) means all sorts of good things contributing to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a person cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own *rezq* (Fez).

You may also sweep away your *rezq*. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Ḥiáina, Dukkâla, Tangier, Andjra, Tsūl, Aiṯ Wäryâġer), or even after *'âṣar* (Aṯ Ubáḫṯi); and the Rifians of Ṯemsâmän consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon. In some places, however, the evil is supposed to be averted by the burning of a little

[1] *Infra*, ii. 167 *sq.* [2] *Infra*, ii. 60 *sq.*

[3] There is a very similar custom in Eastern Prussia (Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* [Berlin, 1900], § 149, p. 113).

twig of the broom. At Fez and Tangier people refrain from sweeping their houses on the *'āšûra* day, likewise for fear of sweeping away the *rezq*; and in the latter town it is considered even more dangerous to sweep the house on a Friday between the two calls for prayer at 12.20 and 1.20 P.M. At Fez, for a similar reason, it must never be swept with a towel. The Aiṯ Sádděn believe that if the house or tent or yard is swept at the hour when the cattle return from the pastures, the animals will be "swept away" by death or otherwise.[1] The Aiṯ Yúsi refrain from sweeping the threshing-floor until all the corn has been carried away from it, lest its *baraka* should be swept off; and among the Ait Waráin it must not be swept clean immediately after the measured corn has been removed, as the small quantity of grain remaining there is supposed to contain its *baraka*.[2] In the same tribe, if a woman has been robbed of one of her things and does not know who has taken it, or does not like to accuse the person whom she suspects of the theft, she goes on a Thursday to the mosque of the village, removes the cotton kerchief (*tašěnbûšt*) from her head, and sweeps the floor with it, saying some words like these, "O Sîdna Ǧebrîl, I am sweeping and may you sweep away the *rezq* of the person who took my thing". If the stolen object is not returned to her in the course of the day, she goes back to the mosque in the evening and lights there a small oil-lamp (*lemnârt*) consisting of a piece of a broken pot with seven wicks in it, burns some benzoin, and asks Sîdna Ǧebrîl to punish the thief.[3] When an undesired visitor has left a house, some water is poured on the floor at the entrance door and then swept out over the threshold (Fez, Tangier), or there is sweeping without water (Tangier, Ṯemsâmän), to prevent his return in the future. On the other hand, when a member of the family has set out on a journey his friends at home must refrain from sweeping the house on that day so as to ensure his safe return (Tangier).

[1] So also the prohibition of sweeping the room, or of removing the sweepings from it, for seven days after the birth of a child (*infra*, ii. 386) seems to be due to fear of "sweeping away" the child.

[2] *Infra*, ii. 242.

[3] See also *supra*, p. 557 *sq.*

Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. *šĕṭṭâba*; Berb. *tašṭṭabt* [Ait Waráin], *ṯastta* [Ṯemsâmän], *ḏisaġwûsṯ* [Aiṯ Wäryâġer]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). It is also believed that a boy or girl who is struck with a broom will never marry (Fez, Tangier, Ait Waráin), or that the boy will either remain a bachelor or be beaten in a fight with another boy, and the girl will never give birth to a child (Ṯemsâmän). The same will happen to a married woman who is beaten with a broom by her husband (Ḥiáina), or such a woman will never find a customer for anything she wants to sell; and a man who is beaten by his wife will be subject to a similar fate (Tangier). So also a prostitute who is struck with a broom on her back-part will never earn any money (*ibid.*). Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). In the month of the 'Âšūr there are taboos forbidding the buying, making, or bringing into the house of a broom;[1] and at Tangier, if a broom is bought in May, it must not be taken into the house through the door. At the same time the broom is also an instrument of sweeping away that which is bad. To clear away a sty (at Tangier called *âleṭ*, in Ṯemsâmän *iritti*), a twig (Tangier, Andjra) or seven twigs (Ṯemsâmän) broken from a broom are burned and the affected eye is fumigated with the smoke.

Moreover, the broom is a magical instrument not only for "sweeping off" but for "sweeping in". If a married man sweeps the floor of the house—which is ordinarily done by women only—he will soon have guests (Fez, Tangier). At Fez, if a person expects another to come to his house and the latter fails to appear, he thrusts a needle into the top of the broomstick, with the result that the expected person feels a pricking in his buttock and gets up at once to go. The same practice is found at Tangier, alternating with the following

[1] *Infra*, ii. 75 *sq.*

one: the person who is waiting puts his mouth close to the mouth of the water-jar (*ṭánna*) of the house and cries out, *A flān áji dâba dâba*, "O So-and-so, come at once!" Among the Tsūl, if a person is away from home and his family want him to come back soon, one of the women dresses up the broom as a woman and goes to the door and cries out in the wooden mortar (*mắhräz*) of the household seven times, "O So-and-so, come back!" He hears the cry and obeys. The dressed-up broom is left standing, without being used, until he has come back; I was told that it sweeps him home. Another belief based on the principle that like produces like may still be mentioned in connection with the action of sweeping: if a girl in sweeping the floor leaves some spots on it unswept, she will have a husband who is a *râjel qra'*, that is, has bald spots on his head owing to ring-worm (Fez).[1]

Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Ḥiáina, Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṭemsâmän, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper which is turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so

[1] Superstitions attached to sweeping and to the broom, which are very similar to, or identical with, such as exist in Morocco, are found in many parts of the world (see Kunze, 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar', in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xiii. [Leiden, 1900], p. 134 *sqq.*; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* [Leipzig & Berlin, 1911], 'Register', *s.v.* Besen; Hildburgh, 'Some Magical Applications of Brooms in Japan', in *Folk-Lore*, xxx. [London, 1919], p. 169 *sqq.*). Thus in Japan there is a taboo which forbids the sweeping of a house at night (Hildburgh, *loc. cit.* p. 184); sweeping is resorted to after an unwelcome visitor has left as a means of ensuring that he shall not return (*ibid.* p. 175); sweeping is refrained from for some little time after a member of the family, whose safe return is desired, has gone out (*ibid.* p. 180); to strike a person with a broom is supposed to inflict serious harm on him (*ibid.* p. 199); and a cure for a wart is to touch it with a twig broken from a broom and then to place the twig in a drain (*ibid.* p. 206). Such similarities can certainly not be assumed to be only due to contact between peoples, considering the world-wide belief in the principle of homœopathic magic.

as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Iglíwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Ḥiáina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Ḥiáina, Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer, Ṭemsâmän). At the same time a slipper which is left in that position in a house also keeps out the *rezq* (Tangier). Moreover, if you intend to set out on a journey, and on getting up in the morning find your slippers or one of them turned upside down, you should not start on that day as it is a bad omen (Ḥiáina). Such a slipper may also mean that its owner's mind is absent (Aglu); but if the owner is a boy it may have a very different meaning, prognosticating that somebody will commit pederasty with him (Tangier). A boy takes hold of another boy's slipper and throws it into the air, saying, *Ḏīr má 'mel múlaḳ*, "Do what your master has done"; and if it falls down with the sole turned upwards, the boy is said to be a *zâmel*, and is treated accordingly (Andjra). An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Aiṭ Wäryâġer).

Among the Ait Waráin a person who is filling a water-skin (*aiddid*) at a spring or a river must not allow another person to drink from it until it is filled; otherwise the latter will never have a full stomach. Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr a woman must not pass a flock of sheep with an empty water-skin, as it would cause death among the sheep. In Aglu it is considered necessary for a person who on setting out on a journey meets somebody carrying an empty water-jar (*agdur*, if small *tagdurt*) to turn back.[1] In the Ḥiáina, also,

[1] In Palestine it is considered exceedingly unlucky on setting out on a journey, particularly in the early morning, to meet a woman carrying an empty water-jar; "as the jar has no water in it, so the day, journey, or enterprise will be devoid of blessing" (Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* [London, 1906], p. 51). *Cf.* also *ibid.* p. 51 *sq.* (Palestine); Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* pp. 81, 86 *sq.* (Syria).

if any one on starting on a journey in the morning meets a man or a woman carrying an empty earthen sauce-pan (*tájīn*), it is best for him not to go on; nor must the cooking-pot (*gḗdra* or *bórma*) of the house stand empty overnight—though no food must be left in it, the ladle must remain, and some water is poured into the pot in the evening. The Ait Waráin never leave their handmills quite empty however hungry they be, so that they may have corn to grind in the future also; and for the same reason the Aiṯ Yúsi put some grain into the mill when the grinding is finished. In various tribes it is a rule that the dish in which food is taken to the threshing-floor shall be returned filled with wheat, because it is considered unlucky to send back empty a dish which was full when it left the house or tent.[1] Empty dishes, trays, or tables are avoided at weddings;[2] and when the animal which is going to bear the bride to her new home is taken to her parents' dwelling, it would be a bad omen if it went there with an empty saddle.[3] It is likewise a bad omen if a saddled animal enters the yard of a house without anybody riding on it; hence if the rider dismounts before entering the yard he should put a little child into the saddle (Ḥiáina). If a person intends to go somewhere riding and the animal runs away before he has mounted, he should not go, lest he should fall off on the way and the animal should again run about free (*ibid.*). If a man who has taken the warpath dismounts and his horse runs off, he must not proceed, as it would be an evil portent both for him and his companions if he did (*ibid.*).

If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Aiṯ Wäryâġer); or he takes some ear-wax from the right ear of either animal and puts it into the other one's left ear (Andjra); or, if the animal is a dog, he puts some of his own ear-wax into the ear of the dog (Ait Waráin). A frequent method of making

[1] *Infra*, ii. 237.

[2] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 24, 25, 34, 239, 241, 279, 287, 321.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 172, 180, 182, 192, 320 *sq.*

a pup a good watch-dog is to cut its ears and give it the cut-off pieces to eat, so that its hearing shall be very sharp (Andjra, Aiṭ Nḏēr, Aiṭ Sádděn). Among the Aiṭ Nḏēr this has to be done on a Sunday; in Andjra the amputated pieces are scorched over fire and then, enveloped in a piece of bread. In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, *Ṭaḥḥántˢăk nhār l-ḥad, ma tˢḥálli krā̱ʿ ĕḏ ḥad*, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Aiṭ Wäryâġer she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

The *mqáddem* of a prison, who is himself a prisoner but profits by the advent of new-comers, rattles with the great iron chain which is in the prison and knocks at the door, in order to attract more prisoners (Fez, Tangier). There are other kinds of prison magic which are meant to serve the contrary purpose. If an Andjra man is in prison a woman of his family makes some *kŭsksŭ* with the boiled meat of a cat which is perfectly black and gives it to him to eat, without telling him what kind of meat she offers him. When she prepares the *kŭsksŭ* she adds water to it with a fresh palmetto leaf, which she keeps in her right hand, praying to God that He shall soften the enemy's and the governor's hearts as she is softening the grains; and she then stirs it with her left hand, praying to God that He shall grind the enemy's bones as the corn was ground. At the bottom of the dish she puts

the key of the house to get the prisoner back home. A servant of mine, who had had much experience of prison life, told me of a prisoner who would not eat this food, thinking that the meat was rabbit's flesh, but offered it to two of his comrades ; and the result was that they got out, whereas he himself remained in prison. The efficacy in this case ascribed to the flesh of a cat is no doubt due to the natural agility of this animal. To release a prisoner, some member of his family procures from a divorced wife her bill of divorce and takes it to the prisoner, who ties it to his turban ; there will then be speedy separation between him and the prison (Andjra). When a person leaves the prison his fellow-prisoners thump his back, so that he shall not come back again (Andjra) ; or he goes out dragging his right foot in order that the other prisoners also shall soon get out (*ibid.*, Fez). A similar rite is practised for another purpose. At Fez, if an unmarried woman or girl is living in the house of a bride, the women say to the bride when she leaves it to go to her new home, *Jŭrr réjlek*, "Drag your foot", so that the unmarried one shall also get a husband ; here, too, it is the right foot that is dragged. In Aglu the married women and the girls sometimes have a tug-of-war until the rope breaks, and it is believed that the girl who first gets hold of the end where the rope broke on the girls' side will soon marry ; she takes the place, as it were, of the married women *versus* the girls.

Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth (*ṣăṇṣal*), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer) ; or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the *fqī* and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the *fqī* as the water cools the rope (Ulâd Bŭ'ăzîz) ; but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). Schoolboys, however, are up to more

serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed *fâṭḥa*" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Aiṭ Wäryâġer).[1]

Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect"—*'ălạ̈m n-nbi wâqăf*,—that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes *l-ḥạ̈ir mạ̈ji*, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Aiṭ Wäryâġer); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this.[2] In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Aiṭ Wäryâġer). At Fez the boys of one quarter (*ḥáuma*) used formerly on feast-days to invade another quarter with sticks in their hands, some of them singing, *A'lâ men rāḥt' l-ġálba*, "Over whom was the victory won?" and others answering, *'Âlâ ulâd l-kélba*, "Over the sons of the bitch". When the boys of the invaded quarter heard this they encountered them, and a fight ensued with sticks and stones, which lasted until the boys were separated by older persons. These fights were considered to cause rebellion among the tribes and were eventually prohibited by the authorities. But they had then been practised for a long time: Leo Africanus mentions them,[3] and my informant, a middle-aged man, himself took part in them in his boyhood. It is also believed that the tribes will become troublesome if a boy

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 488. [2] *Cf. infra*, ii. 278.
[3] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* ii. 454 *sq.*

removes the head of a match and puts it between two stones which he rubs against each other, thus making it sparkle; and he is punished for doing so. Nor are the boys of Fez allowed to play with bows and arrows, and should anybody be caught doing so he would be put in prison; for *būglīb* might come, that is, there might be a cholera epidemic, which is supposed to be caused by *jnūn* shooting at people with arrows.[1] In the same town children are forbidden to play with a *wûṣla*, or wooden board, on which the bread-carrier (*ṭárrāḥ*) takes dough to the public oven from the house in which it was made; and it is believed that if a person puts an empty *wûṣla* on his head some member of the household will die. The deadly effects ascribed to the *wûṣla* are due to its resemblance to a bier; but it is also said that a person who sits down on a *wûṣla* will have boils (*dmâmel*) on his seat, evidently because the dough has a tendency to rise. In Andjra I was told that if children dig pits in the ground and bury in them bamboo canes, many people will die during that year.

Death is in many other cases, some of which are mentioned above or below, supposed to be caused or foreboded by something suggestive of it. In the Ḥiáina it is believed that if anybody brings a ball of worsted into another person's house, one of its inmates will soon die on account of the resemblance between the ball and the *qóbba* of a dead saint. Certain things which are done at a funeral should not be done at a wedding. Thus in the Ḥiáina the wheat to be used for the wedding, which has been cleaned in the bridegroom's house, must not be taken to other houses to be ground, as is done with the wheat for a funeral; and at Fez, although honey is offered the women of the young man's family who visit the girl's mother a few days after the betrothal,[2] it is never served at the wedding itself, the partaking of it being a regular feature of a funeral. In the same town, where it is the custom at a funeral to remove the cotton cover from every mattress in the house, it is believed that if a mattress were left without a cover on any other

[1] *Supra*, p. 271.

[2] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 23.

occasion somebody in the house would soon die. To repair a torn garment while worn by a person is to " sew up his shroud ", whether it is done by himself or somebody else (Fez).[1] To lean your head against your hand in meditation means that your father or mother or some other member of your family will soon die (Andjra, Tangier). Your father or mother, if alive, will also die if you eat with your legs stretched out (Tangier). If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will have a long life ; this belief is particularly prevalent in connection with the sacrifice at the Great Feast, but it also applies to the slaughter of animals on other occasions (Shāwîa, Tangier, Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). So also, if you throw something on the ground and it falls in an upright position you will have a long life—your " luck remained standing " ; and the same is the case if a match continues to burn after you have thrown it away (Tangier). If you throw down a stone which you find on the road you will become ill ; the idea is evidently that you will have to lie down like the stone (Aiṯ Wäryâġer). The Aiṯ Sádděn maintain that jaundice (*bûṣffar*) comes from sleeping on straw.

An illness may also come from speaking about it ; and in this case, too, there is a kind of homœopathic influence. Of course, a statement bears no real resemblance to the fact it expresses, but, in the person who makes it, it arises from, and in other persons it gives rise to, an idea which, though unrealised, leads to the idea of its realisation.[2] If one who is not ill says that he is, he will become ill ; if a person says of another that he is ill, though he is not, the latter will become ill ; and if he says it to a third person who knows that his statement is wrong, this person may answer him, *Bâsăk f râsᾰ̣k*, " Your evil on your head ", which is intended to throw the evil influence of his statement upon himself (Fez). It is, generally, dangerous to talk about illness, *jnūn*, or other disagreeable things. The evil has to be averted by

[1] There is a similar belief in Syria (Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 102).

[2] We have seen (*supra*, p. 422) that even the bare thought is supposed to bring about the event thought of.

some phrase like " In the name of God the compassionate the merciful ", or " God damn Satan ", or " I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one ". Or somebody present taps the ground with his finger, saying, *Tˢěsmáʿ l-arḍ u tˢéblaʿ*, " Hear earth and swallow " (Fez); or either the person who speaks or somebody else knocks the wall or any object close by (Aglu). Thus my Aglu informant, after telling me about the cursing-cairn which dissatisfied scribes make to punish a greedy man, knocked and said, " May the complaint of the scribes turn back on him (that is, the greedy man) alone ". A Berber from the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi assured me that if a person says of a thing that it is not good, something bad will happen to it. For example, if I have bought a gun and show it to you and you pass a disparaging remark on it, the result will be that the gun will break or be stolen; whether it is good or not you should always say that it is good, adding of course the usual phrase *ṯbārk ălláh* as a protection against the evil eye. The idea that the spoken word brings about its own realisation is particularly prominent in curses, oaths, and blessings.

In other cases the spoken word is supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to. It is a general belief that if a sick person speaks to another about his illness the other one will become ill, unless special precautions are taken. Before he speaks of it he should say, *Smaḥ li ma škītˢ ʿălik, leh la iwúrrik bäs*, " Pardon me, I did not complain to you, may God let you have no evil "; and if no such apology is made the person spoken to says or whispers, *Bâsăk f râsăk ma tˢškī ši ʿălîya*, " May your evil be on your head, do not complain to me " (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person complains of being ill in another person's presence, the latter says, *Škī ʿăla ṭ-ṭrēq, dzîdek l-ḥărêq*, " Complain to the road, may it increase for you the pain "; or *Jnūn l-mársa tˢémma yérsa*, " [Complain to] the *jnūn* of the harbour, there it (that is, the illness) will remain " (Fez); or, " Complain to the stones, may God increase it (that is, the illness) for you " (Aiṯ Wäryâġer).[1] If a person tells another that he

[1] Mr. R. L. N. Johnston told me that at Mogador, if a visitor com-

has a boil, the latter wards off the infection by replying, *Hăkkậk klîbna fih náfṭa*, " Thus our little dog has a boil " ; the boil will then pass to the dog (Ulâd Bů'ăzîz).

A disease or some other evil may not only be communicated by infection, but may be actually transferred from the person suffering from it to another person or an animal or an inanimate thing, so that the sufferer himself gets rid of it. We have previously noticed many instances of such transference,[1] but others may be added. Sometimes the transference takes place by means of a spell without contact with the victim. A simple method of getting rid of a complaint is to say, *L-bạs ắmši ne l-hyuḏîa l-ḥőbla*, " May the evil go into the Jewess who is with child " ; and a person who feels pain in his back cracks his backbone, saying, *Ămšíu yā lĕ-mġáṣ ne l-mrā l-ḥőbla*, " Go O cracking into the woman who is with child " (Andjra). More frequently, however, the evil is transferred by some sort of material contact, accompanied or not with an utterance. In Andjra, if a person has had a dream which he regards as an evil foreboding, he goes to the place where the fowls are kept and addresses it with some words like these, " I had this evil dream and came to complain to you, and now it has to be left here " ; the evil will then be mixed up with the droppings. If a child complains to its mother of an ominous dream the mother says, " Don't complain of it to me, go at once and complain to the place of the fowls ".[2] If a person suffers from toothache there is the following cure for it : a scribe writes the name of a *jẹnn* on a nail, tells the patient to repeat it until he no longer feels pain, and then knocks the nail into the wall of the room ; the toothache is said to be gone for ever (Tangier). Persons troubled with a headache relieve themselves of it by knocking a nail into the wall of a shrine after first pricking their head with the nail or, as in the case of a shrine which

plains of his grievances, the host takes a pinch of earth and throws it behind the visitor's back, saying, " There you are, take your complaints with you ".

[1] *Supra*, pp. 341-343, 555 *sqq*. Dan (*Histoire de Barbarie* [Paris, 1649], p. 287) mentions an instance of transferring a headache from a person to a sheep or goat.

[2] See also *infra*, ii. 48, 485.

I passed in the neighbourhood of Demnat, after taking their measure with it; in this case it was said that the cure has to be performed on a Sunday. At Fez a person who has a sty goes to somebody else's house and knocks at the door. When the people inside ask who it is, he answers them, *Ma ši ána daqqîtˢ ʿålikum, álṭṭi daqq ʿålikum, iṭêr mḗnni w ilsáq fîkum*, "It is not I who knocked at your door, the sty knocked at your door, may it fly from me and stick to you"; then he runs away, leaving the sty behind, as it were. In the Ġarb and elsewhere (Shāwîa, Andjra) a person who has a sty (also called *šʿéira*, literally "a grain of barley") takes seven grains of barley, touches the sty with each of them, and piles up stones with one grain between each stone on a road where many people walk; if anybody upsets the pile he will have a sty and the other person gets rid of his.[1] If a convalescent hears some bad news, the sickness goes into his feet and makes them swell. He is then cured in the following manner. A loaf of bread and a cheese are broken or cut into seven pieces over his feet, the loaf over one foot and the cheese over the other one; these pieces are then thrown into the street or on the road, and if anybody eats them *he* will become ill, whereas the convalescent will recover completely (Tangier, &c.). If a sick person sells his clothes his illness will be transferred to the person who buys and wears them, but if he gives them away in charity the recipient will not get his illness, although he himself will get rid of it (Andjra, Aiṯ Wäryâġer). A person may by stepping over another give the latter his illness, but by stepping back he will also get his illness back (Aglu). Any one who steps over a young person absorbs the growth of the latter.

In Andjra there are on the roadside certain stones with *baraka* against which a tired wanderer leans his back with his hands behind it, saying, *Ana ḫallítˢ fik l-ʿăgéz u ntˢîna aʿṭêni ṣ-ṣáḥḥa*, "I left in you the laziness and may you give me health"; the fatigue is thus transferred to the stone. At the village l-Ḥámma I saw a little hut made of stone,

[1] For a somewhat similar custom in the Aurès see Hilton-Simpson, 'Some Notes on the Folklore of the Algerian Hills and Desert', in *Folk-Lore*, xxxiii. (London, 1922), p. 181.

called *r-râuḍa ḍe l-'áiya*, " the *râuḍa* of tiredness ", on a spot where Sîdi Mûḥámmed l-Ḥa^{dd}j is said to have been in the habit of sitting ; and when we passed it one of my servants relieved himself of his tiredness in the said manner. If you are sitting with another person and stretch your arms towards him, your weariness will pass to him ; but if he says to you some words like these, " Look what you have dropped ", or, " Look here, you have a stain on your cloak ", and you look down, the tiredness will go back to you (Andjra). You should not give of your water to a thirsty villager who is working (unless he is working for you), because by drinking it he would transfer his thirst and fatigue to your house ; and a woman who carries a load on her back should not be allowed to pass the door of another person's house or go among his sheep, lest her weariness should pass to the house or the flock (Ḥiáina). Again, when a prisoner who has never before been in prison is released, he does not return to his home at once but goes first to a public oven, and leaves there his *bạs*, or misfortune, to be burned so that never again shall he have to enter prison (Tangier).

The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by slaughtering it. The killing of a fowl on the birth of a child is expressly said to safeguard its life by removing its *bạs*, and the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat in connection with the naming of the child serves a similar purpose.[1] In Andjra, when a bitch pups for the first time, all the pups are done away with, lest the first-born boy (*l-bker*) or girl (*l-békra*) of its owner should die. The slaughter of an animal may also save the lives of other animals. Among the Iglíwa and in Aglu, when a flock of sheep or goats is ravaged by an epidemic, it is taken three times round the shrine of the patron saint of the place, and one of the animals is killed and eaten on the spot.[2] But the *bạs* of a person may also pass into another person or an animal or a thing without any act of transference. When a child dies in infancy it is said that it met with the misfortune which would otherwise have fallen upon its father or mother

[1] *Infra*, ii. 379, 386 *sqq.*
[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 173 ; *infra*, ii. 300.

—*lqa l-baṣ ʿåla bâbäh u yímmäh* (Tangier).[1] So also the accidental death of an animal is supposed to save its owner or his family from misfortune (Dukkâla, Andjra, Tangier, Aiṯ Wäryâġer, Aglu):[2]—*Lĕ-bhîma lĕ-bbĭvârka hîya li trĕffèd ʿla mulâha* (Ulâd Bû'ăzîz), or *L-bhîma l-mbârka hîya li tˢålqa ʿåla mulâha* (Tangier). I have also heard that there is no blessing in a family that owns no animals, because the animals protect the family from sickness and death (Andjra). All over Morocco it is believed that the accidental breaking of an object, especially of a glass or earthenware vessel, "takes away the *baṣ*" from its owner.[3] At Fez I was told that if anybody happens to break a vessel of this kind which has been lent to him by some one else, he is not allowed to buy another instead of it nor to give any other compensation for the loss, because if he did so the owner or some member of his family would die. On the other hand, it is a bad foreboding if such a vessel falls and does not break,[4] though only in case it has been in the house for a whole year, and then it has to be broken at once to avert the evil (Tangier). A scribe from the Aiṯ Wäryâġer, however, assured me that to break a stick is an evil omen for its owner; and to break something behind the back of an unwelcome person when he leaves is a method of preventing his return, which will be as impossible as the restoration of the broken object (Tangier).[5] It is good to lose a thing, it takes away the *baṣ* (*ibid.*, Andjra).

[1] *Cf.* Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day* (London, 1902), p. 208 (Syria and Palestine).

[2] *Cf. ibid.* p. 208 *sq.* (Syria and Palestine); Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 156.

[3] *Cf.* Eijūb Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 81 *sq.* (Syria).

[4] *Cf. ibid.* p. 81 (Syria).

[5] *Cf.* Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs* (London, 1830), p. 4 (Cairo); Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 287 (Palestine).

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